

HISTORY
OF THE
BOROUGH
OF
KING'S LYNN.

VOL. I.





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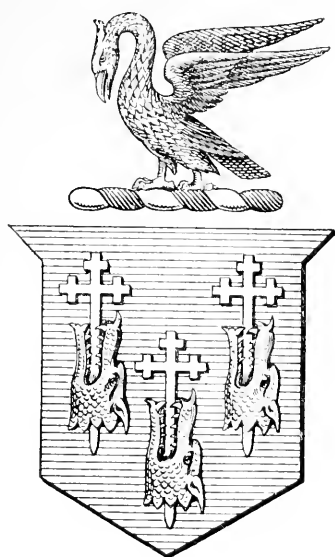
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Chalice—John's Cup—temp. Edward III.

HISTORY OF THE BOROUGH OF KING'S LYNN.



VOLUME I.

BY

HENRY J. HILLEN.

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TO the memory of the dead,
who made OUR BOROUGH what
it is—

To those with whom we dwell,
who strive to make it better than
it is ; and finally—

To those, who may succeed
when we are gone, with earnest
hopes, that their approving benison
may rest upon the good intentions
of the past.

PREFACE.

SEVERAL treatises, dealing with the social and constitutional history of the BOROUGH OF KING'S LYNN, have been written, lost, and forgotten ; two, however, survive because they were published—the one by Benjamin Mackerell in 1738, and the other by William Richards in 1812.

The compiling of the *third*—an essay towards a more comprehensive, up-to-date account of this “ancient sea-port, borough, and market town,” has yielded the writer pleasure ; and it is to be hoped that its publication, undertaken at the earnest request of many appreciative burgesses, may awaken interest in the minds of those living in the town and neighbourhood.

The maker of books resembles an apothecary, as Robert Burton, the scholarly wit, assures us, who “compounds medicine by pouring out of old bottles into new ones.” History, indeed, is not the product of an exuberant imagination, but a careful reiteration of events recorded by others. For obvious reasons, these pages are not overburdened with references, yet every statement is based upon some authority apparent or not, and hints are given to lead the inquirer towards the sources from whence information is derived.

The writer—greatly beholden to Mr. George H. Anderson, the Borough Accountant, who supplied the photographs from which the illustrations are taken, and to Mr. George F. Pratt, who assisted in the compilation of the indexes—may well exclaim with Macrobius : *Omne meum, nihil meum*—“this is all mine and yet none of it is mine.”

Although care has been given to insure accuracy, yet errors, especially when authorities disagree, are not impossible. May, however, the Readers' generous response—“To forgive divine,” be reciprocal of the writer's humble apology—“To err is human.”

HENRY J. HILLEN.

APRIL, 1907,
FRIARS' REST,
KING'S LYNN.

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* Roughly sketched ground plans.

PART I.

TO THE ACCESSION OF H.M. KING EDWARD VII.

HISTORY OF KING'S LYNN.

CHAPTER I.

The Lin in Prehistoric Times.

AT the head of the Wash, an important opening on the East Coast of England, lies the "Fenland," a vast plain, embracing portions of six different counties and covering an area of 1,300 square miles.

The ancient inhabitants of this district unquestionably belonged to a sturdy and determined race. On the inland islands, which dotted the treacherous surface of a broad, dreary morass, they reared their frail mud-and-wattle huts. Having once gained a footing, no matter how fearfully insecure, they proceeded to cut a cunning maze of ditches, and to raise those wonderful "walls" or banks (the traces of which exist to-day) in order to keep out the intrusive waters of the ever-threatening sea beyond.

In "the foggy fennes, with her unwholesome ayre and more unwholesome soyle," to which Michael Drayton (1563-1631) thus refers in his *Polyolbion*—a geographical survey of England in verse,—terrible floods were at that remote period very usual occurrences. The ground, in many places much lower than the sea, was for the greater part of the year in a sodden state; the atmosphere, moreover, was not only saturated with vapour, but it was also charged with noxious exhalations, arising from gigantic accumulations of putrefying animal and vegetable matter. The Fenland, though "a boggy syrtis, neither sea nor good dry land," was, notwithstanding, the home of the primitive fenmen. Braving, daring—defying the elements of nature, they hunted the badger and otter in the tangled overgrowth of the water-courses of that dark, unhealthy mere; they snatched a scanty supply of burbot or mallard from "the waste enormous marsh;" they wrung from an unwilling soil a meagre and precarious crop, on which their lives and the lives of their children greatly depended; and they preserved untarnished the independence bequeathed them by a stern and savage ancestry. Though floods and inundations again and again devoured the fruit of their labour, yet were they undismayed, for sufficient evidence remains to shew how courageously they coöperated in pitting their puny strength against superior—ay, almost omnipotent forces, until in the end they could exult, in that they were more than conquerors.

Gradually and after centuries of unremitting toil a marvellous transformation was achieved! The stagnant eas and sluggish lins, the wild intricate meres and many of those long, tortuous water-ways either partially or wholly disappeared; the luxurious undergrowth in the heart of this fenny fastness, which rendered approach at one

time tediously slow, and at other times utterly impossible, succumbed by imperceptible degrees. Many of the saltwater fish entrapped so many years ago in the winding streams are slowly dying and will soon become extinct, whilst the wild birds which once bred in such immense quantities are yearly growing scarcer. The crane, the dotterel, and the bald buzzard or fen eagle, as it was once termed, are either quite unknown or extremely rare. Under sanitary conditions the virulent epidemics which devastated this malarious district are almost unknown. The "Great Dismal Swamp" upon our eastern seaboard no longer exists; it has given place to a rich agricultural area which is poetically and yet justly styled the "Golden Plain of England." On either hand are waving corn-fields or verdant meadows, amid which the sheltered cot, the busy mill and many a "Sweet Auburn" nestles peacefully.

FROM THE KNOWN TO THE UNKNOWN.

Our island home at a remote period formed part of the mainland. A dense forest covered the surface of what we will term East Anglia, and, stretching athwart the North Sea, connected our country with the Continent. The remains of the "forest bed" are found along the coast of Norfolk and Suffolk beneath and skirting the present cliffs; they reappear in Western Europe. The same forest covered the whole of Ireland and extended beyond, for at a depth of 600 feet, trunks of trees, etc., have been dredged from the Atlantic. The climate was then far other than it is now, because many tropical animals found a congenial habitat in this immense forest. In the Norwich Crag and the forest bed of the Norfolk foreshore, bones of the elephant, the woolly-haired rhinoceros, the hippopotamus, the cave lion and the cave bear, the spotted and striped hyæna, the Irish elk, the bison, and of many living species, including the anthropoid ape and *man*, have been found.

How long this period existed geologists are unable to conjecture; it terminated, however, when the *first* of the glacial epochs set in. During the so-called *Ice-Age*, repeated alternations of heat and cold seem to have occurred, for in the *Pleistocene* strata there is a most perplexing association of tropical, temperate and arctic animals. The lion and the grizzly bear, the hyæna and the reindeer, the panther and the arctic fox, the glutton and the mammoth, etc., are found side by side. But what chiefly concerns us is the fact that man—

PALÆOLITHIC MAN

appears spread over most of the dry land, throughout the whole world. Vestiges of the caves in which he dwelt, and the workshops, or rather pits, in which he chipped the rudest of stone implements (for the use of metals was unknown to him in his primitive state), have been brought to light.

Although Palæolithic remains are rarely met with in West Norfolk, yet the neighbourhood of Brandon, Mildenhall and Lakenheath is rich in specimens attributable to the "Old Stone Folk," who lived, as computed, some 600,000 or 700,000 years ago. At Thetford, too, on the borders of Norfolk and Suffolk, excellent specimens have been

found in the "river gravel." Few English examples can excel these implements for their marvellous delicacy of workmanship; they have been widely distributed, specimens finding a place not only in the principal museums of this country, but in many of those on the Continent. Similar remains were discovered at Shrub Hill, near Feltwell; and a perfect Palæolithic flint celt* was taken from the peat during the construction of the new railway bridge at Sutton Bridge (1895), at a spot which at some far distant period was perhaps the bed of the ancient river Nene.

That few vestiges of prehistoric man have been discovered in the Lin, as part of the fenland was subsequently called, may be because a portion of this area was for inconceivable ages in a state of submersion. The general subsidence of a greater part of Britain did not, however, greatly affect this district, because while Scotland and Lancashire were depressed more than 1,300 feet, our fenland sank only about twenty feet.

At low water two beds of peat may be traced along the banks of the Great Ouse. The outcrop is distinctly marked near the Cut Bridge. These vegetable deposits are separated by a layer two or three feet in thickness, brought thither by the tides. Hence the fact is clearly established that there were two successive subsidences in what we term the Lin. The section of the strata passed through when Thomas Allen sunk a well opposite St. Nicholas' Chapel to obtain water for brewing purposes (1829), shews the widespread area of these peat-beds; and it, moreover, proves the absurdity of boring for water in this district. The well is generally regarded as being of "fabulous depth"; this, however, is not the case, as will be seen by the following sectional measurements of strata encountered in course of the boring:—

Vegetable soil	...	...	...	7	feet
Loam used for bricks	...	...	...	7	"
PEAT	...	...	...	2½	"
Blue Clay	...	...	...	8	"
PEAT, WITH ALDER AND HAZEL	...	...	...	3	"
Blue clay with silt	...	...	...	30	"
Kimmeridge clay	...	...	...	630	"
Total depth				687½	feet.

It will be noticed that the intervening layer is thicker where the silting from the receding water has continued longest.

Whilst dredging for oysters, two or three miles from the Bar Flat, some Lynn fishermen brought up a perforated stone hammer. This unique specimen, preserved in our Museum, powerfully suggests that the submerged forest was at one time inhabited by primeval man.

When the glaciers finally disappeared there dawned what is designated the *New Stone Age*. That man had advanced in civilization is clearly established—he now reared domestic animals,

* Celt, a cutting or cleaving implement of stone—or of bronze if so stated. This term, at first vaguely applied because they were supposed to be of Celtic make is now being discarded, whilst arrow-head and spear-head, &c. are used instead.

cultivated the soil, and practised a few primitive arts such as spinning, weaving and the making of rude pottery. The stone implements used were more neatly wrought, and in some instances highly polished. At one part, at least, of the period he was acquainted with the use of copper, tin and gold. Remains of shell mounds, lake dwellings, barrows and sepulchral chambers have been found in many parts of the world.

NEOLITHIC MAN

probably lived, we are told, some 60,000 years ago. At the commencement of this era, and when man reappeared, glaciers might still have been lingering upon the highest of our mountain ranges, but the end of the glacial epoch was inevitable. The intense cold slowly gave place to a mild and genial climate, and from that time to the present the *genus homo* has never been extinct in Britain. The wonderful discoveries of Messrs. Prestwich, Evans, Wyatt and Lyell at Biddenham, in the bed of the Great Ouse, near Bedford, shew that "the fabricators of antique tools, and extinct mammalia coeval with them, were post-glacial, or in other words, posterior to the grand submergence of central England beneath the waters of the glacial sea." (Sir Charles Lyell.)

But what manner of man was he? you naturally ask. For reply we append a description from the pen of Mr. W. G. Clarke:—

We can picture him thus: Seated at the foot of a huge pine tree on the verge of a broad expanse of water which filled out the ancient river-valley of the Little Ouse. Behind him are the forest depths with their indefinable mystery—the haunt of many a wild beast. He feels none of the nervous apprehension which a highly-civilised man of the present day would experience, since such subtle development of the nervous system would at that date have been fatal to the future progress of the race. Standing up, his keen ear quick to detect the faintest sound, we can see that he is of medium height, with long and powerfully developed arms, broad-shouldered and hipped, but with thin flanks—a near approach to the typical fen man. His dress is very simple, merely a few skins carelessly sewn together with sinews running through holes pierced with either his bone needle or his flint awl. Across his shoulder a bow, made of a short piece of ash and more sinews, is slung; whilst half-a-dozen arrows rest in a bark quiver, fastened to his side with a leathern thong. The arrow shafts are made of wood, which has been sawn to the length, shaved to the thickness and planed to the roundness that was needful entirely with implements of flint, and are finished off with barbed flint points, again bound on with the ever-useful sinew. With the fire obtained by striking a nodule of iron pyrites with a piece of flint, he is heating some "pot-boilers" or "cooking-stones" to a white heat, and presently his wife will carefully put them inside the coarse pot of sun-burnt clay, and thus heat the water it contains. At present she is busily engaged in scraping the fatty tissues from the skin of the wolf, which her lord has recently slain. Now with stealthy footstep, and eye and ear on the alert, he is off again in search of other game, and his wife is left alone. [*Transactions of the Norfolk and Norwich Naturalist Society*, Vol. VI., p. 24.]

When the Alexandra Dock was being excavated at Lynn, the bones of various extinct and other animals—those of the mammoth, the primeval ox (*Bos primigenius*), the beaver, elk, wild boar, etc., besides three well-shaped arrow-heads, were brought to light. In the bed, moreover, above which these occurred, specimens of British and Roman pottery were discovered (1868). Fragments of pottery similar

in character were also found when the Eau Brink Cut Bridge was erected (1873).

That prehistoric implements are not uncommon in the neighbourhood of our borough is established by the following "finds":—

(1) Thetford and the district, including Santon Warren, Stoneheath, Thetford Abbey Heath, Thetford Warren—arrow and spear-heads, chisels and fabricators,* awls and borers, knives and saws, scrapers and smoothing stones, as well as flakes, axes and cores (Mr. W. G. Clarke.)

(2) Riffley, South Wootton, Middleton, East Walton, Barton Bendish, Beechamwell, Shingham, Caldecott, Narborough, Westacre, Oxborough, Tottenhill, and the Nar Valley—celts more or less perfect.

(3) Pentney and Roydon Fen—polished celts.

(4) Massingham Heath—flakes, fabricators, rough-hewn hammers, mining tools (picks, hammer-picks, borers, diggers and hand choppers); also the antlers of deer. (Dr. C. B. Plowright.)

(5) Hunstanton, by the shore—about fifty wave-worn implements (Rev. R. C. Nightingale); Rising and Heacham inland—Neolithic scrapers, flakes, etc. (Mr. H. Lowerison); Holme Scarfe—a small bronze axe-head, sticking in the trunk of a tree (1829). This interesting relic, formerly in Samuel Woodward's collection, unquestionably belongs to the Forest Bed. It is now deposited in the Norwich Museum, and is described as "partly embedded in the trunk of a tree," although the authorities never possessed the wood from which it was taken.

(6) Swaffham—stone and bronze celts, ancient pottery and several querns; † Sporle—flint hammer-heads, partly bored on each side and bronze axe-heads; also found at Riffley, Hillington, Congham, Fordham, Oxborough and Boston.

The following additional places where urns and implements have been found are marked on the map, attached to Mr. E. M. Beloe's article, entitled *The Padders' Way and its Attendant Roads* (1895):—Snettisham, Castle Rising (bronze implements), Penthorpe, Lexham, Wereham, Merton, Weeting, Wretham, Ixworth and Lakenheath (stone and bronze implements). Unbaked food vessels are unearthed at Tottenhill.

Other specimens, no less interesting, may no doubt be seen in many private cabinets.

The geological importance of the following recent discoveries in North-East Norfolk is sufficient apology for prolonging this section. These specimens, if their genuineness be established, will certainly constitute

THE EARLIEST TRACES OF MAN

in Western Europe.

Mr. W. J. Lewis Abbott picked up worked flints in the Cromer forest-bed at Runton (1897). This circumstance is of vast consequence, because in this country the remains of man were never found

* Fabricator, a narrow stone chisel or flaking tool, employed with a stone hammer to do the finer chipping.

† Quern, a primitive stone hand-mill for grinding corn.

at so low a horizon before; it thus places the advent of man in Western Europe at a much earlier date. The opinion had indeed been previously hazarded that if vestiges occurred at this horizon at all they would be exactly where Mr. Abbott has discovered them. The Forest-bed series (the top of the Pliocene, beneath the Glacial Beds) are below a valley gravel, which contains flint implements of well-known palæolithic forms. He found them sticking in the iron-pan, portions of which were attached to them. Whilst some experts regard these interesting relics as the unqualified work of primeval man, Sir John Evans, with the caution for which he is distinguished, admits that they may probably be such.

Prior to the above-related incident, Mr. Randall Johnson found two worked flints, about twenty miles east of Runton, on the Palling beach, which were similarly stained with the characteristic iron-pan of the Forest-bed. On the same coast, at Hemsby, some ten miles from Palling, Mr. Woolstan ploughed up the head of a stone axe (1897). This specimen Sir John Evans unhesitatingly pronounced to date from B.C. 1000.

The greater part of the Fenland, as geologists assure us, is the outcome of

A NATURAL PROCESS

which they call "silting." Ever since the Post-Glacial epoch began, the tides have been ebbing and flowing with clock-like regularity; they have daily and persistently, century after century, brought the waste produced by the wear and tear of erosion from the adjacent coasts of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, and have quietly dropped them into the Wash,—the *Æstuarium Metaris*, as Ptolemy calls it, which, of all the numerous *Æstuaria*, or bay-like openings around our coast, was then of the utmost importance. From time immemorial silting has been going on, and the process is unvaryingly the same. Sir William Dugdale (1605-1686) noticed it, and still, as we know, it is going on, and it will continue thus to do, until the Wash, which is already but partly covered with water, is permanently and completely silted up. Man may assist Nature, and by means of embankments facilitate these growing accretions, but he cannot prevent them. Here, then, is a vast triangular area, covering 600 square miles—nearly one-half of the entire Fenland—whose apex is at Littleport, and whose sides stretch away eastward toward the artificial banks which guard our shores. This tract of land was not formed, as is commonly the case, by materials borne down by the rivers on their way to the sea, but it is entirely the result of tremendous accumulations brought hither by the tides of past ages, the newest inland portion of which must have been deposited 7,000 years since.

It is well known how Neolithic man constructed rude villages upon piles driven into the beds of certain lakes. The remains of these so-called "Lake-Dwellings," which were connected with the shore by gangways, fixed or removable, are well known in Ireland, as well as in different parts of Switzerland. That none have as yet been discovered in this part of the Fenland is an insufficient reason

to conclude that prehistoric man or his near descendants may not at some remote era or other have constructed similar places of abode in this neighbourhood, which was, after the glacial period, if not wholly covered with water, rarely better than a dangerous, impassable swamp. The "submarine forest" between Lincolnshire and Norfolk might at some era of the world's history have been the habitation of early, uncivilised man, although now covered by the sea. The draining of the West Mere in the parish of Wretham, a few miles from Thetford and twenty-four from Lynn, revealed "a lake-dwelling" (1851).

At Weeting, between Thetford and Lynn, there may be seen what is described as "probably the finest remains of neolithic quarrying extant." As a step in a right direction, it may be well to give a passing reference to the so-called

"GRIMES' GRAVES"

before directing attention to similar ancient vestiges nearer Lynn. The "graves," of which there are about one hundred, are circular in form, and are situated in a wild and desolate locality. They were carefully examined by the Rev. Canon Greenwell, of Durham, the experienced explorer of the tumuli of the Yorkshire Wolds (1870). The main objects of this arduous undertaking was to test the foregone conclusion of archæologists that these earthworks were the remains of an ancient British village, the dwellings of which were partly sunk in the ground. During the process of excavation, which for some time was most disheartening, the teeth of various animals, including those of the dog, pig, goat and a small ox, as well as club-like instruments fashioned from the antlers of the deer, several flint hammers, a bone pin ingeniously sharpened, and a piece of chalk having a hole through it, bored from both sides, were found.

At length, at a depth of 40 feet, he came upon a tunnel in the chalk, which he followed up, and there a sight met his gaze that few men have been privileged to see; for before him lay the workmen's tools just as they had been left after the day's labour—who shall say how many centuries ago? Even the explorer at Pompeii and Herculaneum, as he disinters the relics of more than 1,800 years ago, is looking upon a modern production when compared with those found at Grimes' Graves. Here were the picks of deers' antlers, chalk lamp, and a few rough flint flakes and weapons laid down carelessly as the shades of evening fell, with the expectation of again being used on the subsequent day. Perhaps a neighbouring tribe made a raid that night, and the flint-workers were numbered with their forefathers; or, as is more probable, a landslip took place, and the way to their tools was obstructed with tons of chalk. All the implements were covered with a limestone incrustation that told of the centuries they had lain hidden from the light of day. (Mr. W. G. Clarke.)

Referring to two of the picks brought from the tunnel, Canon Greenwell says they had "upon them an incrustation of chalk, the surface of which bore the impression of the workmen's fingers, the print of the skin being most apparent." After a patient and minute investigation, the reverend gentleman was perfectly convinced that these marvellous remains at Weeting were a series of neolithic flint quarries, worked by prehistoric man, unacquainted with the use of metals.

From surface flints the rude implements of Palæolithic man were almost exclusively made, but after many, many centuries newly-quarried flints were found to be far easier of manipulation. Hence in the later Stone Age surface flints were discarded and deep shafts were sunk. How inconceivably laborious was the making of these excavations, with no spade or picks, except the antlers of the deer or sharp-pointed stones bound with ligatures to rough hafts, something like the chisels and punches used by blacksmiths at the present time, which are held by twigs of twisted hazel or willow. In these holes, sometimes thirty or forty feet deep, were cut successive stages on the alternate sides, and up these awkward steps large blocks of stone were handed up to the surface. Here the flints were trimmed and worked into the nicely-balanced artistic weapons, which constituted the most useful belongings of our cave-dwelling ancestors.

FLINT-KNAPPING AT BRANDON

is the most ancient of surviving crafts. From the far remote Neolithic Age down to the present hour has the working of flints been carried on in this neighbourhood. It therefore constitutes the oldest native industry in Great Britain. True, arrow-heads are no longer in demand, but the industrious flint-knappers of Lingheath supply not only the "strike-a-lights" which many travellers prefer to matches, but immense quantities of gun-flints, which are mostly exported to Africa, where "Brown Bess"—the cumbersome, uncertain flint-lock musket, has been in evidence since the invention of the percussion cap induced our manufacturers to throw the out-of-date weapon upon the markets of the Dark Continent.

When we remember that with the best of tools it takes the modern flint-knapper two or three years' continuous practice to acquire a moderate degree of success in his peculiar craft, we can the more thoroughly appreciate the wonderful skill and astonishing patience which enabled the forgotten inhabitants of East Anglia to produce by the mere striking of one stone against another such marvellous specimens of artistic beauty. If any of our readers are sceptical and reticent of praise, we ask them to try the experiment themselves, and that, too, under the best conditions. Let them produce a well-balanced arrow-head, and for this purpose we will leniently concede the use of any hammers they may choose.

The discovery of artificially-chipped flints, in the road-metal spread upon some of the highways in this part of Norfolk, led to the exploring of the source of supply—"a gravel pit," on

THE MASSINGHAM HEATH,

by Messrs. C. B. Plowright, M.D., and H. C. Brown, Ph.D. The result of their labour was communicated to the Norfolk and Norwich Naturalist Society (1891). Upon this extensive heath some half-dozen interesting depressions were observed, which bore a strong resemblance to those already mentioned at Weeting. All were roughly circular, and in general appearance alike; they varied in depth from eight to ten feet, and were from forty to ninety feet in

diameter, and in no case was there a cart-track leading thereto. Flint flakes, the refuse struck off in the making of rude digging and boring tools, were found in each. These hollow depressions were also regarded as "shafts sunk by Neolithic man for the purpose of procuring flint for the fabrication of the various articles manufactured from it by him."

Many years since the Rev. Christopher Grenside, then Rector of Great Massingham, contended that upon this heath were traces of "a British village." These Mr. Plowright and his companion tried in vain to discover.

One afternoon, however (says Mr. Plowright in his report), we were led by a happy accident to the object of our search. It was during the winter after we had measured the above-described depressions, standing on the higher ground on the north side of the Grimston road, that we saw by the slanting rays of the setting sun a number of hollows on the south side of the road. The sun had sunk just low enough to cause the edge of each hollow to cast a shadow into the interior. Plainly displayed before us on the opposite hill were a number of round shadows, which marked the objects of our search. These consisted of a cluster of about a dozen small round depressions from 15 to 20 feet across, not more than a foot or two deep, occupying the summit of a small eminence within 100 yards of the main road from Grimston to Massingham; this eminence is on the south side of the road, and is the first high ground approaching the road beyond Little Massingham Belt on the road from Lynn to Great Massingham. . . . It is quite possible that the inhabitants of this village were the same men who chipped the flints they had previously mined from the before-mentioned shafts. At present (1891) the traces of the village are plain enough; but there may come a time when the plough of the agriculturist in one short day will obliterate this interesting relic of the past. [*Transactions of Norfolk and Norwich Naturalist Society*, Vol. V., p. 264.]

Sincerely do we reiterate the writer's concluding words: "May this day be long distant!"

CHAPTER II.

The Camp of Peace.

ON the eastern side of the Lin—"a flat malarious world of reed and rush"—were two promontories (Gaywood and Runcton), which jutted out into a marshy expanse, and which were at one time higher than they are at present. A deposit of silt gradually encroaching between these natural jetties would in time cover the peaty surface of the fenland so that the part most distant from the sea would cease to be flooded, unless perhaps when there chanced to be an exceptionally high tide. Hence nothing is more natural than to suppose the inhabitants reared from time to time a series of banks between these promontories in order to protect the land that the tidal deposits had formed. The survival of certain inland place-names proves that the position of the coast-line was once further west than is now the case. *Holland*, a part of Lincolnshire adjacent to our Marshland, refers to a *low-lying country*, if we may trust the Teutonic origin of the name;

Shrew's Ness Point appears several miles away from the waters of the Wash; and ancient salt-pans, which were always near the sea-shore, have been found much further inland than *Salters' Lode*.

That this part of our island swarmed with inhabitants at a very remote period there can be but small doubt. The numerous tumuli or barrows still existing, or destroyed within memory—the sites of ancient dwellings incompatible with aught but savage existence—of which Grimes' Graves near Weeting, the immense range of pits extending nearly five miles along the north-east coast of Weybourn, Beeston, Aylmerton and other places, and the hollows still to be found on Marsham Heath, are important examples. Numerous earthworks, too, of a boldness and extent to render them objects of admiration to this day, and of some of which the Roman did not disdain to avail himself and to incorporate with his own stupendous works, attest the power and resources of the tribes located in this district. [*Norfolk Archaeology*.]

EARLY INHABITANTS.

Of the "Newer Stone Folk," the Iberians—Silurians, or Euskarians, as they are also called—inhabited this part of the globe. They were a non-Aryan race, short and thick in stature, with *long* skulls, dark hair, and swarthy complexions. That they greatly resembled the Basques there can be no doubt; and the remark made by Cæsar that Silures had their hair "coloured and curled like the old people of Spain" has led to the conclusion that they were of the self-same race. These aborigines were incapable of attaining any high intellectual development, nevertheless they were in a measure civilised. Their mode of life is unknown, but the *long* barrows found in various parts of the country are ascribed to them, and clearly establish the fact that their weapons were of stone, and that they were ignorant of metals.

After an indefinite period the Iberians were invaded—perhaps repeatedly invaded—by hordes of Aryans, whom we denominate Celts, but whom the Romans termed Cimmerii and Cimbri. The time of their coming is unascertainable, and hence beyond the very limited bounds of our historical knowledge. The Celtic settlers were the so-called "Advanced Stone Folk." Their skulls were *round*, and their hair fair; they burned their dead, and over the rude urns in which they placed the ashes of their cremated friends they raised *round* barrows.* From an examination of many of these barrows, or tumuli, it has been found that the Celts used not only weapons in stone but others which were wrought in bronze. Neatly carved ornaments in amber, jet and fossil have also been discovered. Moreover, they employed a wheel in fashioning their earthen vessels; they used gold in uniting their trinkets; and scattered slag proves indisputably that they were conversant with the art of smelting iron.

The clever prehistoric colonisers, from whom the earlier dwellers in this country learnt so much, came apparently in separate relays, for there seems to have been no homogeneity amongst them. The three tribes which settled in the eastern part of the country are familiar to

* Barrow (A.S. *beorg*—from *beorgan*, to protect or shelter, also to fortify): An artificial mound of stones or earth piled up over the remains of the dead. Burials in barrows were practised as late as the 8th century. One of the finest barrows in the world is Silbury Hill, near Marlborough, Wiltshire. It is 170 feet in perpendicular height, 316 feet along the slope, and it covers about five acres of ground.

us under their Latinised names : the Coritani, who occupied Lincolnshire and the eastern midlands ; the Trinobantes, the district north of the Thames ; and the Iceni—those with whom we are most interested—were in possession of what was subsequently known as East Anglia, which included Norfolk, Suffolk, Huntingdonshire and Cambridge-shire. Of this territory Norfolk and Suffolk were fairly habitable, whilst the other portions of the district to a great extent were extremely marshy and malarious. As few Roman stations have been found in Suffolk, it is highly probable that the county of Norfolk was the centre of their prosperity and the arena where their power was displayed.

A few miles from Lynn, in the Marshland division of the “ Free-bridge Hundred,” we meet with what is termed

“ THE ROMAN BANK.”

Eleven million tons of material, as is computed, were absorbed in the construction of this remarkable rampart. Its circuit, which originally measured 150 miles, embraced seven important townships, namely : Emneth, Walsoken, Walton, Walpole, Terrington, Tilney and Clenchwarton. As members of the colony, each town had a right to share in the luxuriant pasturage which abounded on the Smeeth,* to which “ droves ” from the different townships converged, and all in return were expected, or it may be by certain laws compelled, to co-operate in keeping the sea-wall, by which those “ within the Marshland ring ” were protected, in efficient repair. This was the ancient Freebridge, which appears in the Domesday Book as *Frede bruge* and *Fredre burge*, the derivation of which must now claim attention.

(1) BRIDGE :—The Anglo-Saxon *burh*, *burg* (a camp, a settlement a town and subsequently a *borough*), is derived from a base with the same gradation as *burg-on*, the past tense plural of *beorg-an*, to protect ; *burg* lapses in the oblique cases into *beorg*, an earth-work. How reasonably then might (Free-) *burg* have been applied to a colony of settlers surrounded by the “ Roman bank.”

Moreover, *burh* in the plural becomes by mutation *byrig* or *byrigg*, and the double *g* is written *cg* in Anglo-Saxon, *gg* (or *gge*) in middle English (1100—1500), and *dge* in modern English, in nearly all cases, the sound being changed from that of the “ hard ” *g* to that of *j*. Hence, in tracing the word “ bridge ” to *burh* (a camp, or earth-work), we have the Anglo-Saxon *brycg* (byrigg), the middle English *brigge* (byrigg), and the modern English *bridge* (byridge), the *g* being pronounced like a *j*. “ The breakdown of the *g* into the sound of *j* is really due to the frequent use of the oblique cases of the substantives in which a final *e* followed the *cg*, as in the Anglo-Saxon *brycg-e*, the genitive, dative and accusative of *brycg* ; hence the middle English took the form of *brigg-e* instead of *brigg* or *brig*.” It will be remembered that in the north of England *brig* is still used, and it contrasts strikingly with “ the southern palatalised form *bridge*.” [Skeat's *Principles of English Etymology*, 1887.]

* Smeeth ; Anglo-Saxon *smæth*, plane, smooth. “ Tylney Smeeth. So called of a smooth plaine or common thereunto adioyning some two miles in extensure.” (Weever's *Antient Funerall Monuments*, 1767.) Smithfield in London is a familiar example of this form of designation. Fridaybridge, Elm : *frede bruge* Freebridge ; or *freda byrigg* (15th century), *frede dieg* (byrigg), “ the day of peace ” : hence a memorial earthwork

(2) **FREE**:—This syllable is derived from the Anglo-Saxon adjective *fréo*, *frio*; Gothic *frei-s* (stem *fri-ja*), which originally meant “at liberty,” “acting at pleasure,” “free,” “peaceful”; and it is allied to the Sanskrit *pri-ya*, beloved, agreeable, from Aryan *pri*, to love. *Frede*, the genitive case of *fréo*, means “of peace.”* (Skeat and Taylor.)

(3) **FREEBRIDGE** therefore signifies a settlement protected by an earth-work—a camp of peace; and the lands not subject to the jurisdiction of a lord claiming *sac* or *soc* were termed “free.” West Briggs, a depopulated village contiguous with the parishes of Tottenhill and Wormegay, was entered in the Conqueror’s survey as *Wes-bruge*. Carefully notice the derivation of the syllable *-bridge* (Free-bridge), as reference must be made to the root (*beorg*) in another place.

Now the all-wise Odin, we are told, enacted a law that the bodies of the dead should be burned, with whatever goods they possessed; he moreover ordained that over the ashes, heaps of earth should be raised for an everlasting memorial, and that high staves inscribed with Runic characters should mark the graves of such as had during their lives performed exceptional deeds of valour. The staves, it is true, have disappeared, but the mounds of earth heaped up so many centuries ago remain. Many mounds are still to be seen in the “Free-bridge,” and what strikes the observer as somewhat strange is the fact that by far the greater number are near the “Roman Bank.” They actually follow its winding course. Without being too venturesome, we think it might be safely affirmed that a people who were capable of constructing a system of roads, who threw up fortifications Cæsar was constrained to admire, who raised high mounds over the funereal piles of their heroes, would, being prompted by the first law of nature, strive to protect themselves against the depredations of an insidious enemy like the sea. Some writers contend that the so-called “Ancient Briton” acquired his knowledge of embanking from the Belgic Gauls, who in turn derived this necessary art from the Greeks who visited the west of Europe. Be this as it may, the British Celts were unquestionably a mixed race long before the Roman invasion. “There cannot be the least doubt that an active communication was maintained throughout the Celtic nation on different sides of the channel.”—[Kemble’s *Saxons in England*, 1876.]

For three reasons the bank encircling the “Camp of Peace” may be regarded as of pre-Roman origin:—First, because our early progenitors were skilled in the construction of earth-works; secondly, because in some places older embankments intersect what are undoubtedly Roman; and thirdly, because the Celtic Britons undoubtedly raised mounds to mark where the ashes of their dead were deposited. Besides, these mounds abound in Marshland, and they are, with one solitary exception, at no great distance from the “Bank.” The remains of enormous earthworks, not only in West Norfolk, but in various parts of the kingdom, seem to point to the existence of a great national system of embankment at one time or other.

* A special seat near the altar for those claiming sanctuary was called the *freed-stool* or “seat of peace.”

Whether the Romans landed on the shores of Norfolk, or on the south-east coast of England, must be left for future consideration, but "the fame of the Latin arms seems early to have penetrated into the land of the Icenî, whose chieftain allied himself with the new comers." (Mason.) Let us for a while accept the theory that Cæsar and his legions landed on the coast of Kent. Once having gained a footing in Britain, the invaders would turn their attention almost at once to the Freebridge part of the great Fenland, because, as an ancient stronghold or camp of refuge, it would be conspicuous in offering resistance to their advance, and besides, from an early date this district was renowned for its amazing fertility.

In all likelihood the conquerors either improved or finished the "walls" or sea-banks already in existence, so that any land occasionally subject to inundation might be adequately protected. That they pursued this course is evident, because Tacitus, the celebrated Roman historian (A.D. 60-120), informs us in his *Vita Agricola*—the life of his father-in-law Agricola, that the Romans employed the subjugated Britons "*in sylvis paludibus emuniendis*," that is, in clearing the woods and draining the marshes.

THE SUBJUGATION OF THE ICENÎ,

the tribe at this period inhabiting the Lin and other parts of Norfolk, was brought about in the reign of the Emperor Claudius by his general Aulus Plautius (A.D. 43); hence the Fenland was one of the first acquisitions in Britain gained by the Roman invaders. The friendship, however, between the Romans and the Icenian inhabitants was unfortunately of short duration. This was owing not so much to changes in the policy pursued by the new comers, as to the overbearing insolence and unwarranted exactions of those deputed to carry it out. Such cruel oppression, which was peculiarly unjust and wholly unpardonable, at last goaded the tribe into open rebellion. This outburst of indignation was the prelude of a general rising, which for a time seriously endangered the Roman supremacy. Catus Decianus, the brutal persecutor of Boadicea, "the British warrior queen," and her heroic daughters, had been appointed procurator over the province peopled by our courageous forbears. He is regarded as the first procurator, and his rule embraced Norfolk, Suffolk, the greater part of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire, and perhaps extended into Lincolnshire.

Under the supervision of Catus Decianus the embanking of the Fenland marshes was more thoroughly accomplished. To facilitate the accomplishment of this tremendous undertaking, he introduced a colony of Belgæ, a people singularly fitted, from practical knowledge of the nature of their own country, for such work. The improvements thus begun are supposed to have been finished by Severus, one hundred and fifty years afterwards.

Of the origin and early history of the

SETTLEMENT IN THE LIN

to the east of the "Camp of Peace" (Freebridge) very little is known. Tradition is silent, and the pages of history are obscured by the

shadow of barely-mentioned centuries. In this respect the old burg upon the Lin, insignificant though it might be, stands by no means alone. Cities of incomparable importance, such as Paris, Rome and our own stupendous metropolis, have submitted to a like fate. Referring to London, the late Sir Walter Besant observes :—

When a little later we are able to read contemporary history, we find not a single custom or law due to the survival of British customs. We find the courses of the old streets entirely changed, the very memory of the old streets swept away, not a single site left of any ancient building. Everything is clean gone ; not a voice, not a legend, not a story, not a superstition remains of that stately Augusta. It is entirely vanished, leaving nothing behind but—a wall ! You may see (he goes on) at the Gild Hall nearly everything that remains of Roman London. But there is absolutely nothing to illustrate Saxon Augusta. The city, which grew up over deserted Augusta and flourished for four hundred years, has entirely disappeared. Nothing is left of it at all !

And what in sooth remains of old, historic Lynn—of British, Roman, Saxon, Danish Lynn ? The spade of the unthinking agriculturist has levelled its earth-works, and the impartial hands of remorseless Time have crushed its strong-built walls and scattered the fragments to the winds. Long centuries of its history are unrecorded, and its origin is preserved in a name, over whose derivation philologists disagree.

Tradition would have us believe that Rising was a place of supreme importance before Lynn sprang into existence. According to the old doggerel—

Rising was a sea-port town,
When Lynn was but a marsh ;
Now Lynn it is a sea-port town
And Rising fares the worse.

This statement merits as much credence as the rhyme relating to Downham—

Rising was, Lynn is, and Downham shall be
The greatest sea-port of the three.

For our “ ancient borough ” we claim no great antiquity. Notwithstanding, a Roman station was probably reared here (as at Rising, Oxborough, Wisbech, etc.), either near or upon the site of a British settlement. In the time of Ptolemy, some forty years after Agricola’s conquest, there were as many as fifty-six cities which could scarcely be looked upon as wholly Roman in their construction ; and Cæsar states that there were numerous buildings in Britain not unlike those in Gaul.

LYNN—A PLACE-NAME.

In ancient documents the student meets with *Lenn* and *Lenne* ; in the deeds of the priory at Lewes, in Sussex, founded by William de Warren, the spelling is *Lunea* ; whilst in the Domesday Survey (1080-6) the word appears as *Lena* and *Lun*. When history is silent, it may be advantageous to glean information even from a name. At the outset, however, let it be clearly understood that this word, in its varying guises, always refers to a distinct part of the Fenland ; that our town does not figure in the Domesday book ; and, finally, that North, West, and South Lenne are not mentioned until centuries afterwards.

(1) Camden suggests that Lenne is derived from the British noun *Lhyn*, a word denoting a pool, or "waters broad-spreading." He points out that the river Nar, which flows close to our town, was at one time called the "Linn river," and he suggests that the Romans, who, perhaps, settled along its banks, might (from some resemblance, though not now apparent), have named it after a stream in Italy, mentioned by Virgil in his *Æneid* (vii. 517)—*Sulfurea Nar, albus aqua*. As the adjacent town was called "Linn," it is right to inquire whether the town was named from the river, or the river from the town. The Nar, however, is not a canal, but a natural water-course; hence the probability is in favour of the settlement deriving its name from the stream which flowed into a marshy *lin*. "The Anglo-Saxons," writes Mr. Henry Bradley, M.A., sometime President of the Philological Society, "carefully preserved the ancient British names of rivers and streams. In this respect their practice agreed with that of the Romans, and they still further resembled them in the frequent habit of calling inhabited places from the rivers on which they stood."

(2) Spelman contends that *Len* (*Lenne*) is not a corruption of *Lyn* (*Lhyn*), but that it is the Anglo-Saxon word for "farm."

Subsequent writers, whose views we purpose giving, have contented themselves with adopting one or other of these theories.

Leland in his *Itinerary*, Seldon in his notes on Drayton's *Polyolbion*, and Dr. Isaac Taylor in *Names and Places*, adhere to the etymology proposed by Camden. So also does Mr. John J. Coulton, who looks upon *Lyn* as another form of *Len*, and who, in support thereof, says "*Len*-wade in Norfolk is the water-wade or ford, equivalent to *Lyn*-ford in Norfolk and *Water*-ford in Ireland. . . *Len*-dale in Yorkshire," he adds, "is a low-lying street next the Ouse; *Len*-ton (Notts.) and *Len*-ham (Kent) are water-town and water-home; and *Len*-nox in Scotland is a double water name—*len* and *ox*, *usk* or *ouse*."

In *Hereward the Wake*, Charles Kingsley speaks of "the nixies in the dark *linns*" of the English Fenland; and the late William Taylor reminds his readers that deep pools or *linns* have given names not merely to King's *Lynn*, but also to *Lin*-coln, *Dub*-lin, *Glas*-lin, *Lin*-lithgow, *Lin*-ton, *Kil*-lin and *Ros*-lin. There is besides in Scotland *Loch Linnhe*, and in Wales *Lhyn* Gavathan, which means, according to Giraldus Cambrensis, the great lake. In Switzerland may be found a *Lyn*, in Sweden a *Lina* river and *Lund* a town, and in Denmark *Lunden*, etc.

The Rev. George Munford, who wrote an able book on *Local Names in Norfolk* (1870), believed Spelman to be right; he contends that *Lenne* Episcopi, as the town was termed long after the compilation of the Survey, meant the Bishop's Farm or Fee, but upon the exchange between Henry VIII. and Nykke, Bishop of Norwich, it came to be called King's *Lynn*, or Farm, and so it continues. In Anglo-Saxon *lan*, *len*, he pointed out, was a lease; hence *lan*-land means leasehold land, implying probably that some portion, if not the whole, of our borough was once held on lease from the king or the lord of the

hundred. In the Anglo-Saxon *lih-an*, to lend, the *-n* is a suffix and the *h* is dropped; *li-n*, pronounced "leen." [Skeat.]

Mr. Walter Rye was at one time in favour of Sir Henry Spelman's derivation; he now, however, considers "Lynn" to be a transplanted rather than an aboriginal place-name, because in old documents it was generally spelt *Lin*, and he finds places in Denmark with the same name. In his "*History of Norfolk*" (1893) there occurs the following passage:—

The people of whose existence we have the first tangible and undoubted proof in our country are to my mind the DANES, whose first, and I think, hitherto unsuspected invasion, I hope to shew was *before* that of the Romans, and not after those of the Romans and Saxons.

In demonstrating this proposition, he points out how six of the hundreds in this county are identical in name with Danish villages, that five more are obviously Danish, and that of 256 places principally in the north-east of Norfolk, seventy-eight are wholly, and fifty-three in part, identical with places now in Denmark, and 125 are by their prefixes or affixes Danish. Narborough is represented by Knarreborg, Marshland by Marslund, Castle Rising and Wood Rising by Risinge, and Lynn by Luen (a farm).

CHAPTER III.

The Burg in the Lin.

At a comparatively recent date the land upon which our town stands was covered with water, and the sea surged up the depression between the higher grounds at Gaywood and Runcton. As the new accumulations of silt peeped from beneath the surface of the water, our industrious predecessors raised long embankments from one headland to the other—every succeeding earth-work being near the ever-retreating seaboard.

The dwellers within "the Marshland ring," a few miles west of the growing elevation in the Lin, enjoyed the privilege of grazing their herds on an extensive piece of land set aside for that purpose; for this mutual concession all were expected to assist the commonweal by helping to keep the encircling bank in repair, so that not only they themselves, but their neighbours in the adjacent places, and the wealth of the community as a whole, might be protected against the overpowering inroads of the sea. The importance of this bank, or "wall," as these earth ramparts were generally called, may be better estimated when it is pointed out how the syllable enters into the composition of three at least of the names applied to the seven townships, namely, *Wal*-soken, *Wal*-ton, and *Wal*-pole. This word appears in the old Mercian dialect (A. Sax. *weall*), and is merely the Latin *uall-um*, a rampart, borrowed at an early period when the Latin *u* was still *w*. "It must be remembered," writes Professor Skeat, "that many Latin words were already familiar to most of the Teutonic tribes soon after

the Christian era ; so that the English invaders not only learnt some Latin words from the Britons, but had brought others with them. Such words also clearly belong to the Latin of the First Period, but it is not easy to say precisely what they were." This remark applies to two other words—*street* and *port*, to which future reference must be made.

The prevailing principle in the Fenland "Camp of Peace," against whose encircling "wall" the threatening waters beat in vain, was unquestionably, "Each for all, and all for each." The prosperity of the colony was due to the coöperative energy of every inhabitant. The settlement in the Lin, though a much smaller one, was, we are inclined to think, maintained by the exercise of the same principle. Winding its way through the broad alluvial delta there was a tempting stream of fresh water, which could perhaps be diverted in order to form a moat or defence on more sides than one. Two nearly parallel banks were probably raised, about 300 yards apart ; the southern along the right bank of the Mill river, and the northern along the left bank of the Purfleet. Although these streams have both disappeared, yet their names happily survive. Each ran in a seaward direction, and helped to enclose what may be likened to a somewhat irregular parallelogram—the four sides of which may be briefly considered. In this speculation we must be guided by the general contour of the district, and the meaning of the ancient place-names.

The east, and possibly the oldest bank,—

(1) THE GANNOCK

can easily be traced along "the Walks" and past the Red Mount ; it stretches between what we term the Mill fleet, and a point up to which the Purfleet flowed until recently. The Gannock—a name by which it was designated many centuries ago, is perpetuated in our present Guanock terrace, which is a strangely unaccountable disguise. Before proceeding further it is imperative that attention be directed to this old name. The process may be tedious and perplexing, but this is the only course to pursue when documentary evidence fails.

In the early part of the fourteenth century, Peter Langtoft, an Austin friar, composed in French verse a chronicle of the Danish invasion. A translation was published by Thomas Hearne, an eminent antiquary (1725). When describing the war in the time of King Stephen, the author in Hearne's *Robert of Brunne*, otherwise Langtoft's *Chronicle*, says :—

Stephen stoutly deals in slides and kennes,
That agayne him hold kastells, over them ruthely reigns,
In Hertford full stoutly his *gannock* hath up set
With Robert Fitz Henry, Stephen so with him met.

Commenting on this passage, the late Mr. Henry Harrod, F.S.A., in his *Report on the Deeds and Records of King's Lynn*, observes :—
"Here *gannock* is evidently the king's standard, and it may be that the 'Gannock Hill' (at Lynn) was the chief point of the early town defences, where the standard was up set."

Mr. Henry Bradley, M.A., of philological renown, shews in the *Modern Language Quarterly* (July, 1898) that *gannock* is a remarkable error for *Talbot*, a man's name. He first points out that the Latin original reads thus :—

Quidam namque proditorum, nomine
Talbot tenuit contra regem castellum
Herefordiæ in Wales.

in other words—"For a certain man of the traitors, *Talbot* by name, held the castle of Hereford in Wales against the King." Mistaking the meaning, Langtoft gives this absurd rendering :—

"à Hertford in Wales le *galbot* est assis,"

that is : "At Hertford in Wales (?) the *galbot* is placed ;" and Robert of Brunne, further mistaking *lb* for *w*—an excusable error it must be admitted—wrote *gauuot*, that is, *uu* for "double u" *w* ; which in being subsequently transcribed appeared as *gannoc*. Every change in this transformation, it will be seen, was easy from the likeness of the letters. The process, however, changed *Talbot* the traitor into an impossible *gannoc*, and led Mr. Harrod to fix the position of the standard upon our *Gannock Hill*.

A subsequent writer, however, clinches the matter with these words :—"The derivation of Guanock is now settled, *Gua* is of the same origin as war, and *knock* is the British for hill." It may notwithstanding be pointed out that the word with which we are concerned is Gannock or Ganock, and not its fanciful modern representative "Guanock"—a word which retains the old pronunciation, *gua*, as in "guard," rather than *gua* in "guano." How and by whom was this peculiar derivation settled? *Knock* is by no means British. There is indeed an Irish and Gaelic *cnoc*, a knoll or hill, but that is not "British" ; and the Irish and Gaels, we are told, never inhabited East Anglia, any more than the Chinese or the Maoris. Mr. James H. Murray, LL.D., D.C.L., the editor of the *Oxford Dictionary*, considers "Gannock" to be "like a thousand other names, an ultimate fact, beyond which for want of evidence we cannot go" ; and the late Canon Taylor, the erudite author of *Words and Places*, etc., ventures reluctantly to give a guess, acknowledging that it may "probably be valueless." The last syllable he admits might be another form of the Celtic *cnoc* or *knwc*, which seems, like *dun* and *combe*, to have become an English loan-word, as is indicated by *Knockholt* in Kent. "The first syllable," he continues, "might be from *gan* (Anglo-Saxon *gang-an*) to go—often used of Rogation Days ; the whole meaning Pilgrimage Hill or Perambulation Mound."

This seems more reasonable than the war-hill theory. Spelman, tracing this custom to ancient times, considers it to be an imitation of the feast called Terminalia, which the Romans dedicated to the god Terminus. The custom was annually observed in February, when the peasants crowned the Termini or landmarks with garlands, offered libations of milk and wine, and sacrificed young lambs and pigs. The perambulation of the line marking the boundary of the liberties of the settlement in the Lin was in after years along the Gannock bank, past

the Gannock hill (Red Mount),* and on towards the Purfleet. The bridge which spanned the ancient mill leat was perhaps the first erected near the burg or burh. In later times disputes between the bishop and the town-folk respecting its repair were common occurrences. "As it was in the course of the Perambulation way, by which the bounds were yearly walked on Ascension Day, the Lord of the Town was considered to be the person to repair it." (Harrod.)

(2) THE BRIGGATE.

Nearer the sea, and at the same time almost parallel with the Gannock, was the *byrig* or earth-work, which formed the second side or western boundary of the parallelogram. With the growth of the town this earth-work no doubt gradually disappeared, but the old name was retained on maps as late as the 18th century. Brigg, as has already been explained, is derived from the same root as *Free-bridge*, and is very closely related to the Celtic synonym *briga*. *Byrig-gate* became *Brig-gate*, which means the road along the rampart or earth-work—as will be obvious after reading the following paragraph. The position of this embankment, skirting the foreshore, corresponded with our *High* street, a name in itself somewhat suggestive.

(3) THE STONEGATE.

To prevent occasional inundations from the two tidal streams forming the northern and southern sides of the parallelogram, high banks were absolutely necessary. It was no unusual practice to make paths of wood, sand and gravel, along the banks of rivers, and, though rude in construction, they constituted capital means of communication, especially during the wet winter months. These, in turn, the Romans would pave, converting the uneven roads on the upraised banks beside the streams into *strata*—Virgil's *viarum strata* or causeways. Our word *street* (Mercian dialect *strét*), is an English form of the Latin *strata uia* (u=w, *wia*), a paved way; *strata* being the feminine of the present participle of the Latin verb *sternere*, to spread, to lay down, or to pave a road. (Skeat.)

Along the right bank of the mill leat was the high earth-work or dyke first perhaps termed the Mill-byrig, next the Stone-byrig (or "Stone-brigg," as in the Chamberlains' accounts, 1371), and then the Stone-street. In place-names the syllable *stone* is said to be an infallible sign of Roman occupancy. We have, however, at the present neither Mill-byrig nor Stone-street, but we are familiar with the word "Stone-gate,"—the name of one of our ancient borough wards. Now the Danes and Scandinavians, who in later times sought an abiding-place in this neighbourhood, would naturally call the old river roadway Stone-gate rather than Stone-street, because *gate* in their own language meant a road or way (Danish *gata*; Anglo-Saxon *geat*). This remark applies to *Brig-gate*, *Dam-gate*, and possibly to *High-gate*.

* In a grant from Archbishop Eadsi to St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury (1044-6), five acres of land are said to be "*butan reada gatan*," that is, "outside the Red Gate or Road-way." May not our Red Mount be a variant of Road Mount—our Lady's Mount beside the Walsingham Way? (See *Catalogue of the Stowe MSS., King's Library, British Museum, 1883*.)

The left banks of the Mill fleet and "the Walks rivulet" are noticeably lower than the opposite banks.

During the recent excavations in connection with our sewerage works, a cobble-paved track was found (1900-1). It was traced from the corner of Union Street, along All Saints Street to the west, and then in a northerly direction through Bridge Street and Church Street, as far as the corner of Priory Lane. Small cobbles of the "petrified kidney" sort had been used in All Saints Street, whilst much larger ones were employed in Bridge Street and Church Street. The annexed table will serve the purpose of a diagram:—

Course of the old track.	Surface above Sea-level.	
	Present streets.	Old track.
All Saints street,		
Union street corner ...	18 feet.	12 feet.
Bridge street corner ...	18 "	9 "
Bridge street,		
Crooked lane corner ...	21½ "	12½ "
Boal street... ..	17½ "	7½ "
Near Lady bridge ...	18 "	7 "

The ancient track was met at a deeper and deeper level as the Mill Fleet was approached, until it was lost altogether on the south side at a depth of 13½ feet. It was, however, found again on the other side:—

Church street		
Nelson street corner ...	18 feet.	8 feet.
Priory lane corner ...	18½ "	15½ "

The depth of the old track beneath the present streets may be found by subtracting the figures in the *second* column from those in the *first*. For example, the old track is 3 feet below the surface at the corner of Priory lane, and 11 feet near the Lady Bridge.

This ancient road was at one period the south entrance to the town; crossing the low-lying ground in South Lynn, it led to the ford at the Mill leat, and from thence to the old earth-work, thrown up along the inner bank of the stream, forming another side of the parallelogram. Where the tide was strong and the traffic great, larger stones were wisely selected by these long-forgotten paviors. It may be urged that, the crest of the earth-work being at the corner of Priory Lane, the embankment could hardly be said to follow the course of the stream. But where were its confines so many years ago? It was evidently much broader, for the soil thrown out in Nelson Street denoted an estuary. Arms of trees cut in lengths were found driven into the ground; quantities of small unbroken oyster-shell were also embedded in the earth. There can, however, be no doubt about the old Stonegate following the course of the stream, which possibly turned a little to the north, that is, in a line with Church Street (which was once very properly termed the Stonegate), before it finally emptied its waters.

The stone track, along the right bank of the Mill leat, might be expected to converge into the cobbled path at no great distance from the crest of the earth-work; if so, the excavators must come across

vestiges of the Stonegate in Tower place; and this they did, about forty paces from the point where a wooden and afterwards an "iron bridge" once spanned the Mill fleet. By referring to a survey of the borough, an imaginary line joining these points will run in a straight line with "the Walks."

(4) THE PURFLEET

had also an inner bank which was higher than the normal level. A culvert now conveys the water of the Purfleet branch of the Gaywood river beneath St. John's Churchyard. Although the bank has been cut away and the earth spread upon the adjacent field, sufficient has been left to establish our contention. To preserve five trees the earth enclosing their roots has been left, and if the bank be examined it will be seen to be about the same height as the Gannock, which joins it at the north-eastern angle.

After selecting *purprestura* from Ducange and diligently comparing it with *Purfleet*, Mr. Beloe was inclined, when writing in 1883, to regard "Purfleet" as meaning in an etymological sense "the boundary fleet"; subsequently he writes: "We have a distinct name in Purfleet. It is the *porta fleta*. Thus Purfleet being the *port fleet* is clearly settled. There is on the north bank of the Thames in Essex a Purfleet, and the charters of the middle ages call it *porta fleta*." At a still later period *portæ fleta*, "the fleet of the port" (which may, notwithstanding, mean the fleet of the gate, mouth, or entrance), and finally "in Latin *portus fleta*, the fleet of the port."

Great diversity of opinion exists relative to the adoption of the Latin *port* (which may be either *port-us*, a haven or harbour, or *port-a*, a gate or market), as an English word, in *port*, *port-reeve*, *port-moot*, etc. Skeat includes *port* with words belonging to the Latin of the First Period, and derives it from *port-us*, a harbour. Avoiding this debatable subject we must content ourselves by stating that whenever a market was held in one of the old burghs the burg itself was spoken of as a *port*; hence this syllable, when forming a part of an inland place-name, refers not to a port in its modern signification, but to an ancient market. (Stockport, Langport, Newport, Littleport, etc.)*

Granted that the Purfleet was our principal stream; but how does that settle the derivation? By what means does *port* become *pur*?

The corruption of language (Mr. Henry Bradley affirms), which seems so lawless and arbitrary, is really regulated by very definite though complicated laws, and no phonetic change must ever be assumed which is not in accordance with strict rule and precedent. . . . Etymological conjecture based only on the modern form of names is a mere waste of ingenuity. Such guesses will hardly prove correct in one instance out of four, even when they are attempted by thoroughly qualified scholars.

The last syllable, *fleet*, which Forby includes in his *Vocabulary of East Anglia* (1830), means a shallow tidal channel, and *pur*, according to Canon Taylor, refers to gulls or sea-birds, and the whole word, as he with commendable hesitancy suggests, may mean "the tern fleet—the habitat of aquatic birds." The old spelling "Pufflet" (*circa*

* Compare Maitland's *Domesday Book and Beyond* (1897), pp. 195-6, with Stubbs' *Constitutional History of England* (1887), Vol. I, p. 439.

1350) he considers a corruption of the original "Purfleet," pointing out the fact that r might change into f, but that f could never change into r. Be it, however, remembered that the speculation of a learned authority does not by any means "settle" the point at issue.

In an interesting article, entitled

"MOATED MOUNDS,"

which appeared in *The Builder* (March 13, 1875), the remains of the earth-works at Cambridge, Towcester, Tempsford, Toternhoe and Caerleon are minutely described. A careful perusal will reveal certain points of resemblance:—

- (1) They are situated at no great distance from a fresh-water river; an artificial loop of the main stream being used as a mill leat;
- (2) They are near one of the ancient tracks or roadways; and
- (3) Each of them possesses a circular mound.

Making special reference to Tempsford and Toternhoe, the writer observes: "Among the earth-works in the valley of the Ouse within the three adjacent counties of Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire, are two, which, though in many respects different, have one peculiarity in common—the combination of the circular mound with a rectangular *enceinte*."

The burg on the foreshore of the Lin was near a fresh-water stream, which was diverted to form not only a moat on the east and north, but, moreover, a mill leat on the south, which drove the Town Mill until a recent date. The "Water Mill" appears on Rastrick's plan (1725), and was in a line with St. James' Workhouse. Parts of the oak frame (22 in. by 20 in. by 9 ft. and 16 in. by 16 in. by 5 ft.), in which the overshot wheel worked, were discovered during the sewerage undertaking (1901). A track or beaten path ran no doubt from Wisbech, along the edge of the Lin, and on to the other camp at Rising, passing *en route* an ancient fortress—a circular mound of earth. There are, moreover, one or two other particulars in which the camp in the Lin resembled that at Tempsford. The earth-works were both rectangular, and although the burg at Tempsford was at one period certainly occupied by the Danes, the writer maintains the work was of an earlier date, because the Danish earth-works were never rectangular. Tempsford is situated about 400 yards from Tempsford mill, upon the right bank of the Ivel. The Lin parallelogram is not protected by a mound in the middle, but by one on the outer side of the eastern bank, which was called the "Gannock." Within the north-east angle of the Tempsford encampment there is also a raised mound or earth-work, which, strange to say, is known as "Gannock's Castle." There are no signs whatever of masonry, but the word "castle" was very commonly applied to spots where no such buildings ever stood, as, for example, the "Castle hills" at Northallerton. Doubtless the Romans constructed a *castellum exploratorium*, or watch-tower, at each of these places, from whence they might look out and observe the approach of any hostile tribe.*

* In Norwich the Gannock Close is on the opposite side of the river to the watergate of the Cathedral Close.

OLD LIN AND NEW LIN.

There is reason, then, for believing that the early settlement in the dreary Lin, traces of which still survive, was, like the Freebridge "Camp of Peace," of pre-Roman origin. The Celts were fond of choosing long, sloping declivities, inaccessible by foot at high water, on which to raise their habitations. Lincoln, a Roman *colonia*, was established upon such a site,—a piece of land jutting into the Swans' Lin, a marshy expanse with many islets. Not far off another *colonia* was (it may be supposed) founded in a similar *lin*, of which King's Lynn is the present representative. As a rule the Romans completed or improved what was already begun; they reared their *coloniæ* and *municipiæ* near or upon the then existing *oppida* of the conquered Britons rather than upon distinctly fresh sites. The Romans were guided in the construction of their camps, first by the existing earthworks, if there were any, and secondly, by the natural contour of the ground. Their camps were square, triangular, or round, but the most approved was the oblong camp, with its length at least one-third greater than its breadth. The parallelogram already described would fulfil these conditions—the computed measurements being 680 by 300 yards. Lin may, as Camden asserts, have arisen out of the ruins of a far earlier settlement,—perchance, for aught that is known to the contrary, that of "Old" Lin on the other side of the haven. Prior to the Saxon Heptarchy no mention is made of Lin, yet the village of West Lynn "across the water" has borne the cognomen of *Old* Lynn, ever since its perhaps more modern rival—*New* Lynn, as it was once styled, sprung into existence. If there ever were two distinct settlements they were at one period certainly not far apart. A few lines from Ben Adam's poem (fifteenth century), as given in the *Norfolk Tour* (1829), may in a measure strengthen what must appear somewhat traditional:—

That auntient place
Old Lyn now called, 'twas populous, but now
Only few houses, what it was once to show.
This was the towne called Lyn, long time before
This corporate towne was built, or name it bore.

As invaders the Romans were unwelcome, notwithstanding they brought with them the blessings of civilization. To all intents and purposes they were

FRIENDS IN DISGUISE,

for the triumph of the arts they introduced quite eclipsed the conquest brought about by force of arms. An ample atonement crowned the sacrifice the Britons made. Throughout the length and breadth of our land are scattered astonishing relics of their marvellous genius. The Romans were indeed a wonderful people, and their advent in Britain quite changed the aspect of the whole country. The rude mud cabins of the almost wild aborigines gave place to pretentious and comfortable dwellings of brick or stone; and well-built towns rose here and there, as if created by some occult power.

Terrible trouble at home, alas, compelled the Romans to turn their backs on Britain, and thus were the helpless natives forced to

ask assistance of the Saxons,—a lawless, piratical Germanic race, to drive back the intrusive Picts and Scots. This was the commencement of a lengthy reign of terror and anarchy. Cities and towns vanished as quickly as they had appeared; whilst murder and rapine rode roughshod through the kingdom.

That the burg in the Lin in its Romanized state was included in this general devastation seems highly probable, although history is silent respecting it. A resuscitation of the old town on the *eastern* side of the narrow haven might have occurred when the Saxon dynasty ended.

CHAPTER IV.

The Gleaming Dawn.

THERE is evidence, abundant and conclusive, that in the *early* part of the Christian era the Church of Christ was planted in Britain. Without reiterating the convincing arguments adduced by Bishops Stillingfleet and Burgess, and other learned authorities, the above statement shall be accepted, and we will at once proceed to shew how probable it is that Norfolk was the scene of the introduction of Christianity into this country.

First, let us consider our local traditions.

Among the rural inhabitants of West Norfolk, traditions based upon Druidism, Roman mythology, and the Christian religion are current. It is remarkable, for instance, that at Shingham, a sequestered village some fifteen miles from Lynn, there are plantations haunted by Bel's dogs. Now the word Shingham means, as etymologists assure us, the *bright or shining* dwelling, and strange indeed is it, that tradition asserts there was, in the adjacent village of Beechamwell St. Mary, a temple of the sun, and, moreover, that Shingham and the adjoining village of Caldecott contained, at some remote period, temples dedicated respectively to Venus and Diana—Roman goddesses! Is it not curious that this cluster of villages near Swaffham should, moreover, be haunted by a pack of spectral hounds, which the present inhabitants call Bel's dogs? As "no one can imagine or reason why the traditions should have been invented among a population not addicted to mythology"—and Mr. Andrew Lang's observation on this subject is quoted—we are constrained to admit that it is very curious. That the Romans built such temples in Britain is beyond dispute. A temple dedicated to the goddess of the chase is supposed to have occupied the same natural elevation now crowned by St. Paul's Cathedral. As with Caldecott, so with London, the tradition alone survives. An altar dedicated to Trivia, that is, Diana of the *Cross-ways*, formerly stood where the Roman roads, the Icknield Street and the Ermine Street *crossed*, not very far from Royston. Here a festival was held soon after each vernal equinox, when the Romans made sacred cakes and offered them to their goddess. The eating of *crossed* buns is chiefly observed in this district—Cambridge,

Hertford, Norfolk, etc., whereas in other parts the custom is quite unknown, as for example at Bath, where instead of a temple to Diana there was one dedicated to Minerva. Fragments of this ancient temple have been found, sufficient to enable Smirke to design a restored portico. To a Pagan rather than a Christian rite may we derive the origin of our "hot cross bun."

Traces, too, of Druidism have been detected in many Norfolk place-names, and in certain customs with which the general reader is far more familiar; but in the tradition relating to the spectral hounds, the survival attaches itself not so much to the place, as to the circumstances associated with the place. It constitutes a neat blending of the ancient polytheism of the Druids and the newly-introduced mythology of the Romans. The Druids were wont to worship the rising sun (that is, *Bel*) from the hill-tops; from this custom the castle-mound at Norwich was anciently known as *Belinus*. A common expression in Leicestershire—"he leaps like a *bel* giant," that is, as the rising sun from the sea—is associated with the sun-worship of our Druidic forefathers. The pale, glinting light, flickering among the masses of waving foliage in the Shingham woods, unquestionably gave rise to the phantom sun-dogs—and dogs, be it remembered, were sacred to Diana, the goddess of hunting.

Another East Anglian tradition assures us St. Paul preached the Gospel at Babingley, near Lynn. That the great Apostle of the Gentiles really visited this country is more than probable. Mr. Soames, indeed, says "he may fairly be considered the founder of our national Church." Gildas, the most ancient of the British historians, states that as early as the reign of the Emperor Nero a Christian Church was existent in Britain (A.D. 60 or 61), about the time when the Icenian Queen Boadicea was vanquished; and Clemens Romanus, a fellow-worker with St. Paul, declares in his *Epistle to the Corinthians* that St. Paul "taught the whole world righteousness, and for that end went to the utmost bounds of the west." From the testimony of Eusebius we learn that "some of the apostles passed over the ocean to the British Isles"; Theodoret affirms that St. Paul brought salvation to the islands lying in the ocean; whilst St. Chrysostom remarks: "The British Islands, which lie beyond the sea, and are in the very midst of the ocean, have felt the influence of the word."

Speed maintains that under the auspices of the family of Caracacus, St. Paul propagated the Gospel in this country; and Bishop Burgess, so deservedly distinguished for his proficiency in ecclesiastical antiquities, when commenting upon the imprisonment of the British chief and his adherents in Rome, observes:—

It is a remarkable and interesting fact that the detention of the British hostages should have been coincident with St. Paul's residence there as a prisoner; and it was not a less favourable coincidence that they should be released from confinement in the same year in which St. Paul was set at liberty. Nothing could be more convenient for St. Paul's mission to the Gentiles than the opportunity which their return must have offered him of introducing the Gospel into Britain; and nothing more probable than that he should readily embrace such opportunity.

At the chancel end of the 13th century church at Babingley, about four miles from Lynn, are the ivy-clad ruins of an earlier edifice, which is clearly of Norman origin. These crumbling walls are believed to occupy the site of a rude 7th century building, popularly accredited the *first* Christian Church in East Anglia. The church itself (at present disused because of a scattered population) is dedicated to the memory of Felix of Burgundy, who came over in response to an invitation from Sigebert, the king of this part of the Heptarchy, and who landed, according to tradition, upon the shore at Babingley. As Bishop of the East Angles, St. Felix is said to have "converted many to Christianity in the neighbourhood of Babingley about the year A.D. 630." (Munford.) Nothing, however, remains to indicate an ancient foundation, but the name by which this hamlet is known unquestionably represents the *Babinkelia* of the old chronicles, the *Babinghelea* and *Babinkeleia* of the Domesday Book, and the *Baburghley* of Bacon's *Liber Vitæ*.

Sir Henry Spelman (1562—1641), in his *Icenia*, says: "Several hills called *Christian Hills* in the vicinity seem to support this opinion,"—that St. Paul laboured as a missionary on the bounds of the Lin. It must be admitted that the Christian hills cannot now be identified; but the late William Taylor contends that prior to the throwing up of the earth-work round the Norman castle at Rising the ground in the immediate vicinity was considerably above the common level of the surrounding district.

If we are justified in accepting the tradition relating to the Shingham sun-dogs as based upon the truth, we can hardly in fairness reject the tradition that St. Paul preached the Gospel in East Anglia.

Secondly, the consideration that the Romans under Julius Cæsar landed on the coast of Norfolk.

In 1866 the Rev. Scott F. Surtees, Rector of Banham, published a small but significant pamphlet, entitled: *Julius Cæsar: shewing beyond reasonable doubt that he never crossed the Channel, but sailed from Zeeland and landed in Norfolk* (reissued 1868), with the avowed object of disproving the commonly accepted theory that the subjugators of the "Ancient Britons" landed near Deal, on the shores of Kent. This he does by proving from the etymology of the name of the place from whence the Roman general sailed, and by critically examining the hour of sailing, that the distance could not possibly have been covered in the time. He shews how the alleged landing-place and the adjacent coast do not correspond with the description given by Cæsar himself. It is freely acknowledged that Cæsar landed twice in Britain, but where, and at what precise spot? Mr. Surtees answers: "Cæsar landed in Norfolk." At Brancaster, Wells, Weybourn, Sheringham, and Cromer is the steep coast line to which reference is made in the *Commentaries*. The time occupied in crossing from Gaul, he argues, could *only* apply to landing at one of these places; the shingly beach at Weybourn exactly corresponds with the one mentioned, and the level ground along the cliffs at Sheringham would permit the natives to follow the route of the invading fleet either in chariots or on foot. Corn, moreover, was growing abundantly in the neighbourhood, but

Deal neither is nor was noted for its cereal productions. Amber is often picked up along the Norfolk coast, and this is mentioned by Cæsar as a distinctive mark. Finally, the entire district teems with relics of Roman invasion; earth-works, thrown up as a temporary and not a permanent defence, abound, and coins, pottery, and other mementoes have from time to time been brought to light.

Taking these and other circumstances into consideration, the learned author comes to the conclusion, that notwithstanding the wearing away of the coast-line which has been going on for nineteen centuries, *both* the visits paid by the Romans were in Norfolk, at Weybourn and Sheringham.

We are fully aware that Mr. Walter Rye refers disparagingly to "the perverse ingenuity" of this "wildly ingenious antiquary," and that the Rev. Francis T. Vine published a counterblast, entitled: *Cæsar in Kent: an account of his landing and his battles with the Ancient Britons* (1887).

The Fenland, as already stated, was the *first*, or at least one of the first, Roman acquisitions in Britain; and Catus Decianus, who was appointed to govern this district, is regarded as the *first* procurator. If, then, the Roman invaders effected a landing on the Norfolk fore-shore in the neighbourhood of the Lin, it would be reasonable to infer that the early pioneers of the Gospel would try to cross the almost trackless waters by taking the same course, and that in taking the same course they would land as near the same spot as possible. Mackerell says it is recorded that Felix, to whom reference has already been made, landed at Lynn,—“as Sir Henry Spelman saith, and was their first Bishop and Apostle. He converted the people of the town and built the church at Babingley, which is near this place towards the sea, and was the *first* Christian Church in these parts.”

Thirdly, the ancient roads, which led inland, diverged from a point on the coast of Norfolk.

In an almost unbroken straight line, the ancient trackway now known as the Peddars' Way has been traced by Mr. E. M. Beloe from Holme, near Hunstanton, through Norfolk and Suffolk, almost up to Bury St. Edmunds. It passes through Sedgeford, Anmer, Castleacre, and Pickenham, and runs on to Wretham, where one branch ends at Bardwell, and the other at Ixworth (Icknield way).

Starting from the self-same point the Great Fen road takes a somewhat divergent course. It runs through Flitcham, Gayton, Oxborough, and from thence to Ickburgh. A branch joins Gayton with Lynn, whilst another connects Bawsey, Wormegay, Stradsett, Denver, Eldernell, and perhaps Peterborough (Ermine Street).

As these important trackways took a more or less south-easterly course, and no doubt formed junctions with the great national thoroughfares,—the Ermine Street and the Icknield way—it would be imperatively necessary for those who wished to penetrate the country to land as near as possible to the point where the roads converged. That this was customary is apparent from the story of the landing of King Edmund.

After the East Anglians had defeated King Offa's three would-

be successors, for whom they evinced no predilection, they offered the crown to Edmund, who was then a sojourner in Germany. Whereupon the King-elect hastily embarked for Britain, but was shipwrecked in trying to effect a landing not far from Gore Point, where the great roads met. From a local tradition we learn that the mouldering walls near the Hunstanton light-house are those of the *Capella Sancti Edmundi super le Clyffe*,—the chapel Edmund built to the honour of God in commemoration of his miraculous escape. It is said that he shut himself up within its precincts, in fulfilment of a vow, and that he did not emerge therefrom until he had committed to memory the entire Psalter. Having accomplished this remarkable mental feat, he accepted the crown at the hands of the East Anglians (A.D. 870.)*

Fourthly, the surprising absence of cromlechs (used as altars), stone circles and other megalithic remains in this county.

The early Christian missionaries, in order to render the transition from the worship of Odin to that of Christ easy, agreeable and attractive, usually changed the temples dedicated to idolatrous purposes into Christian churches. By this perhaps unwarranted compromise were the outraged feelings of the natives soothed. "For if these temples," writes Pope Gregory, "are well built, it is requisite that they be converted from the worship of devils to the sacrifice of the true God; that the nation, seeing that their temples are not destroyed, may remove error from their hearts, and knowing and adoring the true God, may the more familiarly resort to the places to which they have been accustomed." (A.D. 601.) Bede, indeed, refers to a temple in East Anglia containing an altar whereon sacrifices were offered to the Christ, and a smaller one whereon victims were slain to propitiate demons.

It is not unlikely that in many places the old Druidic temple was succeeded by a series of churches, built, of course, at different periods,—a church erected by the Norman settlers being reared on the site of a rude Saxon building, which had replaced a ruder and more primitive temple, wherein heathen rites were faithfully observed. Hallowed associations prompted the susceptible builders of bygone ages to cling to the same consecrated spot, beloved by their departed kinsfolk, and there rather than elsewhere would they reverently construct a new and superior fabric. The detection of no fragments of moulded or rough-hewn stone, the remains of previous structures, does not in the least establish the fact that an earlier church, or pagan temple, did not exist prior to the erection of the present structure. In some instances traces have undoubtedly been unearthed, and whilst every material vestige of Druidism has disappeared, as in our own county, where Christianity was presumably *first* introduced, in other parts of the kingdom rude stone temples still abound. When the fascination of those huge structures, where the stubborn influence of Odinism was felt the longest, could no longer impede the onward course of the new doctrine, they were not destroyed, but, though deserted, were permitted to

* At an early period there was a chapel dedicated to St. Edmund in Lynn where three dead men were, as we are told, raised to life, and several blind and dumb people as well as cripples were cured. [See *St. Edmund*, by Rev. J. B. Mackinlay, p. 291.]

remain. Roughly, the number of Druidical remains throughout the country appears to be in inverse ratio to the number of the churches.

On the cliff at Gorleston, "overlooking the east," there once stood some large stones, resembling an ancient cromlech, which (if tradition be credited) were used in Druidical worship. This, however, if reliable, must be regarded as a solitary instance. Of the Britons and their traces here (in Norfolk) we really know little and find less. Surely this peculiar characteristic of the county helps to prove that the pioneers of the Christian religion gained at least an early, if not a first, footing here.

And lastly, the exceptional number of churches in Norfolk seems to indicate that the spread of the Gospel radiated from this part of the kingdom.

Because of the ruins of so many splendid priories, Dr. Jessopp termed the district about Gayton "the Holy Land of Norfolk"; and with equal propriety might Norfolk itself be called "the Holy Land of Britain." The county covers 2,024 square miles, and contains more than 730 churches, that is, 117 more than Yorkshire (a county three times its size), and more than any other county in the "Three Kingdoms." How can this be accounted for except by the theory propounded, namely, that the Gospel was *first* preached here, and that it gradually spread to the remoter and more inaccessible districts?

The average area of a parish in England is shewn by calculation to be about 5.1 square miles; in Westmoreland, which is sparsely populated, it is as high as 23.4 square miles. Norfolk may boast as shewing the *lowest* average. Here for every 2.7 square miles there is a parish church, whilst in Kent the average parish-area is 42.2 square miles. As no part of England was so much exposed as Norfolk to the inroads of the heathen Danes, this fact becomes even more remarkable. An objection may be urged that many of our 730 churches are modern, and are *not* built on the site of heathen temples; the same remark may be applied with equal force to any of the other counties. Moreover, in the Middle Ages the religious supremacy of Norfolk was generally acknowledged.* With less than one-twentieth the area of England, it then possessed one-sixteenth of the whole monastic revenue, and one-eighth of the entire religious foundations of the nation.

"This county," exclaims Thomas Fuller (1608-61), "hath the most churches of any in England—660, and though the poorest livings, yet by some occult quality of their good husbandry and God's blessing thereon, the richest clergymen. I wish," he quaintly observes, "the inhabitants may make good use of their so many churches and cross that pestilent proverb, 'the nigher to the church, the farther from God,' substituting another (which will be a happy change) in the room thereof, namely, 'the more the churches, the more sincere the devotion.'" Whether Fuller's wish is realised we leave others to decide.

In conclusion, it must be frankly admitted that every point advanced is vague and nothing in itself, and even if taken collectively

* The Domesday Book accounts for 213 churches in Norfolk.

they are by no means conclusive ; yet we venture to think, notwithstanding all which might be said to the contrary, they tend in a measure to substantiate the proposition under consideration, that the scene of the introduction of Christianity into this country was in Norfolk, and probably at no great distance from the Lin.

CHAPTER V.

The Legend of St. Margaret.

It was the custom long before our brave sailors and soldiers were arrayed in uniforms of blue and red (or khaki) for combatants to bear some conspicuous figure or device upon their shields or helmets, so that they might, when enveloped from head to foot in armour, be easily distinguished at the tournament or on the field of battle. These symbols, which at the first were used arbitrarily, were in many instances retained as hereditary marks of distinction. Subsequent to the reduction of heraldry to a science, which began in the reign of Henry III., every town of any pretension took unto itself a coat-of-arms. With that of our own borough, every inhabitant who troubles to read the official announcements issued by the Town Clerk must be in a measure familiar. If, when perusing the " notices " affixed to the Hall door, he saw a placard headed with a pictorial representation of three lions neatly cut in halves and cleverly engrafted to three herrings, similarly bisected, so that each lion had the hind-quarter and tail of a herring, and each herring the fore-quarter and head of a lion, he would at once be conscious, without any knowledge of heraldry, and without being told the arms of Great Yarmouth had been substituted for that of King's Lynn, that " some-one had blundered."

THE ARMS OF OUR BOROUGH

are thus technically described :—*Azure, three dragons heads crased and erect, the jaws of each pierced with a cross-crosslet fitché, or.* As this is probably unintelligible to those who have not yet been initiated into the mysteries of heraldry, an attempt to convey the meaning in other words may perhaps be acceptable.



To the local draughtsman in search of a model, we say :—Go to the nearest marsh and catch three dragons, as near the same weight as possible ; tear—by no means *cut*—the heads from their bodies ; press

their jaws laterally, and with a spear, the peculiar construction of which must hereinafter be described, transfix each gaping head ; arrange as in the above illustration, and, disregarding the natural colour, depict with bold outline and cross hatching in black, upon the best English gilt, so that the design in *gold* appears upon a *blue* background. If any difficulty be experienced (for dragons are said to be somewhat scarce in this neighbourhood), a resourceful artist might manage with one.

The head of the spear in question is a "cross-crosslet," or a crossed cross ; three of its arms are crossed, and the fourth, described as "fitché," is elongated and pointed. These crosses, which served as emblems, were carried by the early Christians in their pilgrimages,



and could easily be stuck into the ground whenever the bearers wished to perform their wayside devotions, or make any sort of demonstration.

To account for the meaning of the curious symbol upon the borough shield, it will be necessary to recall the story of

THE MARTYR OF ANTIOCH.

Theodosius, the aged patriarch of Antioch, toward the end of the third century of our era, was blessed with a daughter named Margaret, a virgin renowned, not merely for her exceptional beauty, but for leading a singularly holy life. She was as fair as the daisy from which she derived her name, and far more lovable besides, she was as pious as she was lovely, which is more than can be said of some of Eve's fair daughters. But the maiden, though richly endowed by nature, and though belonging to an affluent family, was nevertheless beset with many troubles. The "fatal gift of beauty" gained her an importunate lover—a very acceptable acquisition, some may say ; and the saintly chastity of her life, a subtle tempter in the semblance of a dragon. In the huge, unwieldy monster, Margaret detected the Evil One, who, cleverly "got up" as a serpent, had caused unutterable mischief in Eden, many centuries before. Firmly and persistently the brave maiden rejected all his allurements, and in the end triumphantly cut short his insinuating entreaties by pinning his squirming body to the ground with the point of her cross. Having thus secured her soul from the clutches of the Devil, it is a pity she did not adopt the same method to preserve her body ; but then, you see, the other antagonist was a Roman general—the great Olybius ; besides, the love of the

maiden warped her judgment and blinded her eyes so that she failed to see aright.

Now, Olybius, the heathen, was in haste to marry the Christian maiden, though he cordially abhorred the fanatic followers (as he deemed them) of the reviled Galilean. There was, however, no reason why he should not frustrate the spell those artful proselytes had cunningly thrown around his lady-love. He therefore diligently set about persuading Margaret to renounce the new religion; but his arguments were as futile as his entreaties. Thus, failing to effect his purpose, in a fit of desperation he ordered her to be tortured. Exasperated beyond measure because these gentle measures were inoperative, he threatened as a last resource to take her life, if she did not comply with his wishes. Love had developed into hatred, and changed the lover into a merciless tyrant. In the words of Henry Hart Milman, the poet, Olybius exclaims :—

Maiden, upraise thy voice;
Olybius' throne or a blasphemer's fate is thine.
Make thou thy choice.

—Disdaining the fleeting pleasures of royalty, Margaret courageously accepted the dreadful alternative; she was therefore beheaded, in the year of our Lord 278, and was afterwards canonized, as she well deserved to be. Her holy day was formerly celebrated on the 20th of July, by the reading of an appropriate legend in the church dedicated to her honour, and the holding of a feast or fair in the churchyard, to which the ancient “mercate of St. Margaret” and our modern “Saturday market” owe their origin.

There is no need to trouble ourselves except with one part of this romantic episode, and that is the maiden's victory over the dragon. The legend itself is purely an adaptation of

AN OLD ARYAN MYTH,

a battle between a hero—in this case a heroine—and a monster, which is extant in almost every nation. The Hindu legend gives Indra as the hero and Vritna as the monster; the Roman, Hercules and the triple-headed Cacus; the Greek, Apollo and the terrible serpent Python; the Norse, Sigurd and Fafnir—a coiled dragon; the Persians, the Jews, and the Christians, too, have each a version of their own. The Ugunda of the Mexicans, the sea-snake of the Scandinavians, and the awe-inspiring reptile depicted on Chinese banners, are all varieties of the same mythical dragon, whose destruction seems to have been the common object of mankind, more especially during the earlier ages of the Christian Church. The marvellous exploits of St. Michael, St. Silvester, St. Martha, St. Margaret, and St. George (who was the patron saint of this country as early as the Saxon period), do not by any means impoverish the catalogue. Ecclesiastical history abounds with exemplary saints who waged war with the Evil One in the guise of a dragon, a snake, a serpent, or an amphibious monster of some kind or other.

Upon the obverse side of the corporate seal of the borough, our Mayor's seal of office, the seal of the Carmelites' convent, the Austin

priory (*circa* 1387), the seals attached to the probate of wills (*circa* 1303), and the conventual seals of the neighbouring priories of West-acre, Thetford, Hilburgh, and Norwich, St. Margaret is represented as triumphantly trampling upon the distorted body of the dragon, whilst piercing his upturned head with her cross. She is depicted in the same attitude upon the rood-screens in Filby and other Norfolk churches. Beneath a beautiful floreated initial, on letters patent addressed to the Mayor and burgesses of Lenne, the engrosser has drawn an angel bearing a shield with the arms of the town (1315).

DRAGON v. CONGER.

The arms of the Benedictine priory at Lenne, founded so many years ago by Herbert de Lozinga, were with one trifling exception the same as those borne by the town at the present time. The three heads pierced were not those of the conventional dragon, but those of the conger eel.

Was not the dragon originally a conger eel, perhaps slightly modified? Naturalists give instances of these eels being ten feet long and eighteen inches in circumference, and weighing as much as 130 pounds. (The flesh, it may be mentioned in passing, though rather coarse, is much esteemed in the Channel Isles. There is a way of cooking it to suit the palate, and it makes excellent soup. The devil surely did not send all the cooks, because those who succeed in producing pleasant and wholesome food from such raw material must verily have had quite another origin.) The voracity of the conger eel is such that it will devour its own species, and its strength is so great that it can crush lobsters. As the Fenland abounded with eels, the conger no doubt proved a formidable antagonist to the superstitious fishermen of early times.

These characteristics support the assumption that the conger eel was the prototype not only of the sea-dragon of English heraldry, but of the poetical dragon—the dragon of the monkish legends—the representative of evil and the serpent of romance. . . . The simple explanation lies in considering the various victories represented to have been gained over dragons as so many conquests obtained by virtue over vice. Some of these miracles have another signification, and are supposed to be intended to typify the confining of rivers within their proper channels, or limiting the incursions of the sea. [*Moule's Heraldry of Fish.*]

This explanation seems to be specially applicable to our low-lying district with its long protecting embankments.*

OUR CREST.

Soon after the Norman Conquest, seals became instruments of the greatest importance. When few practised, and nobles scorned, the art of writing, the attaching of one's seal was absolutely necessary to give validity to any kind of legal document. In many instances the pictorial devices upon coats-of-arms have been traced to similar, and in some cases identical, devices upon seals, adopted by the same families long before the dawn of the heraldic era; and it is quite possible that the crest above the shield upon which are emblazoned our town's arms,

* "Three congers heads erect" (*Visitation*: 1563).

may owe its origin to the old ecclesiastical seal of the borough. Crests were worn by knights upon their helmets as distinctive marks ; and they were especially needful when the combatants were not carrying their shields. As a community we have, correctly speaking, no right to a crest, but as it now seems to be an inseparable adjunct to our azure shield, it must not be wholly disregarded.

Our crest, be it observed, is the *natural* representation of a *conventional* pelican in the act of "vulning," or wounding herself, for by lacerating her own breast "the pelican in her piety," as is fabulously asserted, nourishes her young. Hence we read in Wither's *Emblems* :

Looke heere and marke (her sickly birds to feed)
How freely this kind pelican doth bleed.
See how (when other salves could not be found)
To cure their sorrowes, she herself doth wound ;
And when this holy emblem thou shalt see,
Lift up thy soule to Him who dy'd for thee.

The pelican, as is generally known, is an accomplished fisher, scooping up its prey into the big pouch beneath its lower jaw. Its nest, which is made of grasses, is placed on the ground, usually on a sea island or on the border of some lake or river. When the eggs are hatched, the parents turn the fish out of their pouches into the mouths of the young. To do this they press the bill against the breast, so that its scarlet tip looks like a blood spot against the white feathers, and this has perhaps given rise to the fable that the pelican feeds her young with her blood. The eider duck, it is true, plucks down from her breast and places it over its eggs during incubation, the drake supplying down when the "gentle breast" of his spouse becomes exhausted ; and this habit has been perchance erroneously attributed to the pelican.

The knight's helmet was formerly encircled with a *coronet* or wreath composed of two strands of twisted silk. On the conventional representation of this device, which is common in modern heraldry, our pelican is comfortably perched. The "tinctures" of the rigid support are taken from the shield and its charges : the strands are therefore blue and gold alternately—the metal (*gold*) always being on the dexter side, that is, to the *left* of the spectator. In heraldry the "dexter" and "sinister" sides are so called from the right or left of the wearer of the shield, arms, or crest ; hence the apparent contrary from the spectator's point of view.

PELICAN V. EAGLE.

Upon the reverse side of the common corporate seal, already mentioned, there is a well-executed eagle, standing on a label, whereon appear the first words of St. John's Gospel : *In principio erat verbum*—"in the beginning was the word." This sentence of his, inscribed in an open book, is often used as a representation or symbol of "the Gospel" generally. The same design as that upon our corporate seal is found upon the seal of the Gild of St. George (Lenne), and the earliest record to which it is attached belongs to the year 1300.

Degenerate forms must sometimes be encountered even in heraldry. For example, an inoffensive lion harmlessly walking and apparently looking at nothing in particular was believed by the early heralds to be enacting the part of a leopard. Their so-called "leopards" were really lions—spotless and without any leopardesque distinctions. Hence until the beginning of the 15th century the *lions* in the Royal Shield of England were absurdly styled *leopards*.

What's in a name? That which *we* call a *lion*
By any other name would serve as well.

In like manner, from the eagle, a well-known emblem of St. John, a degenerate pelican has perhaps been evolved. Before the Reformation, eagle and pelican lecterns were both common; in Durham cathedral there are specimens of each variety; and Mr. Britton, in his *History of Norwich Cathedral*, mentions an eagle lectern, which, we are told, is in reality a pelican. Over the splendid fonts at North Walsham and Watlington, and on the modern font covers at St. Margaret's, Lynn, there are well-carved pelicans. There were at one time, at least two pre-Reformation eagle lecterns of brass in St. Margaret's church; (Mackerell says there were three, and that one was melted down to aid in recasting the peal of bells), and frequent were the payments made for their "scouring." In 1635 twenty shillings were expended for this purpose. One of these beautiful lecterns remains, but bereft of its talons. This is a rather frequent mutilation, and is popularly accounted for by their having been of silver, and, therefore, "stolen by Oliver Cromwell"—an obvious absurdity, as the Protector, if he had meddled with these objects at all, would have "collared the lot" brass being so very handy a material for cannon or cannon-balls. It is far more likely that the "reaving" was done by other hands—those even of the official guardians of the Church, in the really "dark ages," not so very distant, when the goods, furniture, funds, and constructive materials of churches were the common prey of whomsoever took a fancy to appropriate or destroy them.

Before the wonderful legend of St. Margaret fades from our minds, it might be expedient to say a few words about the former inhabitants of King's Lynn, because at one time it is said to have been renowned as

THE DWELLING-PLACE OF VIRGINS.

Sir Henry Spelman, perhaps following Galfridus de Fontibus (believed to have been a monk of Thetford), in his *De Infancia Sci Eadmundi* (circa 1140-1160), contends that "the little, fair promontory," at *Maydenbure*, was Hunstanton; but Camden contends that Lynn had a stronger claim, and that during the Saxon period it was known as *Maydenburg*. Mackerell, influenced, as he says, "by the concurrent testimony of several ancient historians," concludes its name was *Mayden-bower*—the retiring place for virgins. To support these suggestions the following facts are advanced: first, our principal church was dedicated to the memory of St. Margaret the Virgin, the patroness of the town and the accredited protectress of defenceless

spinsters; and secondly, that upon the early seal of the borough there is the figure of our tutelary saint, as already described. It is also asserted that our brave East Anglian forefathers, having vanquished Uffa's three stalwart successors, offered the crown to Edmund, who was then a sojourner in Germany (A.D. 870). The King-elect embarked forthwith for Britain, and after encountering incalculable dangers, he landed, as is stated, at *Mayden-burg*. Moreover, to strengthen the likelihood of the existence of *Mayden-burg* or *Mayden-bower*, Mackerell points out how prevalent is St. Edmund's name in this district. There is St. Edmund's Ness, the chapel of St. Edmund upon the cliffs at Hunstanton, where the pious king built a royal town (?), the parish of North Lynn St. Edmund, and the chapel of St. Edmund once connected with that of St. Nicholas at Lynn.

The ingenious speculations of these authors, if swallowed, ought assuredly to be taken *cum grano salis*, for they do not cite any document or other authority in which such a place as Maydenburg or Maydenbower is mentioned; and by what philological *hocus-focus* is it possible to derive *burg* from *bower*? The thing appears to be a pure invention, swallowed by the credulous, and merely "conveyed" without acknowledgment by Mackerell and Parkin. On the other hand, we are inclined to regard Maydenburg or Magde-burg in Germany, Maiden-head in Berkshire, and the traditional Maydenburg (if there ever was such a place) in East Anglia, as owing their names to the following interestingly erratic legend:—

Once upon a time (to be as vague as the exigencies of the circumstances require), a British princess named Ursula, who was born, by-the-bye, at Baoza, in Spain, embarked for Brittany. She was accompanied with 11,000 noble and 60,000 plebeian British virgins. Love is well known to be no respecter of persons, and whether of high or low degree, every one of the fair emigrants was more or less affected with that dreadful malady so aptly described by Pliny as *vehementia cordis*. But the cause of the unpleasant epidemic hath yet to be told. A corresponding number of young and eligible young men had already quitted their parental homes in Britain, and were restlessly wandering up and down the Gallic shores, and constantly glaring at the white cliffs which skirted the opposite coast.

What a pathetic exodus for a sparsely populated country to contemplate,—the wholesale embarkation of one hundred and forty-two thousand and two candidates for matrimony! Through some inexplicable cause or other, the vessels with their precious freights were wrecked in the Rhine. A storm perchance had risen, the reckoning might have been lost, or the captains, in too attentively inspecting their respective cargoes, might have neglected to navigate their craft aright. It was supremely unpleasant for these lovelorn damsels, but it might certainly have been a trifle worse. No lives were lost, and after a series of exhausting vicissitudes Ursula and all the other maidens safely entered Cologne. Another version assures the reader it happened when they were returning from Rome, but as this and other trivial

circumstances do not interfere with the approaching climax, the discrepancies shall remain unreconciled.

Now it came to pass that the city at this time was held by hordes of fierce Huns, who were speechless with surprise when they beheld the Ursuline invaders. Pause, oh reader, and let thine imagination pourtray the scene. What a unique procession—seventy-one thousand and one maidens, shipwrecked, friendless, and, though ruthlessly bedraggled, yet radiantly attractive! How sincerely those stern warriors pitied the angelic creatures in their calamity, and how desperately enamoured grew they of their beauty; for pity and love, be it remembered, are near akin. But the virtuous virgins, remembering the youths in Gaul, sternly repulsed these bold, aggressive fellows, and, preferring to follow the example of Lucretia, they one and all sacrificed their lives to preserve their honour. . . . In after years the good citizens of Cologne built a magnificent church, and dedicated it to St. Ursula and her heroic comrades. Inside, around the walls thereof, are many glass cases still containing their osseous remains.

This congruous, though perhaps romantic, story, is said to owe its birth to the unearthing of a stone whereon was the Latin inscription :

URSULA ET UNDECIMILLA VIRGINES

—that is, “The (two) virgins Ursula and Undecimilla.” A careless scribe, not for a moment thinking what trouble his remissness might cause unborn generations, stupidly changed the precious words into *Ursula et Undecim millia Virgines*, which being interpreted, reads, “Ursula and eleven thousand virgins,” whereas there were only two. The vast collection of bones still exhibited to more or less credulous tourists in the church of St. Ursula were taken from an old Roman cemetery, over which the walls of Cologne were erected; the human remains having first been exposed soon after the siege in the year 1106.

Hence two virgins lost their lives prematurely and both were canonized as saints. Their names are perhaps synonymous, but it would be too risky an adventure to substitute *St. Margaret* for *St. Ursula*, because the process might detract from the convincing veracity of our narrative. There is, notwithstanding, a faint colouring of truth in this absurd monkish concoction. The good folk of *Maidenhead*, in Berkshire, laid claim to one of the martyrs’ heads, whilst the other ghastly relic was eagerly appropriated and sincerely revered by the superstitious inhabitants of King’s Lynn (*Maydenburg*), as the head of their patroness! Is there not convincing evidence in the following remarkable entry, which appears upon the pages of our Hall Book, just before the dawning of the Reformation?

St. Margaret’s Head.—Fully agreed that St. Margaret’s skull be had in honour in the Trinity chapel of St. Margaret; a fourth of the oblation to be given to the Trinity Guild, a half to the prior and curate of Lenne, and the rest to the churchwardens of St. Margaret for reparation of the said church (1525).

Six-and-thirty years later the trend of public opinion had veered round to the opposite quarter. A big fire was kindled on the Tuesday market-place; objectionable mass-books and sacred relics were scrupulously brought together, and were then and there publicly consigned to the flames.

CHAPTER VI.

A Habitation with a Name.

In the third decade of the 7th century, Felix, a Burgundian missionary, was chosen first bishop of the East Angles by Sigebert their king, and he was duly consecrated by Archbishop Honorius. In all likelihood Felix obtained the spiritual possession not of the settlement at the burg on the Lin alone, but of all the settlements upon the fore-shore of the entire district. The diocese was a large one, embracing as it did the north and the south folk (Norfolk and Suffolk), and the exceptional duties thereto pertaining must have severely taxed the bishop's strength. Felix died in A.D. 647, but the work was vigorously pushed forward by his resolute successors. Many centuries, however, were to elapse before the worship of Odin was to be superseded by that of Christ. The reason is not far to seek: there was already a strong infusion of the Danish element in the northern part of East Anglia, and a series of incursions gave rise to repeated revivals of declining Odinism. Not until the 11th century did the East Anglian Danes nominally accept Christianity.

CHRONICLES—"ABSTRACT AND BRIEF,"

may be well applied to the few references to the settlement on the shores of the receding Lin. This is clearly apparent from a perusal of the following list of places in the neighbourhood mentioned by our early historians.

GILDAS (A.D. 511-570). *De Calamitate, Excidio et Conquestu Britannice*:—Thames, St. Albans (*Verulam*). [Boadicea, "the deceitful lioness," queen of the Iceni, is also mentioned.]

BEDE (A.D. 637-735). *Historia Ecclesiastica*:—Dunwich (*Dommoc*), Burghcastle in Lincolnshire (*Cnobheresburg*).

NINNIUS (9th Century). *Eulogium Britannice*:—Norwich (*Gaer gain truis*), probably the Roman station of *Garionenum* is referred to as *Gurnion Castle*, Lincoln (*Cair loit coit*), Cambridge (*Cair grant*). These are British place-names.

ASSER (9th Century). *Annales Rerum Gestarum Ælfredi Magni*:—Cambridge (*Grantabridge*), Thetford.

FABIUS ÆTHELWERD (10th Century). *Chronicle*:—Dereham (*Deorhamme*), Bury St. Edmund (*Beodricsworthe*), Thorney, Cambridge (*Grantabridge*), Thetford, Bedford.

VARIOUS WRITERS included in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, which covers the period from the Creation to A.D. 1154:—Wisbech, Boston (*Icanhoe*), the river Nene, Crowland, Thorney, Ramsey, St. Neots, Spalding, Stamford, Ely, "Wittlesey-mere," Peterborough (*Medeshamstede*), Norwich, Dereham (*Deorham*), Thetford.

INGULPH (1030-1109). *Historia Monasterii Croylandensis* (Peter of Blois, &c., wrote the "continuations"):—Wisbech, Whaplode, Walsingham, Norwich, Holbeach, Elmham, Boston (*St. Botolph's Town*), &c., and LYNN (*Lenne and Lenne Episcopi*).

WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY (1095 or 6-1143). *De Gestis Regum*:—Ely, Norwich, Thetford, Lincoln, Dunwich, Elmham (*Helmham*), &c.

GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH (12th Century). *Historia Britonum*:—Lincoln (*Lindocolinum*), Caistor (*Thong Castle*, 23 miles from Lincoln), Colchester (*Kaer colvin*).

SAGA OF MAGNUS, King Hacon's son (13th Century). LYNN (*Linn*).

THOMAS OF WALSHINGHAM (1272-1381). *Historia Anglicana*:—LYNN (*Lenne*).

RICHARD OF CIRENCESTER (died 1402). *Historia ab Hengisto ad Ann. 1348, Britonum Anglorum et Saxonum Historia*:—Caistor near Norwich (*Venta*), Caistor near Chesterton (*Durnomagus*), Cambridge (*Camboricum*), the river Yare (*Garion*), the river Nene (*Aufouna*), the Boston Deepes (*Metaris*).

The chronicles and annals relating to this part of the Heptarchy are, it must be admitted, singularly scarce as well as provokingly barren. We have, indeed, to depend upon the slight incidental information preserved by other provinces for the names and dates of the East Anglian kings.

SAXON AND DANE.

At the time when Ethelbert was king, a Danish hero, Ragnar Lodbrog, who was unfortunately driven ashore on the Norfolk coast in the vicinity of Reedham, was slain by the huntsman of Eadmund, the lord of the East Angles. Ingwar and Hubba, hearing of their father's death, came over (A.D. 866); they sailed up the Yare, and landed a great army not far from Norwich. Northumberland and Lincolnshire were pitilessly harried, whilst in East Anglia they captured Thetford after a stubborn fight; the King was taken and cruelly put to death (A.D. 870), but his name was sincerely revered, and his memory is still preserved in "Bury St. Edmund." So disheartened were the East Anglians by this untoward event, that they at once submitted to the Danes, who adopted the country as their home and intermarried with the daughters of the conquered Saxons. The amity and confidence between the two tribes must have reached a climax (A.D. 899), when "the Danes committed their wives and their ships and their wealth to the East Angles, and went at one stretch, day and night, until they arrived at Chester. And they took the cattle and slew the men and burned all the corn of the surrounding neighbourhood." [*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.]

Time has considerably spared us, in certain existing customs, not only the manners of the Romans and the superstitions of the Saxons but "faithful remembrancers" of those strange Norse legends recounted to our forefathers so many centuries ago by the credulous retainers of the Danish vikings. Paganism is peculiarly tenacious of life. The hanging-up of the mistletoe at Christmas, the bringing in of the Yule log, the kindling of fires on St. John's Eve, the bearing of garlands on May-day, etc., are, if not positive survivals of heathen rites, at least the lingering result of a compromise between darkness and light.

A multitude of the place-names in Norfolk clearly establish the fact that the heathen Danes left traces behind them. Reference is elsewhere made to the ominous appellation which clings to the Miller's Entry—it is still “Nick the Devil's Lane”; and

THE FOOTSTEPS OF THE EVIL ONE

may possibly be discerned in the word *Loke*, with which the burghesses of the present generation are acquainted. The fine earth-works, to the north of the town, which are gradually being obliterated by the industrious allotment holders, are traditionally of ancient origin. These embankments (not the piece of water) were collectively termed “the Loke.” In the Scandinavian mythology, Loke or Loki was the author of every calamity; he was indeed the supreme Evil One; and his daughter Hela presided over the infernal region. Now *the* foe—the cause of much suffering in those days—was the sea, which constantly threatened the low settlement on the border of the Lin; hence our superstitious ancestors naturally regarded the “mysterious beyond” as the dwelling-place of their inveterate enemy—Loke.

As late as 1738, and it might be later, Pilot Street was known as Deucehill (or Dowshill), and the Deucehill bridge crossed the old Fisher fleet not far from the military “block-house” on the outskirts of the town. In 1403 John Groute was appointed keeper of the gates of the “Douz hill yard”; this must not be confounded with Doucehillgate, which means the *way* (Danish *gata*) by the Deuce's hill. This dreary, unfrequented spot—“the sands of Lenn at Duse hill,” at it appears in the Coroners' Roll (1305)—was no doubt, in the minds of the simple folk living hard by, the abode of hobgoblins, sprites, and other indescribable monsters. St. Guthlac was beset with hordes of demons, who vainly tried to drive him from his retreat at Crowland, and the neighbourhood of Cromer is still infested with a demon-dog called “Old Shuck.” Nickars and wood-devils, plentiful enough at one time, were the *duus* of the northern nations of Europe (compare the Latin *deus*); and to the *dusiens*, who amused themselves by perching upon the chests of unconscious sleepers, were attributed the unpleasant effects of nightmare and indigestion. The “Deuce” and “Old Scratch” were names applied to the Devil. According to Dr. Whitaker, the *deuce* was a mythological person, the goddess of the Brigantes, a tribe inhabiting Yorkshire and Lancashire; whilst Sharon Turner asserts that the *deuce* was a male demon, that appeared to men in the semblance of a lovely female, but to women as a man. Even St. Austin mentions these weird creatures in his *De Civitate Dei* :—

*Quosdam dæmones quos dusios
Galli nunciþant,*

—that is, “which same demons, those of Gaul, termed duse.” Hence our “demonhill” was the resort of fiends or *deuces*.

ALL HONOURABLE MEN.

During the reign of Edward the Confessor (1042-1066) the Lin

was held in succession by three of the most influential men of that period :—

(1) *Stigand*, the Bishop of Elmham, by virtue of his ecclesiastical office, claimed the manor of Gaywood, and, moreover, as lord of that manor, he undoubtedly exercised paramount authority over the adjoining settlement in the Lin, which was, of course, regarded as his lay fee. He was, besides, lord of Rising, of the hundred of the Freebridge—the ancient “Camp of Peace,”—of Smithdon (North-West Norfolk), and also of several other extensive districts. Trouble, nevertheless, awaited him on the accession of the King. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* explains the circumstance thus :—

And Stigand the priest was blessed Bishop of East Anglia. And soon after the King caused all the lands which his mother possessed to be seized into his hands, and took from her all that she possessed in gold and silver and in things unspeakable, because she had before held it too closely with him. And soon after Stigand was deposed from his bishopric, and all that he possessed was seized into the King's hands, because he was nearest to his mother's counsel and she went just as he advised her, as people thought (1043).

Stigand, notwithstanding this, reobtained his see at Elmham, and, on the death of Alwyn, he succeeded him as Bishop of Winchester (1047-8), and was, moreover, created Archbishop of Canterbury in 1052.

(2) *Ailmar*, or *Aiglemar*, followed as Bishop of the East Angles, on his brother Stigand's promotion to the bishopric of Winchester (1047).

(3) *Harold*, who subsequently ascended the throne, was at this time Duke of the East Angles and of the West Saxons ; he was also Earl of Surrey, Kent, Sussex, Essex and Norfolk. Further, he was lord of Great Massingham, Westacre, and what was afterwards termed South Lin.

Adversity was in store for each of these great men : Harold died on the battle-field whilst fighting for his crown at Hastings ; Stigand, the proud Archbishop of Canterbury, was deprived of every spirituality and temporality by the Pope's legates ; and Ailmar is supposed to have expired in a dungeon. After the Conquest, the lordship of the Lin passed into other hands.

THE FEUDAL SYSTEM

was certainly practised by the Saxons, though to no great extent. Its development was due to William the Conqueror, who parcelled out the newly-acquired territory among his own subservient vassals. By granting feuds or feoffs he insured not only their future fealty, but the services of a definite number of armed men, whom they in return were bound to provide. The number of soldiers furnished by each knight was clearly and minutely set forth in every enfeoffment. As the immediate tenants of the Crown, the knights held their lands, which were retained in a few cases by the direct payment of money, whilst in others homage, fealty, and service were deemed sufficient. There were tenures, too, which were purely nominal ; the regular payment of a grain of cummin or a red rose was enough ; others were,

however, a few degrees more valuable, and for them a pair of white gloves, a gold spur, a silver salver or a tun of wine was demanded. Slight services, almost nominal in some instances, such as the holding of the lord's stirrups, the keeping of a pack of hounds, etc., secured other tenures. Of those tenants *in capite* who held feoffs in the Lin, mention may be made of:—

(1) Ralf Bainard, lord of Castle Bainard in London, who held fifty-two lordships in Norfolk, which were valued in Edward the Conqueror's reign at £120 5s. 9d., and in William's Survey at £172 16s. 1d.—figures, it must be borne in mind, representing a very considerable amount. One of these lordships was in the vicinity of the Lin.

(2) Ralf de Tony, or Toden, was rewarded with twenty lordships in Norfolk, which were valued at £60 1s. The one to which he succeeded in the Lin (South Lin afterwards) had been previously held by Harold before he ascended the throne.

(3) Hermer de Ferrariis, ancestor of the early lords of Wormegay, was perhaps the largest appropriator of lands in the district. This tyrant, not being satisfied with the two-and-twenty manors in Norfolk (valued at £60 os. 8d.) from which the Saxon Turchetil had been unjustly ejected, laid claim to others valued at £20 19s. 9d. He also possessed a township in the Lin, which included the present parish of West Lynn.

(4) Another lordship in the Lin was held by Rainald, the son of Ivo. Discontented with fifty-eight lordships valued at £119 15s. 1d., he covetously seized eleven other pieces of land belonging to the conquered people.

(5) Whilst the good abbot of St. Edmundsbury, though possessing some fifty-three manors, valued at £94 11s. 1d., was equally as avaricious as the other worldlings. A part of the Lin, corresponding with our present North Lynn, was part of his earthly domain.

The land or "fee" allotted to each knight and constituting the barony of a crown vassal was supposed to be sufficient to maintain him according to his rank, and to enable him to present himself and his retainers suitably equipped and ready to fight in any emergency.

Of the five Parliamentary boroughs in Norfolk, only two are mentioned as burgs in

THE DOMESDAY SURVEY,

whilst "Castle" Rising, Thetford, and King's Lynn are unnoticed. This, however, in no way proves they were nonexistent. London, indeed, is wholly omitted, yet there is indisputable evidence to shew it existed long before the compilation of the Conqueror's survey. About the year A.D. 275, Tacitus speaks of what the Saxons termed London-byrig or London-borough, as Londinium; and Bede, writing in A.D. 604, says it was "the emporium of many people coming by sea and land; whilst in the *Judicia Civitatis Lundoniæ* (A.D. 924) the metropolis is classed as a byrig, burg, or town. Notwithstanding the fact that Lin is mentioned only as a district, it does not preclude the existence of Lin as a town. The record in question was nothing

more nor less than a general register compiled expressly to settle, in case of dispute, the tenure of estates, etc. It was not an official enumeration of the inhabitants of the kingdom, neither was it a parochial survey. But, following the example of Alfred the Great and Edward the Confessor, the Norman Conqueror had a national *geld* or rent-roll drawn up of the particular lands which owed rent, suit, or service to the Crown.

MATTERS ECCLESIASTICAL.

Through severe affliction the venerable Bisi or Bisus, the fourth of the Saxon bishops, was greatly hindered in the discharge of his episcopal functions. The duties would indeed have tried the strength of a far younger man; hence he conceived the idea of dividing the large East Anglian diocese into two parts. This was effected during his life (A.D. 637). A suffragan, Bishop Baldwin, was elected for North Elmham, where the first cathedral church—a wooden structure—was erected; whilst the superior, Bishop Ecce, continued at Dunwich. However, the two sees were reunited by Herfast, the twenty-second bishop, who was moreover the Conqueror's chancellor (1070). He was, of course, a Norman, and, like other Norman ecclesiastics, he heartily despised the old Saxon capital, so dear to his predecessors. Therefore, he removed the see to Thetford (1075), where it remained until Bishop Lozinga transferred it to Norwich (1094).

What a zealous, enthusiastic prelate was Herbert de Lozinga! He made up his mind to erect not only a cathedral in the middle of the diocese, but smaller churches at each extremity; he was indeed an enterprising builder. St. Nicholas' at Great Yarmouth and St. Margaret's at King's Lynn appear to have been both begun about the year 1101.

The old burg was now fast merging into a place of importance, and the church, afterwards dedicated to the memory of St. Margaret, was erected almost at the water's edge, for the benefit of those living upon the foreshore of the fast disappearing Lin. With so many buildings in progress, the bishop's purse, as might be expected, waxed lighter and lighter, but his ardour did in no wise abate. He boldly appealed to the inhabitants of Norfolk and Suffolk for money to enable him to carry on the commendable design upon which he had set his heart. How was it that during Herbert de Lozinga's term of office a second appeal for further funds was necessary? Were our forefathers remiss in contributing towards this most worthy object? By no means, and for these reasons:—The population of the town kept on steadily increasing, so much so that before the close of the 12th century it was found imperative to extend the boundary by enclosing a part of the "new land," formed by the silting process already explained. Not only was the church of St. Margaret completed, but a chapel of ease was deemed necessary. When St. James' chapel was built we cannot say, but it was in existence some thirty years after the prelate's death. And the money derived from the second call was rather to erect a *second* building than to complete the first.

Herbert was followed by Bishop Eborard, who did not interest himself with this neighbourhood; but his successor, William Turbus, of Turbe, proceeded to enclose a part of the sandy marsh to the north of the town. This important work, enclosing what was styled the New Londe, must have been undertaken between 1146 and 1174, that is, between the year when William Turbus was promoted to the see of Norwich and the time of his death; and the reclaiming of this tract, over which the spring-tides perhaps ebbed and flowed, was probably finished before the town received its first charter.

There is a parchment roll in our borough muniment room which throws a little light upon the subject. Although the style of writing is peculiar to the period when Henry V. lived, yet it is, we are told, an unquestionably faithful copy of a survey of the town during the later half of the 13th or the beginning of the 14th century. The original terrier was evidently compiled for the purpose of recording the amount of ground-rent due to the bishop for each tenement. From it we learn that the town was designated *Lenne Episcopi*, that is

BISHOP'S LENNE

and that the recently-enclosed area was—the *Newland*. Now, although the Purfleet ran between the old burg and the newer and more modern settlement, it was easy to get from one to the other when the tide was low, by means of the ford or wading-path, where thoughtful hands had placed stepping-stones among the reeds and sedges. After a while, and when the necessity for passing from one settlement to the other became more urgent, the ancient embankment was probably cut away and the fosse at the *Sedge-Ford* was spanned by a primitive foot-bridge, towards the support of which the busy inhabitants were well pleased to pay a small tax or byrig-boot. A rough-hewn, clumsy piece of joinery it must have been; yet was it very useful, and utility covers a multitude of sins. The connection between *bridge* and *byrig*, an earth-work, needs no further explanation. Thomas de Sedgford, who was mayor in 1306 and again in 1308, was named, as was usual in the early days of surnames, from the *sedge* or *seche ford* (Anglo-Saxon *secg*), the locality in which he lived, and in this case it might possibly be at the west end of *Sedgford Lane*.

The maintenance of bridges and roads was once regarded as a work extremely meritorious and pleasing in the sight of God. Those who were compelled to travel from one part of the kingdom to another were considered objects worthy of charity. Not only, therefore, did pious Christians leave money to place bridges across the treacherous fords, where the stepping-stones were often swept by torrents after heavy rains, but to erect wayside chapels.* A religious order, the *Pontife* Brothers (Latin *pons* a bridge) was founded in the 12th century, whose sole object was the collecting of funds for the making

* Adam de Geyton bequeathed 10s. to repair the bridge over the Nar, in South Lenne, and 20s. to the "causey" (causeway) between Roudeshill ("Spread Eagle Estate") and Gaywood, &c. (1272). Thomas Thoresby, of Lenne, willed that the bridge of Stock Ferry be finished up, at his cost, in coping and other necessary things for the salvation of the same (1510).



CRYPT AT THE FOOT OF HIGH BRIDGE, FROM AN ETCHING BY HENRY BAINES.

of bridges. As a rule these sacred edifices were erected beside the bridges, so that with no unnecessary inconvenience the wayfarers might enter and thank God for His preserving mercy. It was customary for them to leave a small contribution, if tolls were not demanded, for the repair of the bridge over which they had just passed.

All the bridges leading to the older part of the town apparently had their chapels. Not far from the Gannock bridge was the oratory now called the Red Mount, which might have succeeded an earlier building nearer the mill leat; at the north-east corner of what is still termed *Lady* bridge, and near the mouth of the Mill fleet, was a chapel dedicated to *Our Lady*, which was taken down to widen the street (1806); and the bridge connecting the old and new towns was provided with a chapel, which was at the north-west angle, where the Coffee Tavern now stands. An etching of the crypt or *bassa ecclesia*, discovered when the Purfleet was filled up, was executed by the late Henry Baines (1865-6). Our *Stone bridge* or *High bridge* had only one arch, but, like the celebrated London bridge, finished in 1209, it was furnished on both sides with houses. When the tenants of these houses (which were standing until recently) needed water, they let their buckets down by means of ropes from the windows or overhanging balconies at the rear, and hauled up a *fresh* supply from the Purfleet. Under this bridge, barges, heavily laden with merchandise, passed to supply those dwelling on both sides of the "common way."

After Bishop Turbus had raised a substantial embankment and laid out the enclosed land for building purposes, he erected a chapel of ease, and dedicated it to the memory of St. Nicholas. This he granted to the monks of Norwich, even as Herbert, his predecessor, had the church of St. Margaret. The sacred edifice was "in his own liberty," and although the church in the "Newland" was virtually a chapel of ease to the parent church, yet it was entirely distinct, because it was without the soke of the monks, standing upon land reclaimed from the sea—*in fundo nostro de Lenna in novo terra nostra quam de novo providimus habitandam*—"upon our ground at Lenne, in our new land, where we from the beginning have provided a habitation."^{*}

In 1204, John de Grey, who was then bishop of the diocese, expressed the great desire he felt for possessing certain lands and privileges which Bishop Herbert de Lozinga had made over to the priory at Norwich. To effect his purpose, John de Grey proposed to exchange his manors at Sechford and Great Cressingham in Norfolk, together with the lands, etc., belonging thereto, reserving only to himself and his successors the advowson of the church at Great Cressingham, with the knight's fees and services accruing to the said manor. The priory, accepting the offer, resigned to the bishop and his successors the whole of the rights and profits arising from the

^{*} Michael of Lyn, secretary to Edward III., and Archdeacon of Suffolk (1348), was surnamed *Newburgh*. At a later period *Northburg* was also applied to the new settlement.

fairs held at Bishop's Lenne and Gaywood, the market of St. Margaret, and their right in all rents (with one exception) and tolls in the burg.

To secure even greater ascendancy, the bishop promised to remit to the priory at Norwich "all spiritualities, tithes, oblations and obventions," belonging not alone to the church of St. Margaret, but also those derivable from the chapels of St. Nicholas and St. James, besides those of the church at Mintlyn. He surrendered with questionable disinterestedness the tithes received from his demesne lands at Gaywood as well, upon an easy condition—that the priory was to supply the necessary chaplains, subject, however, to his approval and dismissal. He, moreover, reserved to himself the power to erect other churches in their parishes if he thought fit, but any prospective profits arising therefrom he notwithstanding relinquished and conceded to the priory.

Such strangely advantageous terms were eagerly accepted, and thus the domination of the town drifted once more into ecclesiastical hands. It cannot be a surprise that henceforth the name it bore was more than ever applicable,—a name retained until the borough was alienated to the Crown, some three hundred years afterwards.

EXCHANGE, NO ROBBERY.

During a short but eventful career John de Grey had played various parts before donning the bishop's mitre; he travelled the country as a justice, and had quietly ingratiated himself into royal favour whilst discharging his duties as the king's secretary. He became immensely rich and oppressively arrogant. But the worst was yet to come, for our impecunious monarch so far humiliated himself as to solicit assistance from his own servant. The regalia of England, the king's gilt sword, sur-coat, tunic and numerous articles of costly apparel, besides the sumptuous coronation robes of Edward the Confessor, and other priceless relics, were surrendered as pledges to the usurious prelate for money advanced. Having thus far achieved his secret purpose, he determined to exercise what power he possessed in influencing the king on behalf of the town which by his exceptional astuteness and diplomacy he had secured to himself. He had already—before negotiating the exchanges with the Norwich Priory—built for himself a stately palace at Gaywood, which is said to have stood on the site occupied by the present "Hall." Consoling himself that one good turn deserves another, he approached the king, who in abject submission granted his request.

To these circumstances we are indebted for our *first charter*, which King John granted, his motives being primarily to gratify the wishes of an invaluable favourite rather than to benefit "the good folks of Lenne," as his subjects in this town were flatteringly styled. From thence Lenne Episcopi became what was termed a *free borough*, "which at that time," write Merewether and Stephens, "was a distinguishing mark of no slight importance."

CHAPTER VII.

Our Great Charter.

IN early times royal charters were executed for the purpose of granting special privileges, exemptions, honours, pardons, rewards and other benefits the Crown might have to bestow. Thus the term became restricted to such instruments as conferred some definite right or franchise. Royal charters and letters patent did not differ much in form; they were usually addressed by the king to his subjects, and were exhibited in some public place, with the great pendent seal at the bottom. The power of the Crown in granting charters was at first exercised chiefly in conferring immunities on burghs or boroughs and municipal bodies; and the most important was considered to be the privilege of sending representatives to Parliament. This our town has done since the reign of Edward III.

We possess an almost unbroken series of charters from the beginning of the 13th century to the present time.

C. I. THE MAGNA CHARTA*

of our municipal liberty is carefully protected in the new strong-room adjoining the Town Hall. A portion of the broad wax seal, attached to the parchment with a silken cord, remains. The deed, which is in a good state of preservation, was granted by King John at Lutgershall, in Wiltshire, on the 14th of September in the 6th year of his reign (1205).

By this charter Bishop's Lenne became what is termed a *free* burgh, and its inhabitants thenceforth enjoyed certain advantageous concessions. Our first charter may be regarded as the basis upon which all subsequent liberties rested. As a lordship or seignior, the burgesses had from that time forward the power of holding plea of trespass, etc., and also the privilege of fining offenders. They could themselves try any person accused of theft in the burgh; besides, if any burgess were arrested for felony elsewhere, they could summon him to appear in Bishop's Lenne to stand his trial in the town to which he belonged. They were free "from all suit of county court or hundred court for tenures within the burgh of Lenne; and that none of them should be impleaded out of the burgh in any plea but those of foreign tenures, and that all trials of murder should be in the said burgh, and the burgesses freed from all trial by combat or duel, and if impleaded in any except a foreign one, they might traverse the same according to the law and custom of Oxford." (Parkin.)

The different payments due to the bishop as lord of the burgh were to be exacted from all strangers visiting Lenne; from these levies the burgesses were, of course, exempt, whether they remained in the town or not. Strangers were subject to *passage*, a payment for the use of the roads leading to, through and from the burgh; *paage*,

* As reference will be made to our various charters, it is thought advisable that they should be designated thus: C. 1, C. 2, etc.

a tax upon all merchandise brought hither by water; *pontage*, for keeping the various bridges in repair; *stallage* or *pickage*, for breaking the ground for the erection of stalls or booths in fairs and markets; and sundry *tolls* for permission to buy or sell. If, however, a burgess hailing from Bishop's Lenne were compelled to pay for the enjoyment of similar privileges elsewhere (except in London), the chief officer, provost or mayor of Lenne could immediately distraint upon the goods of the offending exactor for the whole amount. To prevent breaches of the king's peace the community could inflict a fine of £10 upon any stranger injuring a stranger whilst a sojourner in their midst.

The highly favoured inhabitants of this burgh were no longer liable for the payment, either here or elsewhere, of the obnoxious *Danegelt*—a tax of two shillings upon every hide (60 to 100 acres) of land released by King Stephen. Permission was granted for the establishing of a self-governing gild of merchants, on the same lines as the one already existing at Oxford, and for the holding of a weekly hustings court. Moreover, in future no burgess was forced to maintain anybody; he might with impunity disregard an order to that effect even if it were issued by the Earl-Marshal. Miskensing, or the fraudulent summoning of a seller to court, under the pretence that the goods offered for sale were claimed by another, was punishable as a crime. A terrified salesman would often part with accommodation money rather than appear in court to prove his possession was legal and thus "justify a sale."

ITS CONFIRMATION—

Now after the king had granted the charter conferring "freedom" upon the burgh of the Bishop's Lenne, and received (as is said) three beautiful palfreys as a slight token of grateful appreciation, it became necessary for the bishop as lord of the burgh to formally reiterate the king's words, and thus to definitely acknowledge that the same met with his concurrence. John de Grey therefore certified: "That he had granted to his village of Lenne, namely, to the parish of St. Margaret in the same village, and all men dwelling therein, all and every the same liberties which the burgesses of Oxford enjoy; the king having granted to him" (the bishop) "the power of choosing any burgh in England, and that his village of Lenne should enjoy the same liberties that any burgh enjoyed, which he should make choice of, and that he made choice of the burgh of Oxford." (Parkin.)

The bishop's choice was a wise one. Oxford was highly favoured among burghs, and of this the Bishop was cognizant. Its charter had been granted by Henry II., not only in recognition of the city's fidelity to himself when fighting against Stephen, but because of its friendship to his mother.

Mackerell speaks of having seen this episcopal charter. It was about 6 by 5 inches, having at that time the seal attached, though somewhat broken. The historian gives a description thereof. On one side there was the representation of the Bishop in his episcopal

attire, mitre on head, and crozier in hand, with the legend: JOHANNES DEI GRATIA EPISCOP. NORWICENS. On the reverse, a lamb with a cross, and for legend: ECCE AGNUS DEI QUI TOLLIT PECCATA MUNDI.

Mr. E. M. Beloe, who has given considerable attention to this subject, refers to a series of charters by means of which "the divided jurisdiction of the monks in the old town and the bishop in the Newland was obliterated, and the town became one, and under one authority." The series mentioned may be arranged thus:—

- (a) 27th January 1203, King John granted a preliminary charter to the town;
- (b) 24th March 1203, the Bishop gave a confirmatory charter;
- (c) 14th September 1204, the King granted the "Great Charter";
- (d) 17th May 1205, a charter of exchange executed between the Bishop and the Monastery of Norwich;
- (e) 17th May 1205, the Bishop granted considerable endowments to the Monastery, including the three churches in Lenne, with Gaywood and Mintlyn; and
- (f) 10th June 1205, a royal charter confirming *d* and *e*.

Of these important documents *b* "was till lately in our muniment room"; it was, however, overlooked by Mr. John C. Jeaffreson, when investigating for the *Historical Manuscripts Commission* (1887). The "two beautiful originals" also in the possession of our Corporation and marked *c* above, are duly mentioned in his published "Report" (pp. 185-6). In the duplicate the names of the witnesses are differently arranged, and "Alan Basset" appears in one, but not in the testamentary clause of the other. The last of the series, *f*, is in the hands of the Dean and Chapter of Norwich.*

AND ADAPTATION.

Owing to the vagueness of the phraseology employed in the document termed the "Great Charter" many disputes and much confusion arose. The burgesses disagreed with the methods adopted at the municipal elections; this difficulty was, however, easily overcome by following the usage at Oxford; nevertheless "quarrels were continually occurring with the bishop," as Harrod asserts, "either about his tolls, about his title to interfere in their elections, or about the neglect of his duties in repairing wharves and staithes."

The fleecing of strangers was not by any means the introduction of a new commercial method, but the survival of a very old one, as is apparent from the following quotations from Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*:—

In all the different countries of Europe then, in the same manner as in several of the Tartar governments of Asia at present, taxes used to be levied upon the persons and goods of travellers, when they passed through certain manors, when they went over certain bridges, when they carried about their goods from place to place in a fair, when they erected in it a booth or stall to sell them in. These different taxes were known in England by the names of *passage*, *pontage*, *lastage* and *stallage*. Sometimes the king, sometimes a great lord, would grant to particular traders, to such as lived in their own demesnes, a

* Vide *Our Borough: Our Churches*; by Edward M. Beloe (1893); and *Parkin's History of Norfolk* (Blomefield), vol. viii., pp. 483-6 (1808).

The Charter in Latin—Mackerell's *Hist. Lynn*, (1738), pp. 242-4; in English—Blomefield's *Hist. Norf.* vol. VIII., pp. 485-6, or Aikin's *Report of the Municipal Corporations* (1834), pp. 74-5.

general exemption from such taxes. Such traders, though in other respects of servile condition, were upon this account called *free-traders*. They in return usually paid to their protector a sort of annual poll-tax. In those days protection was seldom granted without a valuable consideration, and this tax might perhaps be considered as compensation for what their patrons might lose from other taxes.

There can be no doubt but that the inhabitants of Lenne paid pretty heavily for what were, after all, only nominal privileges. The poll-taxes were in some places let in farm during a term of years, for a stipulated sum, to the sheriff of the county or some other person with adequate means. The king received the revenue without the trouble of appointing collectors, and the speculating sheriff seldom struck a bad bargain. At other times, however, the burgesses themselves became jointly and severally responsible for the whole amount.

At first the farm of the town was let to the burghers, in the same manner as it had been to other farmers, for a term of years only. In process of time, however, it seems to have become the general practice to grant it to them in fee. that is, for ever, reserving a rent certain, never afterwards to be augmented. The payment having become perpetual, the exemptions in return for which it was made became perpetual too. Those exemptions therefore ceased to be personal, and could not afterwards be considered as belonging to individuals as individuals, but as burgesses of a particular burgh, which on this account was called a *free-burgh*, for the same reason that they had been called *free-burghers* or *free-traders*.

The frequent litigations in which our Corporation were involved, have, it must be thankfully admitted, contributed to the preservation of this ancient relic, recording the first enfranchisement of our burgh. In 1339 a payment of three shillings and four pence was made for a "*hanaper*" in which to place "the great charter." A *hanaper*—a word recognisable in its modern guise as *hamper*—was a small wicker basket in which legal documents were formerly kept. Writs in the Court of Chancery were kept in such a basket—in *hanaperio*, and the office was until recently called the Hanaper office. The charter was produced in evidence before the King's Court as late as the 7th year of Henry IV. (or V.), to establish the fact that no burghess belonging to the free-burgh of Lenne could be legally impleaded in any place other than the town to which he belonged. Prior to this it was produced and allowed in the Court of King's Bench in the case of Margaret the widow of Robert de Wenton and the Mayor of Lenne (1220).

EARLY DEVELOPMENT.

At the beginning of the 11th century, Lenne was a place of some importance, and owing to its advantageous position, being on a narrow arm of the sea, it grew in course of time into an opulent mercantile settlement. As early as the Norman invasion, the inhabitants enjoyed exceptional pecuniary privileges—duties and customs payable on the arrival of merchandise, a moiety of which they handed over to the bishop of the diocese, who was lord of the burgh. Tradesmen in large towns had their patrons as early as the reign of Edward the Confessor, under whose protection they traded, and for which they willingly paid an acknowledgment. If there were no patron, they found themselves in a most servile condition, as being under the

power of the king or other influential persons, who could extort money from them. It was therefore an advantage to the burgesses of Lenne to have a powerful patron—the bishop of the diocese. William of Newburg (1136-1198?) a friar belonging to the Augustinian priory at Newburg, near Coxwell, in Yorkshire, and the author of the *Historia Rerum Anglicarum* (the finest historical work by an Englishman during the 12th century), regarded our town as of great importance; he speaks of it as *Urbs commeatu et commerciis*, that is, “a noble city, or a city noted for its trade.” The origin of “the great river” in the 13th century, by establishing communication with the midlands, greatly facilitated the growth of our trade. “Of all the navigable rivers in England,” writes Col. John Armstrong in his *Navigation of the Port of King’s Lynn* (1756), “the river of the great Ouse is one of the chief, which for usefulness of it an ancient author (Spelman) says, *via lactea est; qua merces & alia vitæ necessaria copiose inferunt & deferunt: ejusque in ostio, instar clavis, Lenna sedet*. In other words, our river was termed “the milky way, which copiously brings in and carries out the riches and other necessities of life, the *key* of whose worth (that is, the *merchants*), settled in course of time with (their) vessels at Lenne.”

(1) ITS EXTENT.

Towards the close of the 13th century buildings had spread northward in the Newland, beyond the chapel of St. Nicholas; the Damgate, corresponding with part of the present Norfolk Street, was populated, and a row of small tenements stretched from the Bishop’s Mill fleet (Littleport Street) quite up to the drawbridge at the East or St. Catherine’s gate. The whole of the north side of this portion of the thoroughfare belonged to the Brotherhood of St. Lawrence, and paid of course a ground-rent to the Bishop. And what is perhaps still more surprising—there were *beyond* the East Gates, outside the boundary of the Newland, two-and-twenty other messuages, twelve on the north and the rest on the south of the highway leading towards Gaywood. For the safety of the burgh these messuages, miserable thatched hovels at the best, were burnt “in the time of war” by order of King Henry III.

The causeways or dams approaching the early settlement in the Lin were vastly improved. There were two. The one on the *north*, leading from Thorpe, crossed the marshes at Gaywood and passed by the point where *Hob in the Well* now stands. “The course of the road into the older settlement of Lyn between the Purfleet and the Millfleet is well marked. It entered by the East Gate,” Mr. E. M. Beloe continues, “always the more important one, through Littleport, then turning to the left southward it ran on a high embankment, lowered in my time for the station and St. John’s church, into Lynn over the Purfleet, there called the Clough Fleet.” This causeway was the High-gate or High-way—a cognomen perhaps also applied to the Dam-gate or raised way across the marsh which led to the ferry in the haven. *High* is derived directly from the Anglo-Saxon adjective *héah*, and indirectly from the verb *heaf-an*, to heave

up, to raise, or to elevate. How appropriate is this name to the road running along the raised earth-work. The old embankment has disappeared, it is true, but there is in the neighbourhood a district still termed "Highgate."

Professor Skeat traces the derivation of *high* thus: Anglo-Saxon *héah*, Mercian *héh*, gives the Middle English *héy* or *héh*, also *hy* or *hygh*, hence *high*, whilst *hey* is represented by *hey-day*, that is, "high day." The final *h* in Anglo-Saxon had the sound of the German *ch*. This sound was always written *gh* in Middle English, and still remains in writing, though always either mute or sounded as *f*. The *gh* is sounded as *f* in *laugh*, but is silent in *high*.

The late Mr. J. D. Thew regarded the "High Hills," as this embankment near the station was called, as "an old disused dust-heap," and Burnet piles ridicule upon the term, because the "hills" are not higher, quite forgetting its etymological significance—the raised or heaved-up "hills."

As late as the 18th century Norfolk Street retained its old name; it was the Dam-gate. The dams or approaches to the burgh were, as might be anticipated, originally banks to obstruct the flow of the incoming waters (Anglo-Saxon *demn-an*, to obstruct, to restrain, or to stop by means of a heap of earth).

On the south of the settlement was the Hardwyke Dam, another important causeway, leading from the hamlet of Hardwick—a name which signifies, according to Blomefield, "a turn at the point of hard land." Crossing the ford at the spot where the South Gate was subsequently erected, it swerved towards the west, and then, after one or two bends along what was afterwards Coldhurn Street (Friars Street), the cobble-paved track was struck, which led to the second ford, spanned ultimately by "Our Lady's bridge," and on to the old earth-work called the Stone-gate.

(2) THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A MINT.

Another sign of early importance was the fact that Lenne owned a mint and struck coins. During the Saxon period this coveted privilege was often relegated to the Church. Mints were, however, sometimes granted to municipal communities by royal licence, and thus constituted one of the early characteristics of a burgh. In a list of the "towns of mintage" for the period corresponding with the reign of Edgar (A.D. 959-975) Mr. Llewellynn Jewitt, F.S.A., includes Lenne; there is, notwithstanding, no positive proof (although it seems highly probable) that our town possessed a mint at that early date. King Æthelstan enacted a law to the effect that "no one is to coin money outside a port" (that is, a burg owning a market) "and there is to be a moneyer in every burg" (A.D. 924-941). May we not infer from the equivalence of the terms that Lenne as an ancient burg possessed its own mint?

In 1863 a workman dug up about 500 Saxon pennies at the corner of the old Butter Market and the White Hart lane in Ipswich. Though all belonged to the same reign, Æthelred II. (10th century), yet they were struck at several different places: London appears as

LUNDON or LUNDO, and Lenne is said to be represented by LVN, and perhaps LIMA, for in the Domesday Book LVN and LENA are given. Neither does LY upon a Saxon nor LYNDR upon a Norman coin help in this inquiry. Some writers contend that the Stephen-penny with STIEFNE upon the obverse and HWN ON RISINGE upon the reverse was struck at Lenne; but if Rising were a burg it had its own moneyer in the time of Æthelstan, and, moreover, if the burg was a *port* or market, the greater the reason it should possess a moneyer.

There is indisputable evidence that a mint was established in Lenne in the time of King John, because a mandate was issued to all the "moneyers" in the kingdom summoning them within fifteen days to Westminster, to bring for inspection all their own dies, but not those of the King (1208). Therein Norfolk, Norwich, Thetford and Lenne are mentioned. A century later a writ was issued, addressed to the wardens of the mint at Lenne, directing them under a recent ordinance—*le statut de la monnoie*—not only to seize all prohibited money, but the chattels of the offending coiners, which were to be sent immediately to His Majesty's exchequer. No matter how high the social position of the delinquents, none were to be spared. Out of courtesy, six silver pennies were handed to the King's messenger who brought the writ to Lenne (1307).

How long our burgh continued to work its own mint may be conjectured. Edward III. wisely reduced the various local coinages to one standard—that of the Tower of London. There was no prohibition; every mint could withdraw its coining tools from the Tower after they had been scrupulously adjusted; but as a profit of only 5s. was to be allowed for striking coins to the amount of £100 in future, it is reasonable to suppose that, with other towns, Lenne grew dissatisfied, and discontinued the unremunerative business of money-making (1344).

(3) THE ADVENT OF THE JEWS.

In 1020 Canute issued an order of banishment against the Jews, who apparently returned to this country soon after the Norman Conquest, and many had taken up their abode in this town as early as the 12th century. Inasmuch as they carried on trade with most parts of Europe, it may be rightly inferred that Lenne was not wholly unknown on the Continent. William of Newburg has left on record a tragic incident which happened here (January, 1190). One of the resident Jews, who professed to be a Christian, suddenly found himself in great danger; and to save his life he took sanctuary in one of the churches. Whereupon his enraged brethren broke open the door, and would have slain him, had not several foreigners rushed to his rescue. The townsfolk, it seems, were afraid to interfere, because at this time the King had temporarily taken the despised race under his protection. This sad adventure quickly developed into a deplorable riot, which was attributed not to the jealous burgesses, but to the foreign traders who happened to be in the town. The houses in the Jewry, or Jewish quarter, were plundered and burnt to the ground, and a general massacre of the Jews ensued, the

last being a Jewish physician. A monkish writer declares "that bold and greedy men carried out the work of their own cupidity with savage joy." To escape the King's displeasure, the strangers secured their booty and forthwith sailed away.

At this time (William of Newburg continues) there is a street called from them the *Jews' street*, where they lived together. They had great indulgence which they paid the government for, bought houses and lands which rendered them hated by the Christians. In many ancient deeds may be seen a form of warranty against selling land, &c., to them, namely, *et cuique dare vendere, et assignare volue't præterquam domij religiosæ et Judaismo vel Judæis*—which means that lands, &c., may be freely given, sold or assigned to whomsoever a person wishes, except to a religious house for Jewish purposes or to the Jews themselves.

In the time of Richard I. the persecution of the Jews was general throughout the kingdom, and our town was implicated in this early Socialistic movement. Envy and dissatisfaction prompted to deeds of robbery and murder those who ought to have set an example worthy of imitation. The Jews were immensely rich; therefore were they plundered and their wealth stolen, and where resistance was offered they lost their lives. The royalists robbed and murdered them because, as was contended, they assisted the barons; and the baronial party followed suit, alleging as a pretext that the Jews were secretly allied with the King against them, and that they possessed hidden stores of Greek fire, with which to destroy the champions of liberty. Norfolk perhaps exceeded every other part of England for the virulence of this fanatical persecution. The brutal work started in London, extended to Lenne and other places, and at last reached York, where a most revolting massacre was perpetrated.

Although our "great charter" held out inducements for strangers to settle in Lenne, the Jews, it seems, were soon driven away. *Gewys' Lane* was a local street-name in the 13th century, and the lane retained that name until about 40 years ago, when it was dubbed "Surrey Street." There is still a "Jews Lane Ward," although the Jews no longer inhabit the locality. As thrifty, industrious people, they amassed riches, and were in consequence reviled and persecuted by their envious, improvident neighbours. Notwithstanding this unfortunate, though common occurrence, wherever a Jewry existed prosperity invariably smiled.

(4) ROYAL FAVOUR.

King John visited Norfolk several times, and is believed to have been exceedingly well disposed to the inhabitants of this burgh, who were, it is said, unfeignedly grateful for their charter of freedom. Although no facts are given in support of this assertion, the burgesses of Lenne were unquestionably sincere in their loyalty, or John in his extremity would not have trusted himself in their midst.

On two occasions the disaffected barons assembled at the magnificent church at Bury (St. Edmund) to devise measures conducive to their own protection, and likely at the same time to secure greater liberty to the down-trodden peasantry of England. The first meeting was convened in May 1205; the King spent three days in Bury, but nothing of a satisfactory nature was the outcome. Later in the

same year he was in Norfolk; on the 8th and 9th of October he was in Lenne, or rather Gaywood, for he apparently stayed with his favourite, Bishop de Grey, at his newly-erected palace. The next conference was held the 20th of November 1214, when Stephen Langton submitted a series of proposals to the enraged barons for their consideration.

Another sign of the importance of the burgh at this period was the amount contributed in IMPERIAL TAXES. This interesting subject must, however, be considered in a future section.

THE TREND OF EVENTS.

The student of English history will find no difficulty in tracing the course of events; he will remember the reluctant signing of our *national* Magna Charta, as based on Langton's suggestions at Runnymede; the King's subsequent outburst of anger, and his ineffectual attempt to annul what he had already done; his crafty intrigue with the pope, who, although he had previously favoured the barons in their commendable struggle, now veered round and promptly excommunicated those opposed to the King; the introduction of foreign troops to coerce the people, who demanded greater freedom; the King at the head of a mercenary army laying waste the provinces; the baronial party imploring Prince Louis, the son of Philip of France, to come to their assistance; the landing of the young Prince and his followers; the capture of the castle at Norwich, the ruthless plunder of the city, and the exaction of large ransoms from Yarmouth, Dunwich and Ipswich. These familiar events need no lengthy description.

When hard pressed and fleeing before the enemy, John remembered his friends in Bishop's Lenne, and sent a message imploring the authorities to receive and shelter all who might present themselves with recommendations from Fulk d'Oiry and three other royal adherents. Moreover, His Majesty graciously appointed Saveric de Malione (otherwise Mauléon) to the captaincy of the burgh. At length King John sought refuge here himself, bringing with him the vast treasures he was by force of untoward events compelled to carry with him wherever he went. The burghers gave the King a hearty welcome, feasted him sumptuously during his stay, and presented him, when he departed, with a large sum of money. Saveric, whom he sent back to Crowland to capture certain men-at-arms reported to be in hiding there, though failing to find those whom he sought, yet brought considerable spoils to Lenne—flocks of sheep, herds of cattle and a few wretched prisoners, driven from sanctuary within the precincts of the Abbey. Parkin states that John was in Lenne on the 8th, 9th and 10th of October 1216; that he, however, remained here another day is conclusive, because of the following passage in the Patent Rolls:—"At Lenn. Know, that we received in our chamber at Lenn, on Tuesday next, after the feast of Saint Dionysius (Oct. 11th), the eighteenth year of our reign, 100 marks."* Possibly the

* Mr. Rider Haggard in his preface to *The King's Homeland* (1904), in following Mason (*Hist. Norfolk*, p. 52), was led astray in concluding that in the Patent Roll our borough was styled—*King's Lynn*!

King received on this occasion the ransom Agatha de Trusbutt paid for the liberation of her husband William d'Albini, Earl of Arundel and Lord of Rising, who, belonging to the baronial army, was imprisoned as a traitor. The amount paid in this instance was 100 *silver marks*. The day before John granted to Margery (or Margaret) the wife of Walter de Lacey, a slice of the royal forest at Aconbury (Herefordshire), whereon to build a religious house. She therefore founded a nunnery of the order of St. Augustine for the repose of the souls of her father, mother and brother—William de Braose, junior.

The struggle between the King and his people was exceedingly severe, but fortunately of brief duration. Referring to this disastrous campaign, Speed tells us that—

King John setting forth from Lin,* where for their faithful services he bestowed large franchises and his own sword (?) and a gilt belt for typification of his affection, with a full resolution to addresse his mighty army, to give Lewis battle, as he was passing the Wash with his army and rich carriages towards Lincoln Shire in those lands by reason of ye often changeable Channell ever dangerous, all his carriages, treasures and provision (himself and his army hardly escaping) were irrecoverably lost.

Matthew Paris describes the disaster as taking place at the Cross Keys, where the King's waggons, baggage and valuables, in the words of Shakespeare—

Were in the *washes* all unwarily,
Devoured by the unexpected flood.

On the left side of the road leading to Long Sutton there was until recently a dark, stagnant pool of water, known as "King John's Hole," where the King's treasures were supposed to have been engulfed. Rumour assures us that many articles belonging to the unfortunate monarch were dug up, when the land in the vicinity of the pool was drained.

Notwithstanding this crushing event, John bravely pushed forward, determined to encounter the French army in Lincolnshire; he reached Wisbech on the 12th, Sleaford on the 15th and Newark on the 18th, where his earthly career was brought suddenly to an end. His death was caused not by poison, as some believe, but by a violent attack of dysentery, the result of his gluttonous excesses whilst at Lenne, aggravated perhaps by incessant anxiety. In compliance with his wish, his body was conveyed to Winchester, and interred within the precincts of the cathedral (1216).

CHAPTER VIII.

The King's Taxes.

AFTER the mysterious death of Prince Arthur, King John was cited to answer a charge of murdering his nephew, who was a homager of the crown of France. Contemptuously ignoring the summons, he

* Tradition points to the *Mitre* (now the *Empress*) Inn, Queen Street, as the house at which King John stayed

was, by the decision of the French peers, deprived of all the possessions he then held as vassal of France. Without delay, Philip, the French king, invaded Normandy; and in the course of the year (1204-5) that duchy, as well as Anjou, Maine, Touraine and Poitou, repudiated their allegiance to the English king. John unhesitatingly boasted that he would recover all he had lost in one day. To do this an expedition against France was imperatively necessary, but at this most critical juncture the foolish monarch was ill-supported. Yarmouth and Lenne were among the principal places that came forward to help to provide a fleet. Zealous gratitude seemed to have biassed the judgment of the burgesses of Lenne; they were truly more loyal than discreet in the homage and assistance they rendered this foolish, licentious monarch.

* * * * *

John was succeeded by Henry, his eldest son, a youth about 10 years of age. The Earl of Pembroke was appointed guardian of the King,—an office which also included the onerous functions appertaining to the Regent of the realm. He succeeded in winning over several leaders in the baronial army; indeed, it was his wisdom and courage which prevented England at this alarming crisis from becoming a tributary province to France.

WAR IN THE ISLE OF ELY.

The fickle-minded inhabitants of Lenne (with whom every loyal burgess must feel disgusted) suddenly swerved round, and, forgetful alike of the friendship and the favours of their lately deceased King, and, moreover, of the allegiance due to their youthful sovereign, they joined hands with those wicked barons who were still brandishing their arms. A battle was fought near Littleport, in which the barons and their allies from Bishop's Lenne were severely handled. The burning of twenty-two tenements *beyond* the East Gates, which followed, happened "in the time of war"; and though we are told that the destruction of houses outside the boundary was for the safety of the burgh, there is no reason why the circumstance may not be regarded as a mild sort of retribution carried out under the King's instruction. Be this as it may, one fact remains indisputable: by the strange and unaccountable behaviour of these burgesses the chartered rights of Lenne were forfeited.

The defection was happily of a temporary character. The perverse and discontented minority were speedily absorbed by a stanch and loyal majority. The destruction of a few old houses was nothing when compared with the rights and privileges so wantonly sacrificed through such an exhibition of wayward disloyalty. Picture the dismay in the faces of the wiser, and perhaps older, burgesses, as they wended their way to the meeting convened by the Mayor, to consider the gravity of the situation in which the community suddenly found itself; and imagine the impassioned and convincing arguments addressed to the disloyal town-folk! Before the congregation dispersed, Richard de Oxwikes was unanimously deputed to solicit an

audience of the King, to tender penitential apologies, and to pray that Bishop's Lenne might once again be enrolled with the rest of the free burghs, and that those advantageous terms enumerated in the burgh's "Great Charter" might no longer be withheld (1216-7). Though this course of action was humiliating, it was prudent, and, by-the-bye, very economical, for the out-of-pocket expenses of the deputation amounted only to seven shillings and eightpence.

Camden says:—"They (the burgesses) recovered their lost liberties with some bloodshed from Henry III., when *in his cause*, they lost a battle against the proscribed barons, in the Isle of Ely, as the Book of Ely (*Liber Eliensis*), and Matthew Paris (*Chronica Majora*) testify."

In both engagements the detachment from Lenne suffered severely. By their atonement they acknowledged the injustice of visiting the sins of a father upon an innocent child.

REEVE, PROVOST OR MAYOR.

The youthful sovereign generously forgave the burgesses their ill-advised transgression, and, mindful of the friendship that had for so many years existed between them and his father, he granted the burgh three charters during his reign. They were all more or less of a confirmatory nature; his primary object being to reaffirm and reinforce what his father had already conceded.

C. 2. Dated at Westminster 6th Feb.; 7th year of his reign (1223).

C. 3. " " Windsor 14th April; 39th " " " (1255).

C. 4. " " Westminster 26th March; 52nd " " " (1268).

The first was a charter (*inspeximus*) of revision and confirmation; not only were the privileges defined by the Great Charter (C.1.) granted 28 years before (1205), acknowledged, but the grant was prolonged indefinitely. By the second, entitled *Ne quis pro alios distringator*, the King freely granted the self-same immunities, but he cautiously pointed out that they were in no wise binding upon his successors. The third formally confirmed the two previous ones (C.3. and C.2.) and gave the inhabitants permission to elect a *mayor* in accordance with the terms of an ecclesiastical charter granted by the Bishop of Norwich and his Chapter "in former times."

Now the bishop had no power of himself to grant the burgh a mayor; he might notwithstanding have issued an ecclesiastical charter ratifying, or rather stating his acquiescence in, what the King had done. Sir Henry Spelman repudiates the generally-accepted suggestion that King John actually granted our burgh its *first* mayor, which he maintains was obtained through Henry III. (C. 4.). There is indeed no mention of a mayor in our "Great Charter." It is written in Latin, quoted by Mackerell and Parkin, and, according to the translation, in *A Report of the proceedings of His Majesty's Commissioners inquiring into the state of the Municipal Corporations*, as republished by the late J. W. Aikin (1834), it was addressed: "To all Archbishops, Earls, Barons, Justices, Sheriffs, Chief Officers, Ministers, and to all their Bailiffs and faithful people." The word rendered "chief officers" is in the original

the dative plural of the noun *præpositus*; further on in the document *præpositus de Lenna* is encountered, and this also is translated as the "chief officer of Lynn." After the sheriffs—the shire-reeves, it would be reasonable to anticipate the *port-reeves*; however, instead of the Saxon word its Latin equivalent, *præpositi*, appears.

The remarks by Messrs. Merewether and Stephens in reference to London demand quoting, because of their peculiar applicability to our burgh:—

As we have charters [granted to London] in the reign of William II., Henry I., Henry II., Richard I., and three preceding charters by King John (two in one day) in none of which the mayor is mentioned, it is not assuming too much to say that there was no charter authorising the change of the name from *reeve* to *mayor*:—and notwithstanding the great importance which has been attributed to the latter term by authors—lawyers—and even the courts of law—and Parliament, there seems to have been no necessity for a charter to change the name, for the *office continued the same*; and it is obvious that the alteration of the term could make no essential difference. For, as we have before observed, the name varied only according to the different language from which it was borrowed:—*reeve* being the Saxon term—*bailiff* the French—*præpositus* the Latin, afterwards translated into *provost*—and *maire* the Norman appellation, probably borrowed from the Latin term *major*, not altogether without analogy to the Saxon term for another office, the elder or ealdorman—the modern alderman; but to suppose that any real distinction was intended by the use of these different terms, or that there was such magic in the appellation of mayor as to import a Corporation or any connection with it, seems too childish to require refutation, or even to justify further comment.—[*The History of the Boroughs and Municipal Corporations*, 1835, vol. I., p. 384.]

THE IMPERIAL REVENUE.

On the accession of King John (1199) a duty termed *quinzième* was exacted. The land in this instance was not taxed, but all movable goods—household furniture, wearing apparel, etc., were assessed at *one-fifteenth* of their estimated value. The money was carefully collected and paid to the King. As Lenne contributed as much as 13.14 per cent. of the whole amount, the relative position held by our burgh at this period may be better understood. Boston paid 15.75, London 16.86 and Newcastle 3.19 per cent. respectively. Again, in 1215, when the port of London contributed £836 12s. 2d. towards the revenue of the nation, Boston paid £780 15s. 3d., Southampton £712 3s. 7d., and Lenne £600 11s. 11d. Our town ranked then as the fourth port in the kingdom; its fifteenth (*quintadecima* or *quinzième*, for both Latin and French ordinals were used), amounted to two-thirds of what was raised by London alone; and this commercial prosperity arose mainly through an influx of enterprising foreigners, many of whom were Jews. Lenne was eclipsed by three other ports only!

An unsystematic and somewhat arbitrary levying of these taxes, or *tallages*, as they were afterwards called (a word borrowed from our French neighbours, the import of which must claim attention presently) caused much uneasiness in Lenne during the early part of the reign of Henry III. Without consulting the patient burgesses, the bishop of the diocese inflicted these burdens whenever he thought

it expedient. This was a high-handed proceeding, to which the burgesses submitted unwillingly.

A distinct separation from the jurisdiction of the *sheriff* of the county (shire-reeve) was the real basis of the rights of a burgh or borough. The preliminary measures in the assessing and collecting of tallages rested with the sheriff and the bailiffs of a hundred; but in a free burgh the provost (or mayor) took the place of the sheriff, and was assisted in his deliberations, not by bailiffs, but by certain "lawful men" (*legales homines*), who to qualify themselves for such an important position were duly "sworn to the law" in the court leet. Henceforth were they regarded as "law-worthy" men—the accredited burgesses of the burgh. As this custom was established as early as the reign of Richard I., the bishop of the diocese was unquestionably encroaching upon the rights of the community.

THE MAYOR *versus* THE BISHOP.

Like sensible men, the burgesses decided to fix their own assessment and to tax themselves, without consulting an interfering bishop. The pecuniary burden was perhaps no lighter, and the privations incurred by the payment thereof were not likely to be any the less, but, acting independently and voluntarily, they did not feel it quite so much. They had, besides, the temerity to create a mayor without gaining in the mean time the Bishop's gracious assent. The head and front of their offending had this extent, no more.

His Lordship, the arrogant Thomas Blundeville, looked upon such a bold usurpation of power not merely as an illegal precedent, but as an absolute crime; and fearing, besides, that such irregular proceedings tended to weaken the feudal hold he had upon his vassals, he reluctantly entered an action against the officious burgesses in the ecclesiastical court, and then, with even greater reluctance, mercilessly excommunicated one and all of the imprudent offenders (1224).

To be mulcted in heavy damages would be bad, but to have one's part taken out of the book of life would, especially in a superstitious age, be inconceivably dreadful. In this awful dilemma our distracted forefathers appealed to the King's justices, before whom a legal investigation was instituted at Westminster. The representatives of the Mayor and Burgesses of Bishop's Lenne, as well as those of Thomas Blundeville, the incensed Bishop of Norwich, were cited to appear before these justices, who were of course versed in ecclesiastical law: Robert Lexington, William de York, Ralph de Norwich, William de Lisle, Adam Fitz-William and Ralph de Rokele. The King, as was then the custom, probably sat at the head of the justices in the court of the King's Bench. The Mayor complained that he and his associates were impleaded by his lordship in the ecclesiastical court; and, moreover, that they had been most cruelly and unjustly excommunicated, because, in the first instance, they had chosen a mayor among themselves, and secondly, because as burgesses of a free burgh they had ventured to tax or tallage themselves. Subject to statutory law, the burgesses were striving after self-govern-

ment, and the duty the justices were called upon to discharge was to decide whether their charters were sufficient for these things or not.

To be taxed at the caprice of an autocrat, whether layman or cleric, was in all conscience a bitter pill for the self-assertive independent folk of Lenne to swallow, notwithstanding the declaration to which they each subscribed undoubtedly invested the bishop with this extraordinary power. "You shall faithfully pay your tallage," commences the form by which they were sworn, "made by the lord (bishop) *at his will*, of all your chattels of your property whatever they are, and of the chattels of your wife, and all that is your due to pay." How did they interpret the damning phrase? Like Wordsworth's river, the bishop moved "at his own sweet will." Possibly, too, his Lordship was within his rights in summarily excommunicating the wayward burghers, for Messrs. Merewether and Stephens write thus:—

Excommunication was threatened to all who in prejudice to ecclesiastical liberty presumed to burden religious men, clerks, beneficed clergy or their men living on ecclesiastical ground, with tallages, taxes, murage, tributes, expenses of fortifications, or of carriage, or other undue and unaccustomed exactions. And that this threat might operate strongly on all people, notice was directed to be given by the priests in all churches at Christmas, Easter, Whitsuntide and Saints' days, in the vulgar tongue.—[*History of Boroughs*, 1843, vol I., p 426.]

—There is no evidence, but it is probable, that the burgesses fixed a tallage upon some of the clergy then resident in the burgh; if so, excommunication was the natural sequence.

In the decision awarded by the court, no reference is made to the method of assessing the tallage; it might therefore be presumed that the obnoxious system was not amended. Definite instructions, however, were given as to the selection of a mayor for the burgh of Lenne. In future, the burgesses were to nominate "whomsoever they pleased of their own body," subject only to one easy condition—that the mayor-elect should be immediately presented to the bishop or his successors, and that the bishop, on his part, should duly acknowledge the chosen representative of the people in his official capacity "without any contradiction." Prior to the formal presentation the mayor-elect was compelled to pledge himself "to preserve as much as in his power [lay] the liberties of the Church of Norwich."

MEDIÆVAL ASSESSMENTS.

In 1227, Herbert d'Alençon, as sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk, was employed to fix an assessment for the county; again in 1230 another was determined by Godfrey de Craucumbe and William de Haverhill. It cannot be ascertained whether the *mayor* or the *bishop* assessed our town on these occasions. When the King's sister, the Princess Isabella, was married, our county, with others, was called upon to provide "an aid" (1235). The King stipulated the form this benevolence was to take: the Sheriff of Norfolk, Thomas d'Emmenegrave and the bailiffs of the various hundreds were commanded to furnish ten ships, equipped with well-armed sailors, to "take his beloved sister across the sea." The inhabitants of Lenne

unquestionably assisted in providing funds for the matrimonial expedition.

In our municipal strong-room fragments of two old tallage rolls are carefully preserved. They constitute the earliest receipts for money paid. The first contains particulars of the different sums gathered in one of the constabularies into which the burgh was then divided. The assessment was unusually heavy, and was fixed at one-tenth of the estimated value of the goods possessed. It refers to "the ward of Henry Borehorn," but unfortunately bears no date. The second, a parchment 15 feet long and 7 inches wide, gives an interesting account of what was collected in the constabulary or wardship of Henry de Gernemutha towards the payment of a tallage of one-fifteenth granted by the Parliament to Edward I.

A WOODEN ARRANGEMENT.

Before examining the more important of these documents, an obsolete way of keeping accounts must be briefly explained. Four-sided wooden rods or *tallies* were used. The word *tallage* is the English adaptation of the French word *tailler*, meaning "to cut away a part out of the whole." On one side of the wooden ledger, notches were cut, corresponding with the sum for which it was a tangible acknowledgment. The other sides contained in writing, the date of the transaction, the name of the payer, and other particulars of the debt contracted. When everything was in readiness, the rod was split in such a manner that each half contained *one* written side and the half of every notch. Whilst one part was put into circulation, the other was safely deposited in the Exchequer. When a settlement of the account was desired, the two parts of the rod were placed together; if they *tallied*, or made a perfect *tally*, all was right; if not, there was convicting evidence of fraud, and payment was promptly refused. In 1298 Reginald de Taverner was indebted to the community £15, that is, for three different tallages, but he explained how he had advanced £15 8s. as a loan for municipal purposes; he moreover produced his *tally*; the counterparts were examined, the notches were found to correspond, and the payment was thereupon remitted. *Tallies* were not finally abolished in the Exchequer till 1834.

Poor men and women, the value of whose movable goods did not exceed forty pence, were excused, but all in better circumstances were bound to contribute according to the amount fixed by the public assessor. This imperial exaction, designed expressly to replenish a depleted exchequer, was collected just after the ingathering of the harvest, so that, with the burgesses' cattle, agricultural implements, and articles for culinary and domestic purposes, there might also be included the corn crop of the current year. The work of fixing a value upon the goods and chattels of the tax-payer was deputed to one person, who was no doubt responsible for the collecting of the same. It may safely be assumed that Henry de Gernemuth in this particular ward was far other than a welcome visitor, especially when

he called in his official capacity to overhaul the half-secreted belongings of our industrious ancestors. Was there then no impartial assessment committee to which the aggrieved and dissatisfied burgher might appeal? He might come before the Mayor and on oath declare* that his pans and platters, bed and bedding, cloak and doublet—that the marketable value of everything he possessed was below the assessor's estimate, but seldom or ever was there any alteration made in the assessor's figures. Exemption and abatement, as we may see, were, however, by no means exceptional.

THE TALLAGE ROLL (1292)†

to which reference has been made, gives the name of the assessor, a list of the burgesses assessed, with their respective payments, arranged in wards, and the name of the ward-constable. This valuable document, written in the contracted Latin of the Middle Ages, was translated by the late Rev. G. H. Dashwood, F.S.A., of Stow Bardolph. An endorsement gives the total amount as £1,500 2s. 3½d.; this is believed to be the tallage for one of the burgh wards. In 1290, London paid £2,860 13s. 8d.

Before an inhabitant could participate in the benefits conferred by the charters of the town, he must become a full-fledged burgher. The qualifications for this civic estate were: a continuous residence of one year and one day in the town; the possession of a father who was himself an indisputable burgher; the faithful service (generally extending over seven years) as an apprentice; and the fact that the applicant was "a good man," or had done something for the weal of his fellows, which deserved public recognition. When he came before the solemn conclave, over which the Mayor presided, he was sworn not only to keep the secrets of the town inviolably, but he pledged himself as far as his means permitted to secure the Mayor and the community against loss, injury, damage, or penalty. He then paid a fee or fine, which was determined according to his circumstances. The usual payment, half a mark, that is, 6s. 8d., was accepted in lieu of the annual tallage for that year. In 1292 Robert de Lisgate paid 5s.; in 1297 Robert de Lodesham, a wealthy goldsmith, paid 26s. 8d., or two marks; and in 1299 Master John (Johannes Godynge), "the founder of the bells," paid 6s. 8d. for enrolment on the burghess list.

EXEMPTIONS.

Peter Pauntenaye, having on his oath solemnly declared his inability to pay, because he did not possess twenty shillings worth of goods in the world, was allowed his burghess privileges on the payment of sixpence (1292).

John, son of Attewater, urged as plea that he was the son of his father, who was a burgher. His claim was allowed. In grateful recognition, John advanced 40d. for the use of the burgh, wisely stipulating that the said amount was to be fully deducted from his first tallage (1298).

* The "corporal oath," administered in these cases, was most sacred. The person was required to place his hand either upon the elements of the holy eucharist or on the fine linen cloth (or *corporal*) whereon the supposed body of Christ was placed in the sacrament.

† The Rev. G. H. Dashwood, F.S.A., believed it refers either to the 3rd or the 20th year of Edward I. See "Remarks on a Subsidy Roll in the possession of the Corporation of Lynn Regis." [*Norfolk Archaeology*: 1847, vol. I., pp. 334-354.]

Robert de Swaffham, a mercer, was accepted as a burgess, because, as his sometime master Ralph Sanby attested, he had faithfully carried out the terms of his apprenticeship (1299).

Master Andrew Cokus was enrolled without paying any fee, because he was *vir bonus*, that is "a good man" (1292). This case is exceptional; the good men generally paid.

ABATEMENTS

or reductions were made in the case of burgesses who had assisted with money or kind, either the community or their Sovereign, for example :—

(1). The Mayor and Burgesses of Bishop's Lenne.

Burgess.	Asst.	Rdn.	Reason for an Abatement.
John de Reymer	6/8	6/8	Wine supplied during the mayoralty of Hugh de Massingham (1292).
Geoffrey Trubbot	£6	£4/14	Sturgeon given to Sir W. de Carleton and Lord P. de Willoughby, &c.; also meat to the King (1297).
Roger : sometime with W. de Lakenham	10/	6/	For the value of 2 boards taken by the community (1298).
John Wysdam	20/	10/	For the house in which the plasterer dwells for the (query, repairing of the) "Wall" (1299).
Nicholas de Marshal	4/	4/	For keeping the East Gate of the town (1299).
Richard le Taverner	2/	2/	For wine supplied to the King's butler by the community (1299).
Thomas de Wainflet	13/4	10/	For money advanced to a monk of Durham, who lent it to Godfrey le Faunceys for the use of the community at Newcastle-on-Tyne (1300).
John Gigge	30/	3/4	For canvas provided for the (town) barge (1300).
Jordan le Verrer	5/	2/6	For making a glass window in the south front of the (town) hall (1300).
Thomas de Burgh and Nicholas	44/	18/7	For money advanced for repairing the town's walls or earth-works (1297).

(2). King Edward I., towards the war in Scotland.

John de Berney	12/	10/	For supplies; also for money lent to pay the wages of the members in Parliament (1292).
Simon de Lincoln	26/8	10/	To furnish ships for an expedition to Scotland (1300).
John de Welle	15/	15/	The town owed him £5 for the expenses of his ship "Nicholas" in the King's service. John, however, owed the community the present and two previous tallages. The tally-cutter presented him with a new tally, shewing that according to the contra-account the town was still indebted to him 55/ (1302).

(3). King Edward I., towards the war in France.

Ralph Sandy	40/	13/4	For ships ready for service at Ipswich (1297).
Richard de Toftes	30/5	9/6	For a supply of sacks and hair. [Father and son, or brothers, in partnership.] (1297.)
Eustace de Toftes			
Adam de Babingley	5/	5/	For herring commandeered from his boat by the French sailors; valued at 10/; the community, therefore, owed him 5/ (1297).

Among the inhabitants who contributed to the imperial tax, some came up smiling with the marks in their hands; others, perhaps in better circumstances, paid, it is true, but they looked other than pleasant during the transaction; and there was a third section, comprising many shuffling defaulters.

PAYMENT ENFORCED.

When a burgess refused to contribute towards the King's tallage, and neglected to claim an abatement, the Mayor levied a distraint upon his goods and chattels; and the chamberlains at once seized some of the offender's wearing apparel. In 1298 Hamo de Matlaske, who was perhaps annoyed at the assessors' valuation, paid 5s. instead of 12s., the full amount. As remonstrances were thrown away upon this stubborn individual, his super-tunic, a fashionable kind of overcoat, was seized; when, however, he came before the Mayor to pay what was owing, and to redeem his garment, the chamberlains were constrained to admit that it had been stolen whilst in their custody. Hamo's arrears were thereupon cancelled. Goodmen William de Est Winch and Roger Den, who appear as partners, were charged 30s., and being refractory, four pair of hosen, worth 2s. 8d. each pair, had been seized. They produced a *tally* shewing that to indemnify the community they had freely advanced money during the first year of the mayoralty of Hugh de Massingham. Their hosen were returned, and the *tally* destroyed (1297).

Two mazer bowls, a silver wine-cup and a vessel to contain holy water, were taken from Ralph de Fuldene for his arrears (1306 to 1312). Henry de Holt and Thomas de Bauseye came forward and paid 40s., as *vadia* or bail, and thus obtained possession of the distrained goods. Richard de Docking was assessed at £4; he paid 20s. under protest, and then claimed the sum of £13 os. 6d. as an abatement,—that is, 10s. for excess of payment the previous year, and the rest as money the community owed him. This was no doubt a correct statement, for the chamberlains were ordered to pay "his expenses to Rome" on a pilgrimage as a set-off (1299).

Apropos of this old subsidy roll is a paragraph illustrating—

THE VALUE OF GOODS.

Among the various articles mentioned, we find the following, which it is curious to compare with the prices of such things in the present day. To begin with, what appears a staple commodity, as it occurs under almost every name—a last of herring was estimated at £3; a cow we find valued at 5/, 6/ and 6/4, and one "hackeney" as low as 3/4; a hog worth 1/6; a sheep 1/; pewter vessels valued by weight at 1½d. per lb.; brass at 2d. per lb. Nearly all those whose names occur on the roll appear to have possessed one or more mazer bowls

or (wooden) cups, varying much in value, from 1/6 to as high as 14/1 each, and several of the more wealthy at the same time possessed silver cups. Beer is rated at 2/6 per barrel, wine at 40/ a cask; candles at 1½d. per lb.; malt at from 3/6 to 5/ per quarter; barley at 3/6 per quarter; wheat at 5/6 and 6/ per quarter; flour at 6/ per quarter; wool at from £5 to £6 per sack. Silver spoons are frequently mentioned at the rate of 1/ each. We also find that articles of dress were taken into valuation; thus two man's robes and one woman's valued at £2/3/4; one man's robe and one tabard (a kind of smock frock) 35/.—(Rev. G. H. Dashwood.)

To meet the heavy expenses incurred by the wars in the reign of Henry III., frequent applications for tallages and subsidies were made. In 1267 every lay person, man or woman, of 14 years old or upwards, was expected to pay 4d. In Norfolk 88,797 lay persons contributed £1,479 19s., Norwich £65 17s. 4d. (3,952), Lynn £52 2s. 4d. (3,127), and Yarmouth £30 13s. 8d. (1,941 lay persons).

NATIONAL AND MUNICIPAL REFORM.

An important law called the *Statute de Tallagio de Concedendo* received the royal assent (1306). It was a concession made in order to subdue the discontent, which had arisen among the commons, in consequence of the King having taken a tallage of all cities, boroughs and towns without the assent of the Parliament. He was deeply embroiled also with the nobles and land-owners for having attempted, unsuccessfully however, to compel all freeholders above the value of £20 to contribute either men or money towards his wars in Flanders. In a measure this statute tended to curtail the arbitrary power of the sovereign, because Edward I. agreed that in future no tallage or aid should be levied by him or his heirs without the good-will and assent of the archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, knights, burgesses "and other freemen of the land." Thus were the representative freeholders or knights of the shire united with the representative citizens or burgesses in one assembly. This, the embodiment of a truly democratic principle, was not a dead letter, because the voice of the people, no longer to be stifled, would be ever and anon rëechoed by their representatives in Parliament.

The whole municipal machinery was terribly out of gear; it needed to be crucially examined and carefully readjusted. To pacify the burgesses of Lenne, Edward issued letters patent of pardon and release in respect to trespasses said to have been done by those in authority (1295).

In assessing divers tallages on the community *without the unanimous assent of the same community* and other great sums of money under cover of certain common fines, heretofore made by them for divers causes, beyond the sums to which the same fines extended themselves, and in converting to their own use, and not to the advantage of the said community nor to the reparation of the same town—[What a happy state of affairs!]*—a great part of the same tallages and other different sums of money, as well by occasion of the aforesaid as by occasion of murage—[a tax for making or strengthening the earthworks of the burgh]—granted unto them by us, and also in committing divers forestalla de prisas of merchantable things coming into the same town of their own peculiar authority, against the law of our own kingdom, and in establishing and using in the same town certain corruptions, contrary as well to common law as to law merchant.—(7 April, 23rd Edw. I.; Letters Patent, dated at Westminster.)*

The forestalling of goods, that is, the selling them at less than local prices, was regarded as criminal. John de Walsingham accepted a bribe from the citizens of Norwich and other strangers forestalling leather and skins, to the great danger of his neighbours being tanners, and the whole community. John cunningly acknowledged his trespass and compounded with his accusers by pledging five tuns of wine and his corporal oath not to offend on these lines any more. For the trespass he was fined 15s., and was given clearly to understand that on the next occasion he would have to pay 20s. Four respectable townsmen came forward and accepted the responsibility of his future behaviour. The scribe is particular in stating how four tuns were returned to the offender, but the final destination of the remaining tun is left for an imaginative, unsympathetic generation to decide. Thus was justice satisfied, and "all went merry as a marriage bell." (1299.)

It would be interesting to hear what Messrs. John de Thurendine, Thomas de Waynflete, Geoffrey Drew and Thomas Secheford (1303-6) and other influential magnates who occupied the mayoral chair might have to say, touching those grave accusations in the King's letters patent. Notwithstanding the legitimacy of our desires, they can never, we fear, be gratified.

Before setting out upon a hazardous expedition into Gascony (1230), to recover the lost provinces in France, Henry III. devoutly bowed his head before the famous shrine of

OUR LADY OF WALSHINGHAM.

There is no evidence that Henry passed through Lenne on this occasion, although it is likely that he did. As our town derived several royal guests through this preëminent attraction, it might be wise to make a slight digression in order to spare future trouble.

Not only was this magnificent shrine, with its sacred relics, deservedly popular in our own country, but it gained quite a continental reputation. Pilgrims of every description, from every grade of society, flocked yearly to the "Holy Land of Walsingham." Kings, queens, nobles, warriors, philosophers, divines—some from the remote highlands of Scotland, and others from the remoter and more inaccessible parts of Europe—all, in fact, whose circumstances would warrant the undertaking of a tedious and expensive journey, were sure to be among the prostrate devotees.

The learned Erasmus (1467-1536), who twice visited Walsingham, humorously recounts in his *Peregrinatio religionis ergo* what he witnessed; he tells us, in describing the *Virgo Parathalassia*, that the rich offerings in silver and gold and precious stones shewn him were incredible, there being scarce a person of any note in Europe but what, at some time or other, had paid or sent a person to the shrine. He sums up with these words: "If you look in you will say it is a seat for gods, so bright and shining is it all over with jewels, gold and silver." Indeed, the treasures there accumulated were so enormous that Roger Ascham, the tutor to Lady Jane Grey, remarks in 1510, that: "The three kings be not so rich I believe as was the Lady of Walsingham."

Although Wells, being seven miles off, was the nearest port, yet pilgrims from abroad generally landed at Lenne, which is seven-and-twenty miles from Walsingham. Vessels belonging to our burgh are frequently mentioned in the pilgrims' passports. Those, too, from the northern counties either set sail at Boston or Long Sutton, and crossing the intervening part of the Wash, landed at Lenne. From thence they probably wended their way past the priories of Flitcham, Rudham (*i.e.*, Rood-ham), and Cokesford, where food and rest could be obtained. A road from the south led through Newmarket, Brandon and Fakenham, whilst that from the east passed through Norwich and Attlebridge. The ruins of wayside chapels, built for the accommodation of the pilgrims, are seen in many parts of the county, as are also the shafts of roadside crosses, which mark the spots where the devotees used to assemble in large numbers. Company was desirable, when the "green lanes" were in places hardly distinguishable. The old ballad gives an idea of the difficulty of travelling in those times:—

Gentle hearsman tell to me
Of curtesy I thee pray,
Unto the towne of Walsingham
Which is right and ready way?

Unto the towne of Walsingham
The way is hard for to be gon,
And very crooked are those pathes
For you to find out all alone.

The chapel at Walsingham is said to have been a *facsimile* of the holy house at Loretto, which was the *Sancta Casa*,—the house at Nazareth in which the Virgin Mary lived, and which was transported thence by angels.*

MATTERS MERCANTILE.

Immediately following Henry's first charter a royal licence was issued, permitting foreign merchants to visit the fair of Lenne, and as a special inducement their safety was guaranteed (1224-5); this was merely re-affirming or republishing what had already transpired. The following clause in the Great Charter (C.1.) is tantamount to Henry's licence:—

Furthermore, for the imbettering of the aforesaid borough of Lenne, we have granted that what merchants soever shall arrive at the borough of Lenne with their merchandise, of whatever place they shall be, whether strangers or others, which shall be of our peace, as coming into our land without our licence, may come, stay and return in our safe peace, yielding the right customs of that borough.

Whether the inhabitants of Lenne cherished unpleasant recollections of the unfortunate position in which they placed themselves, when they were mercilessly mauled by the barons at Littleport, is not improbable. They seem to have boycotted certain traders belonging to Ely, and to have refused them the privileges to which they were

* The "Lady chapel" adjoining the present Roman Catholic church in Lynn is a replica of the chapel at Walsingham.

entitled. Hence the King commanded the mayor and burgesses to permit the men of Ely to sell their beer, and, moreover, to trade in the town (1257).

The wine trade for which Lenne was subsequently noted had already commenced. The sheriff of Norwich was ordered to convey 50 tuns of imported wine, purchased by his Majesty's purveyor, to Kenilworth Castle, where, it will be remembered, the King was besieged by the insurgents (1266).

The King directed that the injuries done to certain Norwegian merchants by William de Len and Johannes de Bolton should be made good (1269).

It was during this reign that the river Ouse—"the great river at Lenne,"—assumed its present course; but "that's another story," as Rudyard Kipling would say, the telling of which demands a supplementary chapter.

* * * * *

"After a nominal reign of fifty-six years,—a memorable period, which owes no part of its interest to the monarch from whose sway it derives its name," Henry III. died at Westminster the 16th November 1272.

CHAPTER IX.

The Red Register.

EDWARD I., the eldest son of Henry III., was proclaimed King the 20th of November 1272.

* * * * *

As early as the Saxon era, there seems to have been a desire on the part of the various groups of settlers throughout the kingdom to secure the goodwill of some influential person living in the neighbourhood, who would not only protect their homes and belongings against the hand of the spoiler, but exercise a salutary authority in checking those who by unjust extortions would ruin their trade and industry. For this patronage or protection, which was an inestimable advantage, the defenceless burghers were willing to pay liberally. The development of the feudal system under the Conqueror's *régime* greatly increased the number and importance of these local patrons, so that at the end of the 12th century every inhabited nucleus with any pretensions to wealth was under the direct influence of a powerful noble—the lord of the manor, who owned the soil, and who in a patriarchal capacity exercised feudal rights over his vassals or tenants.

Towns, such as Canterbury, York or Yarmouth (1) on the *royal demesne* were regarded as national property, and were of course presided over by the King; others, such as Morpeth, Berkeley and Leicester (2) included in a *feudal estate*, either belonged to a lay noble, or, when not forming part of his private possession, were often held by virtue of a special grant from the sovereign; and lastly those

(3) situated on an *ecclesiastical* or *church* estate, were the property of the bishopric, as for example, Wells, which was under the Bishop of Wells; Romney and Hythe, under the Archbishop of Canterbury; or Lenne, subsequently Bishop's Lenne, under (as the name suggests) the Bishop of the diocese—the Bishop of Norwich. As an adjunct, however, to the manor of Gaywood, Lenne was held by the Saxon prelates of the see, who were therefore in succession lords of the burgh, long before it received this appellation.

Before proceeding further let us indulge in a brief recapitulation.

Bishop Lozinga, whom Dr. Jessopp distinguishes as “the Founder of Norwich,” established not only the great Benedictine Monastery in the cathedral city, but an offshoot or cell at Lenne. From the foundation charter of Norwich cathedral we learn how the bishop during his life surrendered all he possessed to God, making at the same time especial provision for the future maintenance of the brotherhood of monks. To them he surrendered the church of St. Margaret at Lenne, as well as the whole of the little burgh. After enumerating many valuable donations, he goes on:—

The church of Lynnie [which included the soke or liberty of the burgh of Lenne] and all my saltworks at Geywode (Gaywood), excepting those which belonged to the farm on the same manor, I grant, as unmolested and as exempt from all custom of the aforesaid manor, as they were ever held by myself, or Arfastus, or Willelmus, as part of our domain. I have ceded to them (the monks) also my mill which I ordered to be built in Geywode marshes and the church of Elmham with all its appurtenances. . . . All the possessions aforesaid I have given to God and the Church for the food and clothing of my monks and for the supply of other necessities to them, so absolutely that none of my successors shall have the power of changing or diminishing them, but that they shall be kept for ever for the use of the monks. [*Registrum Primum.*]

—Then, lest those following in his footsteps should be aggrieved at this great diminution in the revenue arising from the episcopal domain, he proceeds to make adequate compensation.

Thus were the manorial rights pertaining to our town transferred from the Bishop of the see to the Prior of the Benedictine Convent of the Holy Trinity at Norwich, and to him as future lord of the burgh had the inhabitants to look for protection. But the land beyond the boundaries of the old burgh (the Mill-fleet on the south, and the Pur-fleet on the north) was still retained by the Bishop as constituting a part of his see.

THE DUALISTIC BURGH.

In process of time the good Bishop, whom men so cruelly vilified, “finished the life he had so nobly led,”* and was buried before the high altar in the midst of his own magnificent cathedral (1119); and the monks, too, after whose welfare he had ever been solicitous, passed away one by one, and were interred in the cloisters at Norwich and Lenne. Then came there other monks, and other bishops too, but none could be compared with their revered founder. Eborard had indeed presented a few small gifts to the convent, the monks were constrained to admit, yet never could they forget the large and profitable arch-deaneries conferred upon his own impecunious, undeserving relatives;

* Prebendary Prideaux's epitaph (1682), which may still be seen on the floor of the presbytery.

and when at length he abdicated the see, they rejoiced with exceeding great joy, but their hearts swelled with envious anger when they heard how tenaciously he clung to the mitral loaves and fishes. Then came "brother William," or perhaps it behoved them to say "Bishop Turbus," who once belonged to their number, and from whom they foolishly thought themselves entitled to expect great things. Had he not enclosed a vast tract of land, bordering upon their own *soke* or jurisdiction, and in effect created a new burgh? Why should he ignore their right to the foreshore, and pocket all the ground rent? Would the venerable father in God, the holy Lozinga, have been so unjust and greedy? Ah, no; but never, never would there be another Lozinga.

At the close of the 12th century our town was made up of two clearly defined though contiguous parts. There was the old, perhaps the original settlement, between streams of fresh water, and the newer or more modern settlement by the shore, on land reclaimed from the sea. Each was distinct, as belonging to different owners. The "Newland" formed part of the bishop's personal estate, and the *Oldland*, if such a term be coined, belonged to the monks of Norwich, who were represented locally by the monks of Lenne. Between the bishop and the prior there sprung a feeling of rivalry and estrangement, for, as owners, each endeavoured to reap the greatest pecuniary advantage from his possession. The prosperity of the town was, moreover, threatened, because it was like a house divided against itself. As a twofold settlement it boasted of as many points of resemblance as a pair of gloves; there were two churches, staiths, mills, markets and fairs: one of each two being in the *soke* of the monks to the south, and the other being in the bishop's manor to the north. With the two churches (now in the same parish) all are more or less familiar; and, although only one of the once-important fairs survives, we retain two markets, which are held near the sacred buildings with which they were at one time closely allied. In the older portion of the town there is still the King's Staith; and the Bishop's Staith, which extended northward from Dr. Stephen Allen's house, opposite St. Nicholas' chapel, disappeared during the 19th century. The gild of merchants owned a staith at the mouth of the Purfleet; also the "Common Staith." The water-mill in the "Oldland" was driven by Sunolf's Fleet, subsequently termed the *Mayor's* Mill Fleet, to distinguish it from the *Bishop's* Mill Fleet, where, in the vicinity of Littleport Street, one stood the bishop's mill.

To the owners, the monks on the one hand and the bishop on the other, these were valuable "paying concerns." Large sums of money, such as legacies, donations, oblations of various kinds, and payments for the reciting of masses for the souls of the departed, were derived from the churches, whilst the dues levied upon those visiting the fairs and markets, as, for instance, *passage*, *paage*, *pontage*, *pickage*, etc., were even more considerable. Imposts, too, were fixed upon all goods landed at their respective staiths or stages beside the haven, as *anchorage*, *tronage*, *lovecop* or *lufcop*, *measurage*, etc. Mills were, of course, necessary adjuncts to manorial residences; hence they

were, as a rule, erected by the lord of the manor for his own use and for those living on his estate. To compensate him for his outlay the tenants were bound to bring their corn to his mill to be ground. They did not, however, pay in cash for the grinding, but were under an obligation, termed mill service (*secta debita molendini*); in other words, they were compelled to leave a portion of their meal with the bailiff or miller to recoup their patron for services rendered. Before the enclosing of the "Newland," Herbert Lozinga, you may remember, ordered a mill to be erected in the Gaywood marshes. All the profits from these sources belonged to the bishop in the northern or newer part of the burgh; and the profits from similar sources in the southern or old settlement, though collected by the monks of Lenne, belonged really to the priory of the Holy Trinity at Norwich.

In the second half of the 12th century Bishop's Lenne rose on the newly-won land along the river bank [query, the sea-bank near the haven] with its great market-place, its Jewry, its merchant houses, and soon in the thick and busiest quarter by the wharves appeared the "stone house" of the bishop himself, looking closely out on the "strangers' ships" that made their way along the Ouse laden with provisions and merchandise. Lenne was now in a fair way to become the Liverpool of mediæval times. Under King John its prudent bishop obtained for the town charters granting it all the liberties and privileges of a free borough, saving the rights of its lords [the Prior of the Benedictine Monastery at Norwich with the branch of Lenne, and the Lord of Rising], and then at once proceeded by a bargain with the convent at Norwich [Bishop John de Grey in 1204] to win back for the see the whole of the lay property in the old burgh, leaving to the monks only the church and spiritual rights. Once more sole master of the town, his supremacy was only troubled by the lords of Rising, who, by virtue of a grant from William Rufus, claimed *one-half* the profits of the Tolbooth [query, Blomefield says "one-fourth part"] and duties of the port, while the bishop had the other half. In 1240, however, an exact agreement was drawn up between the prelate and baron as to their respective rights, and the bailiff of both powers maintained a somewhat boisterous jurisdiction over the waters of Lenne, collected their share of the dues paid by the town traders on cargoes of herring or on wood, skins and wine they imported from foreign ports, and in their own way made distresses for customs, plaints and so forth.—[Mrs. A. S. Green's *Town Life in the Fifteenth Century*, 1894, Vol. I., p. 283-4.]

THE FAIR AT NORWICH.

During the last year in the reign of Henry III. a serious riot broke out between the citizens and monks of Norwich. Wherever the monks were interested in the profits derived from marts and markets, unpleasantness was likely to arise. Now at this time William de Burnham, a haughty, overbearing man, was prior of the Benedictine Monastery. He was usually chin-deep in the hottest of hot water, because he always endeavoured to increase the monastic domain, regardless of the rights of others, and because, moreover, he tacitly encouraged his servants to ride roughshod over the patient burgesses. At the annual fair (1272) some of the merchant hucksters were slow in removing their booths. Their visit had involved them in a dangerous and expensive journey, and during their stay never a day passed but they were called upon to contribute to the city's revenue—so much for the maintenance of the bridges, for the mending of the roads, for breaking a few holes into the sacred ground, and other extortions; and

now, just when they were signs of the "roaring trade" they had so ardently anticipated, were they ordered off with pack and package. Of course they lingered, even as salesmen do to-day. It was surely excusable; but the upstart servitors of the prior would brook no insolence from runagate strangers. As night follows the day, so did blows their peremptory commands, only more quickly. The disgusted townsmen took sides with the unfortunate traders, and William de Burnham, fearing the worst, sent forthwith to Yarmouth in order to secure the services of a band of ruffian loafers, who, on their arrival, converted the bell tower of the monastery into a fortress.

The men of Norwich now considered that they were justified in maintaining the King's peace by violence; and forgetting, as a chronicle puts it, that it is wrong to burn Christians in a consecrated place, they set fire to the tower, and the whole [query?] of the monastery and cathedral church, with their relics and books, were consumed. Nothing could be more calculated to rouse Henry to indignation. He went down in person to Norwich (10th September) put the bishop of the diocese on the commission for trying the offenders, and had a jury of forty-eight knights empanelled from the country round, lest the townsmen should be too merciful. In this way more than thirty offenders, chiefly young men, but with one woman in their number, were convicted, and dragged at horses' tails through the streets to be hanged or burned. But the progress of the inquiry shewed that the prior and his monks had been at least equally guilty, and had set the town on fire in three places. Homicide, robbery and other crimes were also proved against the prior to such an extent that the King gave orders to take him into custody. To the scandal of all right-minded men, the criminal was allowed to escape with a mere ecclesiastical purgation. [Pearson's *History of the Middle Ages*, 1861, Vol. II., p. 281.]

This was the King's last journey. After remaining in Norwich a fortnight he visited, although far from well, the shrine of Our Lady at Walsingham the 26th of September, and died at Westminster (10th of November 1272), "after a nominal reign of fifty-six years—a memorable period, which owes no part of its interest to the monarch from whose sway it derives its name." Henry III. was succeeded by his son Edward, the greatest of all the Plantagenets, who was "one of the best legislators and greatest politicians that ever filled the throne of England."

* * * * *

After Edward's coronation (1274) he repeatedly visited East Anglia, the county of Norfolk absorbing much of his attention. The priories at Walsingham, Castleacre, Cokesford, and other religious houses, seem to have been attractions he could not well resist. He set out ostensibly to visit the various shrines for which this part of the kingdom was famous. Edward was in this county in 1277, 1278, 1280-1, 1284 (Blomefield, but query?), 1285, 1289, 1291, 1292, 1294, 1296, 1298, 1299, 1300, 1302 and 1305, certainly no less than 14 times. That he sometimes stayed at Lenne is highly probable. For instance, leaving Ely, the King arrived at Dereham on the 17th of March, 1277; on the 18th and 19th he was at Gaywood, the guest of the bishop, Roger de Skerning, at the episcopal palace. On this occasion the King was accompanied by his army, which was most likely billeted in the adjacent town. The royal retinue reached Cokesford on the

20th, Walsingham on the 21st, Thornage on the 23rd, Gimingham on the 24th, Broomholme on the 25th, Horningham on the 26th and Norwich on the 28th, where Easter was spent. For this expedition another reason is assigned, namely, anxiety to see that his forts and castles were well provisioned, and their garrisons thoroughly equipped and efficient.

FRESH WOODS AND PASTURES NEW.

Again, when Edward visited Norfolk in 1280-1, he was in an apparently happy-go-lucky humour. His Majesty tacked hither and thither like a ship at the mercy of the winds, but whether these erratic movements were the result of method or madness none but a mediæval psychologist would ever venture upon deciding. During this section of his East Anglian gadabout, which lasted six weeks, he boxed the compass, halted at half-a-dozen places, and covered about seventy miles as a sensible crow would fly. He appeared at Burgh, a few miles from Holt, on Christmas eve; from thence, after a sojourn of twelve days, he started on a north-westerly course, and having gone seven miles, he found himself at Walsingham the 6th of January, 1281. He visited Binham (3 or 4 miles to the north-east) on the 9th; from the 14th to the 18th he stayed at Shouldham (27 miles to the south-west), and at Westacre the 21st and 22nd (8 miles to the north-east). On the 25th the King was at Docking (some 14 miles due north), where he continued until the end of the month; and finally, on the 1st and 2nd of February he was a guest at Rising castle. The roads were unquestionably bad, and taverns and hostelries few and far apart, yet were priories and castles plentiful enough. Was, then, His Majesty, like the modern *bonâ fide* traveller, premeditating refreshment every step of the way? What excuse is there for all this puerile dodging about? Edward, with all the apparatus of law transported with him wherever he went, was perhaps dispensing justice; and although the king's seneschal or steward was the great justiciar, yet the chancellor and his clerks who made out the writs and a cart-load of rolls drawn by a strong horse from the nearest monastery generally followed in the wake of the royal retinue.

Now John of Oxford, as bishop of the diocese, in taking thought for the morrow, provided for himself and his successors a terrestrial mansion—a substantial, pleasantly situated town residence, “on the sea-bank by St. Nicholas chapel in Lenne, to the west.” Soon, however, the bishop discovered this white elephantine dwelling to be of little service to him, because the steward, representing him in the burgh and to whom the bailiffs were responsible, was an astute business man, who, whether at the staith or the tolbooth, had always his master's interest at heart. This part of the episcopal estate was therefore leased to “Peter the son of Gaufride, the son of Durand of Oxeneford and his heirs.” (Ah, the circumlocution for want of a surname!) Out of the rent the bishop considerably settled upon the monks a yearly charge of three silver marks (1187). To be minutely exact—“the stone house” was indeed let, but the owner prudently reserved to himself and his successors “one of the cellars that is in the front

of the house to put wine in," and peradventure to take wine therefrom. Oh "John Norwich," what were thy motives? Were thy "intents wicked or charitable." An thou didst this to increase the importation of

Spanish white and Gascon,
Rose colour, white, claret and rampion,
Tyre, Capric and Malvoisin,
Greek, ipocras and new-made clary.*

—To encourage the trade of Lenne, thy unseemly conduct is perhaps excusable; if, on the other hand, thou didst it "for thy stomach's sake and thine oft infirmities" thy conduct is in sooth commendable.

Be it that the "stone house" was tenanted by the said Peter's heirs, was there not a comfortable guest-chamber at the Benedictine Priory, and had not the brethren access to the bishop's cellar through the courtesy of the seneschal? To say that these inducements were ineffectual might be to say too much. On this occasion we believe His Majesty called at Lenne before setting out for Bury St. Edmund.

THE MARRIAGE OF PRINCESS ISABELLA,

the King's daughter, to the Count of Holland, was celebrated with great *éclat* at Ipswich (18th of January 1297). The Duchess Margaret, who had espoused the Duke of Brabant, was present at her sister's marriage, and for this purpose several vessels from Lenne and Yarmouth had been engaged in conveying the Duchess and her suite to England. Margaret stayed awhile, and accompanied her royal parents on one of the almost annual excursions into Norfolk. Ultimately she set sail from Yarmouth for Flanders. A galley, provided by the generous inhabitants of Lenne, accompanied the *Swan* of Yarmouth—the vessel in which the Duchess had embarked. On board the galley were eighty-seven competent Lenne seamen and two constables, who were in charge of the crew.

From the itinerary of this remarkable progress in East Anglia, the subjoined particulars are of local interest:—King Edward was at Thetford on the 22nd January 1296, at Castleacre the 25th, at Walsingham the 28th and 29th, at Shouldham the 1st of February, and at Stow Bardolph the 2nd and 3rd. The Court arrived at Ipswich on the 23rd of December, 1295; the solemnisation of the marriage and post-nuptial festivities were celebrated the 18th of January 1296, and following days. Resuming his tour, the King was a guest at Castleacre priory from the 28th of January until the 1st of February; he remained at Walsingham from the 2nd to the 7th, and while there he received two iron-bound box bedsteads of leather, which were brought from Lenne by Henry de Monte, to whom His Majesty gave half-a-crown. As sleeping accommodation was scarce, and as an influx of aristocratic guests would sorely tax even the ingenuity of resourceful monks and friars, two portable bedsteads were welcome acquisitions.

* *The Four Elements*, a miracle play. An idea of the potency of these wines may be gained from the taverner's confession:—

"For if ye drink a draught or two
They will mak you, ere ye thence go,
By (Jupiter) stark mad."

From Walsingham the Court returned to Castleacre on the 8th, and on the 12th the city of Ely was entered.

The King and his lords journeyed on horseback for the most part, but they had also carriages. Nothing gives a better idea of the encumbering, awkward luxury which formed the splendour of civil life during this century, than the structure of these heavy machines. The best had four wheels; three or four horses drew them, harnessed in a row, the postillion being mounted upon one, armed with a short-handled whip of many thongs; solid beams rested on the axles, and above this framework rose an archway rounded like a tunnel; as a whole, ungraceful enough. But the details were extremely elegant; the wheels were carved, and their spokes expanded near the hoop into ribs forming pointed arches; the beams were painted and gilt; the inside was hung with those dazzling tapestries, the glory of the age; the seats were furnished with embroidered cushions; a lady might stretch out there, half-sitting, half-lying; pillows were disposed in the corners as if to invite sleep; square windows pierced the sides, and were hung with silk curtains. Thus travelled the noble lady, slim in form, tightly clad in a dress which outlined every curve in the body, her long slender hands caressing the favourite dog or bird. The Knight, equally tightened in his *cote-hardie*, regarded her with a complacent eye, and, if he knew good manners, opened his heart to his dreamy companion in long phrases like those in the romances. The broad forehead of the lady, who has perhaps coquettishly plucked off her eyebrows and stray hairs (a process about which satirists were indignant), brightens up at moments, and her smile is like a ray of sunshine. Meanwhile the axles groan, the horse-shoes crunch the ground, the machine advances by fits and starts, descends into the hollows, bounds altogether at the ditches, and falls violently back with a dull noise. The Knight must speak pretty loud to make his dainty discourse, maybe inspired by the recollections of the Round Table, heard by his companion. So trivial a necessity has always sufficed to break the charm of the most delicate thought; too many shocks agitate the flower, and when the Knight presents it, it has already lost its perfumed pollen.—[Jusserand's *English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages*, 1897, p. 96-9.]

During the sojourn at Walsingham the following offerings were made by the royal devotees: On the first day, seven shillings during the Sacrament of the Blessed Mary at the high altar in the priory chapel, and seven shillings each for the King's son Edward and for his fair daughters, the Duchess of Brabant and the Countess of Holland; the next day similar amounts were offered at the images of the Blessed Virgin and the Blessed Gabriel. Besides, the sum of ten shillings was placed upon the altar containing the mysteriously efficacious reliques for which Walsingham was universally renowned, the most significant being a sample of the Virgin's milk, and a joint of St. Peter's finger, said to be as large as that of the colossus at Rhodes.

How interminable the task of counting a large offertory consisting of nothing but small pennies! And was there no gold? Assuredly; in the outspread heaps of silver pennies several bright specks were visible—specimens were they of the new gold coins first struck by an English monarch (Henry III.), but, alas! they increased the difficulty, because each weighed only five-and-forty grains, and after all represented merely *one* penny. It did not, however, matter, for, having secured their own souls' salvation, it was not incumbent upon the monks to worry their brains about the eternal destinies of others. Might they not, therefore, as well spend their days in counting small coins as in doing nothing?

A RARE MANUSCRIPT.

The so-called "Red Register of Lynn" was apparently commenced during this period.* This most important record is made up of three parts—a register of local wills, a book of remembrances from 1307 to 1379, and an assembly or congregation book, containing the minutes of the governing body from 1346 to 1396. It consists of 196 numbered pages, and is remarkable as being one of the oldest *paper* books to be found in our nation's muniment rooms. As the first instance of the manufacture of paper in this country occurs at Stevenage, in Hertfordshire, by John Tate (1490), the paper of the Red Register is believed to have been imported from the Continent. Thick and coarse in texture, and without water-marks, the paper resembles that in a book belonging to the Custom House at Bordeaux (1302). Harrod therefore suggests that the paper in question was brought from Bordeaux—a port with which an extensive trade in wine was then carried on.

This massive folio was skilfully, though inappropriately, bound in Russia leather by the binder of the British Museum (1861), at a cost of £12. For some inexplicable reason it was recommended by the educationists in the Town Council, that the old case in which this relic had been kept, and which was thoughtfully provided by the late Daniel Gurney, should be placed in the local museum. What inestimable advantages the present generation must derive from a deliberate contemplation of so wonderful an object!

The back of the present cover is lettered—*The Red Register of Lynn: Temp. Ed. II., Ed. III., and Ric. II.* These words, however, misrepresent the antiquity of the manuscript. Mr. J. C. Jeaffreson points out that there are palpable indications "that numerous leaves had perished before the register was committed to a skilful restorer," and this, too, is borne out by the first fragmentary record. From the entry, which is in Latin, we learn how Reginald le Saus, in consideration of a sum of money received, conveyed a messuage in the "Brigge gate" to Richard de Warwyk and his wife Johanna. In conformity with the custom prevailing, the parties to this contract met the Mayor, several of the leading burgesses, and those of the community who chose to be present; the deed of conveyance was publicly read and exhibited; after which the vendor affixed his seal thereto in the presence of many witnesses, the names of twelve of whom (including Thomas de Sechford and John the clerk) are faithfully enrolled. The memorandum ends with these words: *Datum Lenne die Mercurii proxima post festum Purificacionis Marie virginis anno regni Regis Edwardi filii Regis Henrici tricesimo-quinto.* This therefore happened in the 35th year of Edward I.

Our earliest *parchment* records include the Assize-of-Bread Rolls for three years (1295-8), the Coroners' Rolls (1302-5), and the Gaol Delivery Rolls (1454-5). Referring to the two latter, Harrod says

* So termed from the colour of their binding, e.g., *Red Book of Colchester* (1310), *Black Books of Swaffham, Lincoln, and Southampton*, also the *White Book of the City of London*. Our present parliamentary reports in blue wrappers are *Blue Books*.

they are the only ancient documents of the class preserved in our archives.

SIGNS OF THE TIME.

Three charters were granted by Edward I. during a reign of 35 years :—

- C. 5. Dated at Westminster, 29th November, in the 9th year of his reign, confirming C. 1 and C. 4 (1280).
- C. 6. Dated at Caldrem, 20th of July, in the 29th year of his reign, reiterating, as applicable to this burgh, the confirmation of two charters previously granted by his father to our prototype, the city of Oxford; they had both been signed at Westminster and were respectively executed in the 13th (February 16th) and 41st (March 26th) years of the reign of Henry III. (1301).
- C. 7. Dated at Westminster, 5th of April, in the 33rd year of the reign, granting the burgesses of Lenne permission to found a merchants' gild, similar to the one already established at Oxford, and reminding them "that they shall not be impealed out of the burgh" (to which they belonged) "by foreigners in respect to contracts, demands and other matters done within the burgh" of Bishop's Lenne. It also confirmed the mayor's right to make *reasonable* distresses for the non-payment of tallages and other aids, which might be levied upon the inhabitants for the benefit of the community as a whole (1305).

The first in this series of Edwardian charters, which was purely confirmatory and contained nothing original, was granted a year prior to the King's excursion into Norfolk in 1281; the second (1301) was not only subsequent to his daughter's marriage in East Anglia, and this expedition into Gascony for the recovery of Guienne, to which Lenne contributed two ships, the *Rose* and the *Mariole* (1297), but also to two visits during the previous year. From the 12th to the 19th of March 1300 had been spent at Thetford, Walsingham, Lenne and Wisbech; and the interval between the 12th and the 28th of May at Hilborough, Rougham, Gaywood, Tilney, Wisbech, Stow Bardolph and Kirkstead. Edward I. was in Lenne the 16th of March, and at Gaywood the 16th of May 1300, during the mayoralty of John de Merlowe. Unfortunately, however, for the would-be historian, our local scribes did not feel it a duty incumbent upon them to spend their savings in purchasing sheep-skins (the supply of which was beginning to fall short), on which to engross the doings of royalty for the satisfaction of inquisitive generations, yet unborn. The King's quixotic adventure afforded them a day's gossip, it is true; let the future provide for itself—*sufficit dici sua vexatio*—were remarks their indifference prompted. The second charter, in itself nothing, was nevertheless a visible sign of good will and friendly conciliation. The third and last was issued at Westminster the 5th of April 1305, following Edward's visit to Wisbech, Hillington, Walsingham, Thetford, and probably Lenne (January and February).

MARITIME AFFAIRS.

The King's attention was specially directed to Scotland when Alexander III. died suddenly (1286), leaving as his heir a little girl about three years old. Margaret was the issue of a marriage between Alexander's daughter Margaret and Eric the king of Norway. Regents were appointed to govern the country, and it was decided that a marital alliance should be formed between the youthful princess and Edward's eldest son. "The Maid of Norway," however, unexpectedly expired (September 1290), leaving a vacant throne and a

disputed succession. At this crisis claimants were plentiful ; thirteen at once stepped into the arena, and began brandishing their convincing pretensions. The most popular were, as the student will remember, John Baliol, Robert Bruce and John Hastings. In this dilemma the bishop of St. Andrew's solicited the interference of the English king, and secretly pledged himself to recognise Edward's right of superiority.

At this juncture " the mayor, bailiff and good people of Lenne " received a communication to which the privy seal was attached. This important document was in reality a royal command issued by the King's admiral ; it enjoined them to adequately equip the ships of the port, so that they might be ready for emergencies in the north. There was certainly no time to spare, as it was dated the 17th of February, and the ships were due at Portsmouth not later than mid-Lent. What excitement this must have caused in the busy streets of Lenne, and what a dreadful commotion as well as in our snug little haven ! In return for valuable privileges, the Cinque Ports were expected to provide 52 ships, each carrying 24 men, which, in the case of a foreign war, were supposed to be ready and at the disposal of the Crown. There was no navy other than this, but it was a recognised custom at any critical moment for rich towns and wealthy land-owners to increase the efficiency of the force by furnishing ships at their own cost, manning them, victualling them, and maintaining their effective condition whilst at sea. Hence, when matters of urgency arose, it was not at all an uncommon procedure to despatch writs reminding them of the obligations due to their King and country.

Whether the burgh of Lenne had been remiss in responding to the order, or whether the Admiral in command was dissatisfied with the ships sent to swell the proposed expedition, there is no evidence ; but about seven months after the receipt of the first writ, our mayor, Hugh de Massingham, was handed a more peremptory order, distinctly pointing out that the only way to avoid heavy loss, and the indignation of their sovereign, was for the inhabitants of Lenne to follow implicitly the directions issued by the King's Admiral and John de Harsick, and to do exactly what they were advised in respect to the war in the north (September 1291).

* * * * *

Edward I. again set out for Scotland, fully determined to wreak his vengeance on that defenceless but rebellious nation (1307). He advanced as far as Burgh-on-the-Sands, near Carlisle, where he expired in sight of the country he had doomed to destruction.

CHAPTER X.

The Tolbooth.

EDWARD I. was succeeded by his fourth son, the first Prince of Wales, who was born at Caernarvon Castle (1284). On coming to the throne (1307) the youthful sovereign Edward II. was immensely popular,

but owing to the evil influence exercised by the favourites with whom he foolishly associated, he speedily sacrificed the respect of the nation. Moreover, he unfortunately married "one of the greatest beauties in the world" (Froissart), Isabel, the daughter of Philippe le Bel, King of France (25th of January 1308), of whom it is said that "since the days of the fair and false Elfrida of Saxon celebrity, no queen has left so dark a stain on the annals of female royalty." As if in expiation of a sinful career, she spent many years in retirement at her castle at Rising—to this and her connection with the burgh of Bishop's Lenne reference will be made in due course.

* * * * *

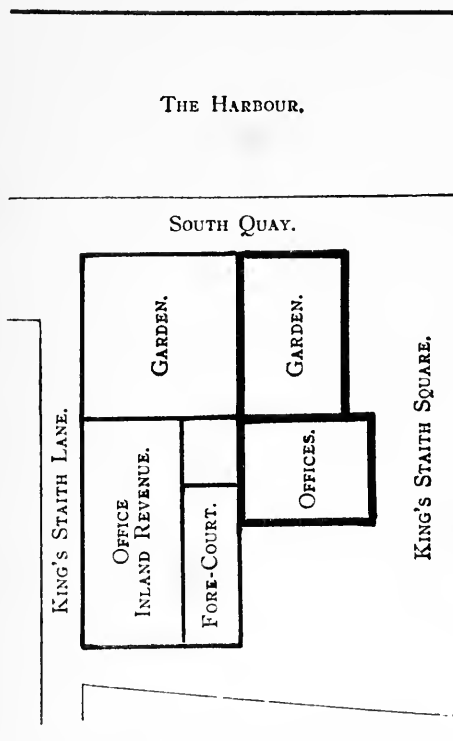
THE BARONY OF RISING

fell to the lot of Odo, bishop of Bayeux, the Conqueror's half-brother (1066), but through ill-advisedly entering into a conspiracy against William Rufus, Odo forfeited all his vast estates in England (1088). Rising, with other important manors, was then handed over to William d'Albini, the royal butler (*pincerna regis*), in whose family it remained for many years. Now William d'Albini, the first Earl of Sussex (a son of the William d'Albini who married Adelicia the dowager Queen of Henry I.), built for himself a castle, the imposing ruins of which are yet standing. Included in the possessions granted him by the King were the Hundred of Smithdon (Norfolk) and "the Tolbooth and Mysteries of Lenne,"* for "all ports and quays under the feudal system belonged to the "King." (Beloe.) He died in 1176. As Hugh d'Albini, a scion of the same aristocratic family, unfortunately died childless, the estates were divided among his four sisters (1243). Rising was then apportioned to Cecily, who married Roger de Montalt, lord of Montalt or Monhaut. In course of time the barony with its castle passed to Robert Montalt, steward of Chester, who married Emma de Stradsett, the widow of a Norfolk gentleman named Fitz-John. There being no children, the estate was sold to Isabella the relict of Edward II., in consideration of an annual payment of £400 during Emma Montalt's life. The solemn assurance made by Byron, that "annuitants live for ever," shows how utterly ignorant the poet was of English history. Robert Montalt's widow did not long enjoy her annuity.

To the lordship of Rising there accrued certain important privileges, for example, free warren, assize of bread and beer, the profitable *pannage* of an extensive chase, and "one-fourth of the Tolbooth," or, in other words, a quarter of the income arising from the port dues collected at Bishop's Lenne. The ancient Tolbooth or toll-house, where traders made their payments, stood, as might be surmised, near a staith or landing-stage by the water's edge in the old part of the town. Here cargoes of merchandise were put ashore, and the various goods were either measured, weighed or counted, and the dues received by the accredited bailiff, before they were permitted to be borne up the haven in boats or carried to the neighbouring villages in wagons.

* *Mystery* is a corruption of the Middle English *mistere*, a trade or craft.

Before 1205 the profits were divided (perhaps equally) between the prior of Norwich and the lord of Rising, but after the bargain effected by Bishop Grey, between the lord of Rising and himself, the bishop of the diocese probably received three-fourths of the revenue.



The site of the Tolbooth, indicated by heavy lines (let in 1832 to Messrs. Gurneys at £2/2/6 a year), was sold by our Corporation in 1876 for £125. It now comprises a garden and the offices of Messrs. Garland and Flexman and Messrs. Fyson and Son.

After the barony reverted into royal hands in the reign of Edward III., and the *King's* bailiff was stationed "at the receipt of custom," the place was appropriately called "the King's Staith." It was, however, in no wise connected with "the Bishop's Staith" in the Newland, where *all* the dues were collected by the bishop's bailiff, who paid them periodically to the bishop's High Steward (*capitalis senescallus episcopi*), who checked accounts and presided at the various courts.

THE COURT AT THE BRIDGE

In 1310 Robert Montalt—with a few of whose antecedents the reader is already familiar—presumptuously established a court by the

bridge spanning the new-formed river at "St. Germain in Wygenhale." The position was well chosen, it commanded the road as well as the river, and here the Lord of Rising arrogated to himself the right to extort heavy fines from the traders crossing the bridge with their bales of goods, and from the merchants "rowing and flowing," with their freights in the Lenne waters. Through Walter Payne, his head bailiff, they were "summoned in inquests, distrained, attached, oppressed and harassed" whenever they came that way. So intolerable was this persecution, that many "being broken down and greatly impoverished," wisely sold their boats and sought congenial employment elsewhere. Others notwithstanding persevered in their business, fondly pinning their faith to the anticipated "good time" which cruelly receded as the years rolled by.

But the baron's despotic usurpation of the prerogatives of the King's Court indirectly affected a few influential persons,—the Abbot of Crowland for instance, who, although he failed to receive his customary supply of stores from Lenne, was yet expected to provide the King with victuals and other commodities. How could the merchants possibly complete their contracts when hindered by the exacting bailiffs, who either hurled stones at them or slyly dropped great lumps of earth upon their heads as they glided beneath the bridge? How were they to keep faith with their customers "in the county of Lincoln and other counties of the kingdom," when they were persistently being thwarted and hindered and defrauded by Montalt's unscrupulous partisans?

Were the merchants evading the payment of these ever-increasing dues, or were his bailiffs bribed into neglecting their duties? The trade of the port, as may be learned from John de St. Omer (*circa* 1312), was more than ever prosperous, and yet there was an alarming falling-off in the year's receipts. Suddenly Sir Robert Montalt quitted his baronial residence in the beautiful chase to sojourn for a while in the insalubrious burgh of Lenne. During his stay in the town he came in contact with John de Bromholm (*circa* 1309), the prior of the monastery near St. Margaret's church. Now Brother John was disgusted at his lordship's bearing, and, casting aside his usual sedateness, he pounced upon the great lord of Rising and publicly assaulted him; and the populace, encouraged by the heroic though unwise behaviour of so important a dignitary of the Church, rose against the intruder who year after year had been deliberately ruining the trade of their port. They hounded him hither and thither, wounded his attendants, wrecked the house in which he abided, secured their enemy and bore him off to prison in triumph.

In that Robert Montalt possessed a conscience, he was certainly a conscientious man, and for no other earthly reason. His conscience, it must be admitted, was not of the modern, narrow, strait-laced kind which coerces its owner into doing the very thing he abhors when compromised by a stupid, slippery tongue. His was a good, stout, serviceable conscience of mediæval construction. Always on the alert, it prompted him, whenever he was in a dilemma, to say one thing when

he meant another. Thus was Robert, Lord of Rising, securely protected against the mean advantages people ever take with easy, pliant natures.

To free himself from the tightening grasp of the infuriated mob, the victim politely acquiesced in all they said, and agreeably granted every demand. Traders were never satisfied, and if his bailiffs were driving the merchants to the other staith, it was bad policy for John de St. Omer to admit as much to his brother Lambert, who was mayor of the burgh. But now that his lordship understood their position he had not the slightest objection to the burgesses appointing a trusty bailiff who should gather in the dues and share them among the respective owners. Surely their reverend father in God, his dear friend the bishop, John Salmon of Ely, would raise no objection. It was unfortunate that they had been misguided by one who ought to have known better. The prior, supplanted by the bishop, had lost his share in the Tolbooth; it was annoying, but as it happened a hundred years ago it was no use blaming him. Well, well, under the circumstances he would overlook the strange treatment he had received, and forego the action with which in his anger he had unwittingly threatened his dear friends and neighbours, the mayor, Lambert de St. Omer, and the burgesses of Lenne.

AND A COURT ELSEWHERE.

Sir Robert was immediately set free, but, being as crafty as he was conscientious, he soon afterwards brought the matter before the Court of King's Bench (Easter 1314), and the judges decided that the imprudent burghers must pay the Lord of Rising, whom they had so grossly offended, an indemnity of £4,000, "which was practically equal to the confiscation of the whole municipal expenditure for about 30 years." (Mrs. A. S. Green.) The verdict greatly exasperated the inhabitants, so that the mayor, John de Thornech (or Thornhegge) was constrained to send a humble apology to Robert Montalt, explaining that owing to trouble and disturbances in the town it had been impossible for him to levy the money. Now the first payment fell due on All Saints' day, the 1st of November; only four days elapsed ere the mayor received a courteous letter from this conscientious Shylock demanding prompt payment:—

. . . . Sachiez q' coment q' la pease soit faites par entre eux, le despit fait a mon nest pas redress, par quei vous pri chers Seignours q' dentre vous voillez ordiner q' les amendes me soient faites del despit avaundit. A die chers amiz q' vous doint bone vie e longe. Escrit au Shouldh' le v jour de Novembre.

Or, in less perplexing words:—

. . . . Know you that though peace be made between them [his bailiffs and the folk of Lenne], the contempt done to me is not redressed, wherefore I pray you dear Sirs that you will take order amongst yourselves, that amends may be made to me for the aforesaid contempt. Adieu, dear friends! May He give you happy and long life. Written at Shouldham the 5th day of November [1315].

Although this heavy penalty involved our forefathers in terrible pecuniary difficulties, yet they bravely did their best to pay the fine, as is evident from many acknowledgments and acquittances still

extant.* In reviewing eighteen (1317 to 1323), it may be observed that the number of yearly instalments (one to eight) and the amounts (£2 10s. 4d. to £173 6s. 8d.) varied greatly. The receipts were made at seven places—Chastel de Rysinges (8), Lenne (4), Snetesham (2), Kenyng hale (1), Quornden (1), London (1), and Euerwyk, that is Berwick (1).

Mr. E. M. Beloe gives the following translation of one of the receipts written and sealed at Rising:—

To all those who this letter shall see or hear—Robert de Monhaut, seneschal of Chester, health in the Lord. Know you that I have received of the Mayor and Commonalty of the town of Lynn, by the hand of Peter de Elmham [Mayor in 1319], fourteen pounds thirteen shillings and four pence of money for wine purchased, in part of a sum of fifty pounds, the which the aforesaid Mayor and Commonalty are bound to pay me at the feast of All Saints next following the making of that writing, of a debt of four thousand pounds, the which I the said Robert and Emma my consort recovered against the aforesaid Mayor and Commonalty in the Court of our lord the King, before his justices in Banc at Westminster, at the quinzaine of Easter in the seventh year of the reign of King Edward, son of King Edward, of which fourteen pounds thirteen shillings and four pence I acknowledge fully to be paid, and the said Mayor and Commonalty acquit for all time. In testimony whereof to this letter of acquittance I have put my seal. Given at the Castle of Rising, the Vigil of St. Margaret, the year of the reign of the said King Edward sixteenth [19th July 1322]. [*Castle Rising, Norfolk; the Barony, the Borough and the Franchise*, 1894, p. 15.]

This sum appears to be the result of a municipal trading transaction, similar to those in which many towns were engaged. Loans were obtained; a common barge was built, and, after being properly rigged, it was publicly launched, and despatched to fish for herring or to bring home a cargo of salt or wine, which was sold for the benefit of the community. Among our disbursements in 1374-5 are payments "for the privilege of maintaining as before the *compotus* of sweet wine."

Worn out with persecuting the Lenne traders, Robert Montalt passed into his long rest, and was interred in the church of Saints Peter and Paul at Watlington (1329); but, alas! although the weary might be at rest, the wicked ceased not from troubling, because his widow "Dame Emma" immediately appointed Thomas Wolsy and John Philip to act as bailiffs on her behalf, for she seemed determined to maintain the court with the concomitant fleecing business so ably conducted by her late lamented husband. The much-desired respite was, however, at hand. The estate at Rising was sold; Queen Isabella entered into possession on the 29th of November 1330; Emma de Montalt shortly afterwards died, and was buried in the church of St. Mary at Stradsett, probably beside her first husband, Fitz-John de Stradsett.

This subject presents to notice another phase. Not only were the unfortunate burgesses compelled to pay the lord of Rising £4,000, but they were bound in certain other amercements "by the summons of the exchequer of the lord of the King" to John Salmon,

* Copies of nineteen "acknowledgments and acquittances," &c., are given in the *Report Hist. MSS. Com.* (1887), xi., pp. 240-244. See also Beloe's *Castle Rising* (1894), pp. 14-17, and Taylor's *Antiq. Castle Rising* (1844), pp. 33-34.

the bishop. This subsidiary case was tried before Ralf de Monte Hermeri and his legal associates in the Court of Oyer and Terminer in the county of Norfolk, for trespass done to Robert Montalt. The fine inflicted was comparatively small, namely £140. In January the Mayor, Lambert de St. Omer, interviewed my lord the Bishop at his palace at Gaywood, and tendered him £32 11s. as the first instalment. Through the persuasive intercession of the Mayor, and the influence it may be of his brother John, who was the Bishop's head steward, the rest of the penalty, £127 9s., was cancelled. The Bishop's acquittance in Latin is dated, "*apud Geywode viij Idus Januarii*" (1314).

Difficulties with the merchants and the bailiffs at the Tolbooth were by no means at an end. In the next reign

A DAY OF LOVE

was instituted, so that the men of Lenne might meet the men of Lincolnshire, and that by means of a little social intercourse a few commercial rough edges might be smoothed down. The mediæval "love days," to which Chaucer and Shakespeare refer, were indeed the survival of a custom introduced by the Romans. Their solemn feast termed "Charistia" (*caritas*, love), celebrated every year on a day corresponding with our 19th of February, was inaugurated for the friendly settlement of disputes and quarrels, from whatsoever cause arising, by means of arbitration.* For many years ill-feeling had been engendered between the traders at Lenne and Lincoln through the local bailiffs. In 1334-5 it was necessary not only to station a custodian near the Tolbooth, but to recoup the bailiff for extra trouble. In the Chamberlains' accounts are these items:—

rod pro cust' lane apud Le Tolbothe that is tenpence for the custodian of the lane near the Tolbooth), and

iijs. iiijd. was given for the expenses of the bailiff of the Tolbooth.

Anticipating an amicable settlement of various mercantile disputes, and desiring to be on a more friendly footing with their customers, the assembly voted the sum of £11 2s. 4d. to defray the cost of their delegates' journey to St. Botham, £6 15s. 9d. for the expenses incurred by William de Brinton (mayor in 1340), and Thomas the clerk of the burgh, who were present at the Parliament at York "to assert the liberties of Lenne," and £3 6s. 8d. which was spent in purchasing a barrel of sturgeon, forwarded as a token of friendship to the Bishop of Norwich.

SOCIAL DISTINCTIONS.

At the commencement of the 14th century a system of oligarchy and plutocracy prevailed, especially in the sea-port towns throughout

* Friar Daw Topias answers Jacke Upland thus:

"And your teching in an hour
will breke no love-daies
than ye mowe brynge togidere
vij yere after."

Poem (1401).

This civic function was reëstablished in 1588, perhaps in memory of "the Feast of Reconciliation," 25th Jan., 1555. (See Burnet's *Hist. of the Reformation*: 1850, vol. i., p. 507.) At the end of the 18th century the "Feasts of Reconciliation" were almost forgotten. In London, however, the Weavers' Company still pay ten shillings a year to the Churchwardens of St. Clement, Eastcheap, to provide two turkeys to be eaten by the parishioners at the annual "Reconciliation," formerly held on Maundy Thursday

the kingdom, in that the local government was conducted by a *few* of the inhabitants, who invariably belonged to the *wealthy* section of the community. The laity, the ordinary ignorant inhabitants of Lenne, other than the professional clerics, of whom there was no dearth, were divided into three totally distinct, yet mutually antagonistic, classes, to which certain specific names, which we ask the reader to remember, were applied:—the *Potentiores*, the rich mercantile section of the community; the *Mediocrates*, the tradesmen, artisans and shopkeepers, who made up the middle class; and the *Inferiores*, the poor labouring folk, who constituted the largest and the lowest class. Caste was far more rampant in our borough than it is in India at the present time. The classification was perfect, in that everybody knew not only to which class he belonged, but also the respective classes to which his fellow townsmen belonged. The social status of each man being thus clearly determined, he might enjoy the privileges pertaining to his own order (if, indeed, there were any), but on no account would he be permitted to usurp or infringe the privileges belonging to a higher order. Hence, whilst fondly nursing their grievances, supposed or otherwise, the individual members of these different sections grew irritable and envious. Thus were mutual misgivings and petty animosities tenderly nurtured. In the market, and even in the trade gild, men felt justified in striving their utmost to outwit and annoy each other; and as, perforce, they unintentionally jostled one against the other in the narrow lanes and ill-paved bye-ways, the hatred visible in their faces spoke daggers, though their hands generally refrained from using them.*

These deplorable grades clearly illustrate the survival of an ancient administration. With the Saxons there were three orders—the wealthy nobles (*ethelings*), the subordinate freemen, and the abject servile drudges, who could rise to be *freed men*, and who then were totally distinct from the freemen or mediocres of a later date. “Nobles only married nobles, and the severest penalties prohibited the intrusion of one rank into the other.” (Sharon Turner.) The inferiores (for every man was appraised, docketed and placed in one of the civic pigeon-holes), were treated in municipal matters as if they were entirely non-existent. If a man was anxious to alter his position, he must get his foot on the first rung of the social ladder by becoming a recognised burgess, and to do this he must have the freedom of the burgh conferred upon him.

Now, if blue blood were required, the mediæval anatomist must not probe for it in the arteries of the lower classes. Verily every drop was in the bodies of the patrician potentiores, who, notwithstanding, were nothing more than wealthy tradesmen—superior mediocres, whom society had judiciously promoted into a higher caste. The

* (1). THE POTENTIORES (derived from the Latin adjective *potentialis*, powerful, influential—because wealthy); the aristocracy of the town consisting of princely merchants belonging to the Merchants' Guild of the Holy Trinity.

(2). THE MEDIOCRES (Latin noun *mediocritas*, the mean between the two extremes) the democratic section—plebeians who had risen to be small shopkeepers, petty traders or skilled craftsmen, and who were in circumstances more or less easy.

(3). THE INFERIORES (Latin adjective *inferior*, lower or inferior, in fact *humillimus*), the poor labouring class, who were despised by their wealthy neighbours.

development of cerulean corpuscles was no doubt painfully slow ; the indispensable physiological process, perhaps involving many generations, was entirely the outcome of environment. These rare specimens of the *genus homo* were at first humble chapmen or pedlars, then small shopkeepers, diminutive traders, petty ship-owners, traders on a larger scale, and in the end merchant princes—the purse-proud members of the opulent, omnipotent confraternity known as the Gild of the Holy Trinity. Arrived at this stage, they transacted their business with great decorum, sedulously and severely holding themselves aloof from the lower grade from whom they or their grandparents invariably sprang. Conservative to the core, they took particular care that their accumulated capital should not be lightly squandered ; hence, intermarrying with potentiores only, they formed profitable family compacts and alliances, and never permitted domestic relations to interfere so as to weaken their social standing. In consulting their own interest, they, of course, generously played into each other's hands, with a tacit understanding that one good turn always deserved another. Each advantageous site along the foreshore was coolly appropriated by them ; every stranger and all who were not of their own clique they deliberately pushed aside, and thus they established for themselves a huge monopoly ; as adepts in the art of “ cornering ” they waylaid goods coming to the market, and these they either exported or held back until they could dispose of them at an enormous profit ; they piously admitted “ the earth was the Lord's and the fullness thereof,” but they as tenaciously maintained that the fleets and the staiths and the water-ways had He given to the children of the potentiores.

In return for these small mercies they graciously took into their aristocratic hands the manipulating of the borough's revenue, the management of the town's vast estate, and the government of the plebeian part of the population. Their programme, as may be seen, was a disgraceful exhibition of unflinching selfishness. Legislation in their case was quite superfluous, for were not *they*—the immaculate potentiores, a law unto themselves ? The Corporation—if the term be yet admissible—was controlled by them. The Mayor, too, was always chosen from among the jurats or councillors, who were bound to be members of the dominant fraternity ; if he died, the alderman of the gild immediately took his place. Masters of the situation, they “ ruled without restraint, and with a high hand assessed taxes, diverted money from the common treasury, profited by illegal trading and customs, contrary to common as well as to merchant law, and bought the King's forgiveness if any complaint were made of their crimes. . Against their despotism there was no protection for the burghesses of humbler station.” (Mrs. A. S. Green.)

A remarkable instance occurred in 1305, when the deeds of those in authority became too flagrant and oppressive to be borne. Then, as there were signs that the down-trodden populace would stand little more of it, the alarmed delinquents extricated themselves from the dilemma by adroitly bargaining with the King. They secured letters patent of pardon and release “ in respect to all trespasses, etc., said to

have been done by them in assessing divers tallages on the community without the unanimous consent of the same community, and in levying the same tallages from the poor and but moderately endowed . . . and other great sums of money under colour of certain fines . . . for divers causes, and in converting to their own use and not to the advantage of the said community . . . a great part of the same," etc. It exonerated them, moreover, from the crime of forestalling goods and other illegal corruptions (April 7th).

These tempting applications, because of their frequency, became at length regarded as the lawful perquisites of the Sovereign. How could a good-natured, obliging monarch be expected to turn deaf ears to the earnest solicitations of his loyal and devout subjects? The terms accepted, the threatening storm was temporarily dispersed, and the culprits, no longer in fear of the punishment they richly merited, were able to start afresh and pursue the self-same tactics.

Only a few years elapsed ere the inhabitants of our burgh found themselves in a like predicament. Once more were they suffering acutely from the unjust oppression of the dominating class. In their distress, and when almost driven into rebellion, they wisely turned to the lord of the manor—the reverend Father in God, John Salmon, the late prior of Ely,—and through his powerful interference an agreement was signed between him, on behalf of the mediocres and inferiores—the common people, and the mayor, Richard Hopman, who represented the ruling potentiores. This deed, termed *Compositio Lenne*, or

THE COMPOSITION OF LENNE,

was embodied in subsequent charters, and thus became, in a measure, an important item in the liberties of our burgh. It consisted mainly of two clauses, which related to the levying of tallages and the enforcing of the franchise upon townsmen (October, 1309).*

By the charter granted by Edward I. in 1305, the Mayor was given power to distrain for the recovery of tallages and other *reasonable* aids levied for the use of the community (C. 7). The terms of this charter were, however, utterly ignored; the tallages inflicted upon the people being described as "unreasonable grievous." Hence a needful restraint was placed upon the Mayor and his brethren. Tallages in strict conformity with statutory law might henceforth be levied when absolutely necessary. No person could be excused—every man must pay; but his contribution was not to be oppressive, for the assessment was to be governed by his circumstances and social position. The cruel way in which "the great men of the town" (the potentiores) treated "the mean people and the poor" (the mediocres and inferiores) was to be altered forthwith, so that the "grievous distressing so violently of them" was to cease.

There was, however (writes Mrs. A. S. Green), a disturbing element in the history of the Lynn corporation which was absent in Southampton, Nottingham and Norwich. The lord of the manor was close at hand, and the governing class had to reckon with his claims and expect his interference. Local disputes magnified his power. Thrown together as natural allies against the potentiores,

* There was a previous so-called "composition" in 1243.

the mediocres and inferiores were forced to rely mainly on the protection of the Bishop. He, on his part, whether for the sake of increasing the population dependent on himself rather than on his rival power the Mayor, capitulated—and this at the very moment when Norwich was compelling all its traders and artisans to buy its freedom—that the Mayor should not have power to force the franchise on any settlers, old or new, who might take up house in the town while preferring to remain free of the charges of citizenship. He won from the Mayor, moreover, in 1309, a *Composition* for the protection of both mediocres and inferiores, which not only became the charter of all their future liberties, but was also the fullest recognition of his authority. From this time, in spite of efforts on the part of the municipality to evade the *Composition*, the mean people, confident of their legal position and assured of the support of a powerful patron, formed a society differently compacted from that which we find in other boroughs. and played a part in the politics of Lynn which was, perhaps, unique in town history. The “community” of Lynn differed from the “community” of other boroughs in being made up, as is formally stated in 1412, not only of burgesses, both potentiores and mediocres, but also of inferiores or non-burgesses. (Vol. II., p. 408-9).*

The town possesses an “illustrated copy” of this *Composition*.

“THE CHASE.”

During a reign of 20 years, Edward II. visited Norfolk several times, but his presence did not materially affect our town. On the 9th of May, 1312, he was at Wormegay, and on the 9th of July the next year he appears to have been at the same place; from thence, on both occasions, he repaired to Thetford, possibly making a slight detour to call at Lenne. In May, 1313, perhaps before setting out on his journey, he graciously granted our burgh a charter, which bore, it is true, no marks of conspicuous originality, but was, notwithstanding, an indisputable token of royal remembrance. Two years later Edward was in Lenne on the 2nd of October, at Walsingham on the 5th, Harpley the 7th, and again in Lenne the 8th (1315). Ten years later he and his court were at Walsingham from the 1st to the 7th of February. The following day he entered Lenne once more.

Our chase and the plantations in the surrounding district were perhaps indirectly affected by the King's charter.

C. 8. Dated at Westminster, 16th of May, 6th year of his reign. It formally confirmed C. 5 and C. 7, and granted freedom throughout all the kingdom to the burgesses of Bishop's Lenne, including the right to feed swine in woods and on common lands without the payment of the usual tax called *pannage*, except when called upon by the bishop of the diocese (1313).

East Anglia was at one period like a primeval forest, covered with trees and undergrowth, which sheltered innumerable deer and other animals. From a presentment of Edward I. we learn that a portion at least of “the Great Level” constituted a part of “the King's forest” (1306). In a legal sense, the word *foresta* signifies “without.” Accordingly a *forest* was a liberty outside the jurisdiction of the ordinary law, and subject only to special regulations devised by William I. There was hardly a county in England without its forest, in fact entire counties were formerly under the cruel forest laws. Chases, too, were numerous. From letters patent directed to

* Read Mrs. A. S. Green's *Town Life in the Fifteenth Century* (1884) and Mr. E. M. Beloe's *Our Borough* (1871).

Roger Townshend, knight, and others, we learn that in 1543 the chase at Rising "extendeth from Bawsey Brigge to Gaywoode Brigge, from Gaywoode Brigge to the See, from thence to Babingley Brigge, from thence to Hillington Brigge, from thence to Brudgate lane,* from thence to Bonys Brigge, from thence to the saide Bawsey Brigge. Alsoe we saye that the master of the Game or Ranger have yearly many yeares used to make a bothe (booth) of the armes and boughes of oakes atte feaste of Pentecost (Whitsuntide), by estimac'on to the number of lx loades of woode, to his or their uses." Instructions were given "that my lords game may be bette' kepte and cherished, for the kepares suffre ev'y man to hunte there that will yeve (give) them xx d. or xl d., and so hathe be (been) slayn ther this yer xx dere and at this tyme y'r w's (there was) not passed iiij xx (four score) dere of all man' (manner of) sorts (1293)." To the south-east of our town is still what is termed the *chase*, and it is indeed likely that the one at Lenne and the other at Rising once formed part of the King's forest in this part of the country. The constable of Rising was present at the perambulation of the boundaries of the burgh (1410). There is, however, a difference between a *forest* and a *chase*.

A forest was the personal and peculiar privilege of the King, to whom alone pertained the right of appointing a justice seat or a Chief Justice, the existence of which was the insignia of a royal domain. Being his in such ample possession, he could grant to any person the whole or any portion of this *forest*, either absolutely or with such restrictions and limitations as he might think fit. A forest, however, in the hands of a subject, became a *chase*, which, except by special order of the King, was subject to the jurisdiction of the Common Law and its judges, and was not under the Forest Laws. It had no court of its own, and the matters affecting the chase were disposed of in the Court of the Hundred or the County, and not by the judges of the forest. No-one was therefore the owner of a forest but the King, who provided for its administration, and appointed its officers. [Inderwick's *The King's Peace*, p. 141.]

The King *possibly* granted a part of his forest—"the chase at Lenne"—to one of his favourite knights, who by special permission *probably* retained the ancient gallows or gibbet right, with the inherent pleasure of hanging any thieves taken therein. The Hospital field, at no great distance from the Chase, was "the Gallows pasture," where criminals were despatched at late as 1587, and clauses were inserted in leases of the land reserving this exhilarating privilege. (1680).

When England was in an imperfect state of cultivation, timber was, comparatively speaking, worthless. The value of wooded districts was estimated neither by the area covered nor by the number of trees therein contained, but by the means afforded for feeding swine. The pig was then the most important of our domestic animals; hence the absolute necessity for plenty of forest products such as nuts, acorns, mast, etc. Thorpe wood, near Norwich, maintained a herd of 1,200 swine.

An officer, the hogman or hogwarden of the burgh, was chosen every year to look after the swine reared in the common woods and pastures; he was paid by the community, who taxed themselves

* Broadgate way is in the manor of Westhall (Gayton): Cutting's *Gleanings about Gayton* (1889), p. 10

according to the size of their herds to raise the amount. It was his duty to prevent the swine straying too far, and not merely to see that they sought their respective "dens" at night, but to provide them when necessary with warm rugs. The granting of free *pannage* to the inhabitants of Lenne when the town was surrounded by dense woods was indeed a valuable concession.

Let us, however, hasten to confess that the foregoing is purely speculative, and is based on the assumption that our Chase retains its ancient place-name. The captious reader may have, like Dr. Jessopp, "a deep distrust for historians, who for every pair of facts construct a trinity of theories." Publicans, poets and historians, nevertheless, possess licences, and all our "facts" are stated with scrupulous regard for the three P's, so useful in cases of historical emergency—*possibility*, *probability* and *perhaps-ibility*! Let future theorists amuse themselves by shewing the utter absurdity of these suggestions, and they will assuredly deserve to be read once, if not oftener.

Austin Street, "the way to the Ert's bridge" (1294), was once known as Hogman's lane and Hopman's way. In the time of Edward II. mention is made of Hopeman's gate—a variant perhaps of Hopman's way; besides as recently as 1725 Hopman's bridge, a successor, it may be, to Ert's bridge of the 13th century, is shewn on Rastrick's plan of Lynn. And here we face another dilemma, which we generously leave to the astute consideration of future historians. Is this interesting place-name derived from *hogman*, the ancient swine-herd, or is it a modification of a personal name (Richard Hopman being mayor in 1310), or has it any connection with *houghman*, the hangman? Sir Walter Scott writes: "And as many were gibbeted at *Houghman's* Stares, which has still the name for the *hangman* work done there."*

SHIPS—MEN—AND MONEY TOO.

During this unsatisfactory reign there was a continuation of the struggle in Scotland. To transport the Earl of Ulster and his forces to that country, every port in the kingdom was called upon to provide ships of war suitably equipped. The relative importance of Norfolk as a maritime county is apparent when we remember that 11 vessels, out of an entire muster of 43, were from our county alone. Yarmouth was assessed for six, Lenne for four, and Burnham with Holkham for one (June 16th. 1310).

Whilst the King was disputing with his barons, Bruce, by taking advantage, gained ground rapidly, so that in 1313 Stirling was the only fortress in Scotland garrisoned by English soldiers. The next year Stirling capitulated, and all Scotland was practically lost. In 1317 Berwick, the important border fortress, also fell into his hands. At this crisis the custody of our town and its defence against the attacks of foreigners and the King's enemies generally were placed (during royal pleasure) in the hands of the Mayor and burgesses. (Letters patent dated at Walton the 10th of July 1318.) Edward

* *Houghmanstares*: See note in the *Fair Maid of Perth*.

moreover, sent a writ "to the Bailiffs and Good People of Lenne." A courteous preamble indeed, but, as usual, a sign of the thorough squeezing which was to follow! However—"Hats off gentleman, if you please!"—the King shall speak for himself:—

For that news has come to us that our enemies of Scotland have laid siege to our town of Berewick-on-Twede with a great number of people, wherefore we have need to send thither men and ships for the rescue of our said town and the safety of our people who are there, we pray and charge you as especially as we are able that you will aid us sufficiently and with good will and your navy well equipped with men and victuals in aid, for the rescue of our aforesaid town. Promise being given of reasonable repayment of the costs to which the bailiffs and good people shall put themselves in the matter; order being given for their ships and men to be at Scardeburgh (Scarborough) on the 12th of next October, to proceed thence in the company of Simon de Drilby, who has been appointed *cheveteyn de la navie* about to be sent for the rescue of the aforesaid town. (Dated at Eu'Wykes, 28th September 1317.)

Three other privy-seal writs were received by our Mayor during this eventful period:—

- (a). 1319 (March 28th) from Euer Wyk (Berwick) urging that the request of John Salmon, Bishop of Norwich, M. Aymer de Valence, the Earl of Pembroke, and M. Walter, of Norwich, for ships and men, be at once complied with "for the despatch of the war." It is also hinted that for a time the ships were to be maintained by the burgh.
- (b). 1322 (August 1st) from Noef Chastel sur Tyne (Newcastle). Information had been received that vessels were discharging their freights at Lenne. This was strictly forbidden, and the owners were commanded to proceed with their cargoes of victuals "to the north parts for the sustenance of the king and his host."
- (c). 1322 (August 5th) from Goseford. Having heard that vessels laden with wheat, rye, &c., had entered our haven, the king's commands were reinforced. Under pain of forfeiture and his further displeasure no vessels were to be allowed to discharge their freights; they were to proceed promptly northward. Reference was made, moreover, to previous letters, and astonishment expressed that no replies thereto had been received.

* * * * *

A host of unscrupulous partisans, encouraged by a faithless Queen, led to Edward's overthrow. When the Parliament met at Westminster (1327), it was thronged with enemies. Alarmed at appearances, and conscious of his own incompetency, the King, under pressure from the Queen and her paramour Roger Mortimer, signed a declaration which was in itself tantamount to a deposition. Eight months afterwards Edward II. was brutally murdered in Berkeley Castle, by his keepers—two knights named Gournay and Maltravers. (September 1327.)

CHAPTER XI.

Isabel the Fair.

EDWARD III., the eldest son of Edward II. and Isabella of France, was born at Windsor, 13th November 1312. In 1325 he joined his mother in France; returned to England with her in September 1326; was declared guardian or regent of the kingdom about a month afterwards, and was proclaimed King on the deposition of his father,

January 25th, 1327. When 15 years of age he married Philippa of Hainault (1328). * * * * *

The Scots, seeking to gain an acknowledgment of their independence, boldly invaded the northern counties, and the war that ensued greatly resembled that in the Transvaal. The English force was well equipped, and far superior numerically, but whilst they required many things for their sustenance, the homely Scot was perfectly contented with a bag of oatmeal slung on the back of his hardy pony. Although Edward was nominally king, the government was really in the hands of his mother, "Isabel the Fair," as she was called, and her favourite Roger Mortimer, Earl of March. In 1328 they committed a folly which contributed not a little to their speedy downfall. An ignominious peace, recognizing the complete independence of Scotland, was concluded.

Taking advice from his nobles, the King, who was treated as a child, and as strictly guarded as a prisoner, determined upon shaking off the yoke. After capturing the obnoxious Mortimer at Nottingham he assumed the lead. Mortimer was taken to London, and hanged at Tyburn, 29th of November 1330, and the next year Isabella began her

LIFE OF RETIREMENT

at the castle at Rising.

Sir John Froissart, whose *Chronicles* cover 73 years (1326-1399), and who was secretary to Queen Philippa from 1361 to 1366, asserts that—

The King, soon after (the death of Mortimer), by the advice of his council ordered his mother to be confined in a goodly castle, and gave her plenty of ladies to wait and attend on her, as well as knights and esquires of honour. He made her a handsome allowance to keep and maintain the state she had been used to; but forbid that she should ever go or shew herself abroad, except at certain times when any shows were exhibited in the court of the castle. The Queen thus passed her time there meekly; and the King, her son, visited her twice or thrice a year. [Johnes' translation; 1805, Vol. I., p. 84.]

With an ample yearly income of £3,000, which absorbed two-thirds of her son's revenue, Isabella lived quietly at "the goodly castle" at Rising, built a century and a half before by William d'Albini, the first Earl of Arundel. By no means a prisoner, she seems to have enjoyed her life—as well she might—in this picturesque part of Norfolk. During the first few years of her son's government the dowager-queen submitted to a mild surveillance, which was perhaps subsequently relaxed. Evidence indeed shows she was at Berkhamstead and Windsor (1330), Walsingham (1331-2), Pontefract (1338), Langley and Norwich (1344), Hertford (1345), and in our own burgh undoubtedly many times. Throughout a residence of seven-and-twenty years, the burgesses never ceased demonstrating in a tangible way their sincere sympathy with Isabella in her adversity. From the 5th to the 32nd year of her son's reign the pages of the Hall Book bristle with entries of money expended for valuable presents sent for her gracious acceptance—payments for wine, wax, bread, lampreys, sturgeon, sheep, etc., and disbursements for the carriage of goods, and acknowledgments to her steward, cooks and other servants.

ROYAL VISITS.

1328. August, Symon de Mepham, the newly appointed Archbishop of Canterbury, did fealty to the King at Lenne [*Chronicles of the Reigns of Edw. I. and II.*, vol. I., p. 342.]
- 1331-2. June 4th, the King was at Thetford; 5th Buckenham; . . . 26th Walsingham; 27th Cokeford; 28th Gaywood, from whence he departed on the 30th to Wisbech (M). Isabella was with Edward at Walsingham—"20 shillings were paid for bread sent to Isabell, the old Queen, when she came from Walsingham" (J).
- 1333-4. August 19th, at Melton; 20th Rising (query); 21st Fakenham; 22nd Wymondham; and 24th Yarmouth (M). December 14th, at Newmarket; 15th Swaffham; 16th Westacre; 17th Mildenhall (M).
- 1334-5. May 7th, at Scottow; 9th Gaythorpe (? Gayton Thorpe); 10th Thornham (M).
- 1335-6. The King, Queen, etc., at Lenne (J).
- 1340-1. February 14th, the King, Queen, Isabella, etc., at Norwich; grand spectacular tournament, which continued until after Easter (M). The King visited Langley and came also to Lenne—"10s. 2d. spent for wine to sergeants-at-arms in the time the King passed through Lenne" (H). Richards and Miss Strickland state that the King was at Rising—query?
1342. The King and Queen are said to have been at Norwich (Blomefield).
- 1344-5. November 13th, the King, Queen, Isabella, etc., at Norwich; celebration of Edward's birthday; 15th Langley; from whence letters patent were dated; Isabella was there with her son (M. and H.). December 17th the King was at Bury St. Edmund; 18th Thetford; 20th Attleborough; 21st Norwich, where Christmas was spent. Edward also went to Thorndenes (Suffolk), the seat of the Earl of Suffolk (Thorndens). "12 pence were given to the Earl of Suffolk's minstrels," who, it seems, accompanied His Majesty to Lenne (J). The King, moreover, visited Rising (J. and H).
- 1344-5. January 1st at Wymondham; 19th to 25th at North Elmham; . . . February 10th Wymondham (M).
- 1347-8. Lenne and Rising visited; presents given to the King and Queen, also to the members of the royal household when they lodged at the Friars (J).
- 1349-50. Rising again visited; 9s. 6d. paid to the messengers "at the time the King was at Rising" (H). Lenne was probably visited.
- 1352-3. Rising apparently visited; "40 pence given to the porter of Rising and his companions coming"—to Lenne unquestionably—"for horses for the King's use" (H).

Authorities: M=Mason; J=Jeaffreson; H=Harrod, who quotes the late Mr. Alan H. Swatman.

Commenting upon Froissart's interesting *Chronicles*, Lord Hailes observes, that therein "dates and facts are strangely misplaced and confounded, as the manner is in colloquial history." Subsequent

writers have, notwithstanding, incautiously followed the lead suggested by Froissart, and have endeavoured to shew how Edward frequently visited his mother during her residence at Rising. That she met him at Walsingham, Langley and Norwich there can be no doubt, as she in all probability did at Lenne, but she had been at Rising about 14 years before Edward put in an appearance. In our chamberlains' records we find many presents were sent to the King, but surely it is unfair to assume they were sent to the King at *Rising*. In 1344-5 the King visited Lenne and Rising, when payments were made to the royal messengers and runners, also for the keeping of the King's palfreys. Richards states that the Court was at Lenne for some time, "as appears from certain letters which he (the King) sent from hence to the Bishop of Norwich, then at Avignon, to be there delivered by him to the Pope." The sum of £3 16s. 1d. was moreover forwarded to the King's servants at Thorndenes "at the *first coming* of the Lord King at Rysing." This is Jeaffreson's version; Harrod, quoting Swatman, gives a very similar rendering of the passage; unfortunately, however, the word *first* is omitted.

In the above epitome, it will be noted how three writers assert that Edward was at Rising prior to 1344-5. Let us now decide whether we shall accept this, or adhere to the statement of our chamberlains Goodman Philip Wych, John de Couteshal, Thomas de Fransham and William de Swanton, who certainly did not wait 500 years before making up their year's account, but who did it whilst memory held her seat.

According to *Mason* the King was at Rising in 1333-4; there is unfortunately no reference to substantiate this assertion, though authorities are given to support what he writes respecting the visit in 1344-5. *Richards* assures us that the King was here in 1340, "as appears by the account rolls of Adam de Reffham and John de Newland, of Lynn, who sent his Majesty a present of wine." But the chamberlains for that year were Messrs. John Richwys, Thomas Belleyetere, William de Santone and Henry de Guntone (1339-40); and Messrs. Thomas de Swerdeston, William de Uteryng, William de Snorynge and William Erl (1340-1). Adam de Reffham was indeed a burgh chamberlain, but that was in the year 1347-8, when many presents were bestowed by the Corporation,—the total disbursements for the year amounting to £528 18s. 4½d. The information on this subject given by Miss Agnes Strickland in her *Lives of the Queens of England* (1844) has been proved in Harrod's *Deeds and Records of Lynn* (1874), p. 66, to be untrustworthy. Wherefore, *quod erat demonstrandum*—until some unkind busybody disproves Mr. J. C. Jeaffreson's quotation from the Hall Book.

When Edward and Queen Philippa were in Lenne in 1335-6 we find among the items under "Expense Navium" the following:—

xxvj s. vj d. (£1/6/6) given for the expenses of the King and Queen when they crossed over the water, by the hands of Laurence de Fordham and Reginald de Sisterne.

iiij li x s. (£4/10) given to Geoffrey Wreke for the freight of a ship called *The Caterine*,

xxjv li. vj s (£24/6) given to Roger Fanchild and Roger Catour for the wages of mariners in Lord King's service.

v s. (5/) given for oars to the said ship.

xj li. (£11) given to Roger Fayrchild (? Fanchild) for his costs on either passage.

xxiiij s. j d (£13/1) given to Henry Bataylle for ale and other expenses in the ship of Roger de Buttele.

lvij s. (£2/17) for xij quarters of wheat for the expenses of mariners in two ships of the King's use.

After Edward's return from the Continent (1340-1) he visited Lenne on his way to Norwich, whither he was bound, so that he might be present at a grand tournament, designed expressly for his gratification. These rough sports had been strictly prohibited a few years before, being rightly regarded as the source of treasonable agitations. The enterprise in which the citizens of Norwich were embarked was unquestionably illegal, but, being expert logicians, they subdued their misgivings with the flattering unctiousness that, as the King could do no *wrong*, they were justified in breaking the law to assist him in doing what was *right*. This grand spectacular display began in February and lasted until Easter, and many were the bones delightfully splintered, but crestfallen combatants did not mind these trifles, because their pain was neutralized by the exquisite pleasure derived from suffering in the presence of royalty. Queen Philippa joined the King to witness the pageants; Her Majesty was present on St. Valentine's day.

That Edward came to our burgh there can be no doubt, because 10s. 2d. was spent for wine in treating the sergeants-at-arms and others "in the time when the King passed through Lenne" (1340-1); but where was Her Majesty the Queen, and why did she shun the loyal burgesses, who were patiently waiting with uncovered heads to receive her? Subsequent events may throw light upon the subject; the student is not, however, to be left in utter darkness, for he reads that sixty shillings were given to a mediator, one Geoffrey de Bouresyard, "for his assistance in reforming the peace between the Lady the Queen and the community of the town."

Miss Strickland suggests that on this occasion Edward visited his mother at Rising, whilst the Queen remained at Norwich until Easter. It seems far more likely that the Dowager came to meet her son at Lenne, and that the entries "13s. 4d. for wine sent to the Queen," and "2s. paid for beer for the men of the Queen at the Friars Minors," refer to her, and not to the King's wife Philippa.

When the three years' truce with France was concluded, Edward passed through Lenne. Valuable presents were made to the royal usher, the keeper of the King's palfreys, the servants in charge of the carriages, the sergeants-at-arms, the King's runners or footmen, and messengers. £5 was expended on two falcons, 3s. was paid for a glove, and 1s. was given William de Lakenham for carrying the birds to the King, who found capital sport it may be at Rising (1344-5).

In 1347-8 Edward, accompanied, perhaps, by his mother, seems to have spent Lent in our midst. A payment of "7s. 2d. for wines and spices to the household of our Lady the Queen at the Friars where

they were lodged," and another, "22s. 6d. entertainment of the household of the King in Quintagesima," appear. Separate "households" are mentioned, and as Isabella was connected with the Franciscans it might be inferred that the entertainment was at the monastery of the Grey Friars.

Edward visited "the royal prisoner" at Rising in 1349-50 and in 1352-3. On the first occasion wheat and eels amounting to £9 3s. 2d. were sent to Queen Isabella, and 9s. 6d. was paid to certain messengers "at the time the king was at Rising." Among the payments at the second event we may mention: £9 12s. 9d. "paid for a pipe of wine and a barrel of sturgeon sent to Lady Isabell, queen of England" [what an empty title!], "and for money given to John le Butelier and for the carriage of the same offering to Rysynge"; 12s. was also "given to John de Wyndesoner and other men of the King's servants when he was at Rysynge," etc.

LAST SCENE OF ALL.

The dowager queen of England died at Hertford castle, 22nd of August, 1358, in the 63rd year of her age, and was buried near Queen Margaret, the second wife of Edward I., in the church of the Grey Friars, London, towards the erection of which she had ably contributed. A few years since the *Household Book* of her castle at Hertford was found, and it is now preserved in the Cottonian Library, British Museum. The entries extend from October, 1357, to the time of her death. From it we learn that among the Queen's guests at this period were the daughter and grandson of the infamous Mortimer; and that frequent payments were made to couriers who travelled to and from the French court, which prompts to the belief that Isabella's interference with State affairs was not even then at an end.

An excellent diagnosis of the character of this very beautiful woman, the "She-wolf of France," is given by Mr. E. M. Beloe, in his *Castle Rising: the Barony, the Borough and the Franchise* (1894). He writes:—

The career of Isabella, the heroine of Rising, is not that of a saint; it is that of a woman whose ambition, whose cruelty, whose immorality and hardness of character is perhaps unsurpassed in history. Whether the bad qualities she possessed were entirely owing to her own fault it is not for us to judge.

She was married very early in life to her weak and unfortunate husband, Edward II. She came to us a bride so beautiful that she was called Isabella the Fair. Her father was handsome, for he was designated Philip le Bel, and her husband was as remarkable as both of them for his comeliness and gentleness. This woman, so young and beautiful, and yet so bad, was of high ability, and possessed great qualities. During her career as queen, which lasted 20 years, in its early portions she certainly distinguished herself by great power of government and by energy in administration. She arranged treaties, and in her fall, when she lost every moral quality, and became a fierce, cruel, relentless, heartless woman, she never ceased to be a queen. She was the daughter of a king, and in all her associations she never demeaned herself to any of low position; her companions throughout, and those with whom she acted in business, were all the highest barons in the land. One of her last acts before her fall was her retirement to France with Mortimer, but I need not refer to a connexion which is historic. It is only after being exiled from that country that she came to England with an armed force and landed on Harwich beach, and compelled her unlucky husband to surrender the kingdom to his and her son.

She gave the keeping of the King afterwards to the Earl of Lancaster, her relative, and only when the kindness of the earl to his unfortunate prisoner became apparent, did this wife and the mother of his child take the care of her husband the King from him, and put it into the hands of two who would do her will, and who took him to Berkeley, almost certainly by her directions, and murdered him. This is the heroine of the Castle! She was now let loose, and every-one fell at her will. The good Earl of Lancaster, the old Earl of Coventry, relatives of herself and her husband, were executed. . . . We all know that she ruled the kingdom in the name of her son (but in reality by the direction of Mortimer) until the fourth year of his reign. . . .

THE "BLACK PRINCE."

After purchasing the castle and appurtenances at Rising, Isabella, the Queen-Dowager, became entitled to the usual profits arising from the Lenne Tolbooth. At her decease (1358) they were enjoyed by her grandson Edward, Prince of Wales. Early inured to warfare, the hero of Crécy spent most of his time in tented camps, and very little at his comfortable home. The Prince owned the castle at Rising only eighteen years, for where he gained his honours he lost his health; he returned victorious, it is true, but with a broken constitution; he died at the early age of forty-six, and was buried at Canterbury (1376).

During the absence of the Black Prince, when the castle was most likely in the charge of a constable, unpleasantness arose, and our burgh became involved in considerable expense in trying to disprove certain grave accusations maliciously made against the community. Twice during the year 1373-4, the mayor, John de Cokesford, and twelve of the most influential burgesses, with their servants, were sent to London in order to treat with their princely neighbour and the Council. The dispute, which related to the payment of dues derivable from the Tolbooth, led to protracted interviews, which absorbed much time.* The first visit necessitated a sojourn of seven, and the second of three weeks. The deputation was, it seems, at last satisfied with a compromise, though the burgesses could hardly be expected to applaud their diplomacy, because considerable drafts upon the civic coffer were immediately made, as, for example, £133 6s. 6d. a gift to the Lord Prince; £4 13s. 4d. for a pipe of red wine given to Lord William de Swyneffete for aid rendered the community during the negotiations which resulted in a "treaty," the nature of which is not recorded. The same year there were "drinkings" of wine by the Bishop's steward and Edmund Gurney, who acted as legal adviser

* Two examples of *Les Custums de la Talboth de Lenn* (1243) must suffice;—

WYNNYS				
Of a tonne wyn yt is clepyd tressel	...	...	...	viii d.
Of a tonne wyn yt is clepyd Dubler	...	...	...	iiiij d.
Of ev'y tonne wyn cardon	...	...	...	iiiij d.
And if it be w'out ye tonne for ev'ry mt	...	...	...	ob.
Of di mt	...	...	...	j qa.
Beneth rizt aot	...	...	...	nt.
WOLLE SKYNNYS				
Of c wolle skynnys	...	...	...	vj d.
Of ci c (50)	...	...	...	iiij d.
Of xx skynnys	...	...	...	j d.
Of x skynnys	...	...	...	ob.
Of v skynnys	...	...	...	j qa.
Beneye rizt not	...	...	...	nt.

—[*Norfolk Antiquarian Miscellany* (1883), vol. II.]

to the town. The charges of the deputation amounted to £15 14s. 8d.; the expenses of Adam Clerk, who rode to Norwich and Hoxne with the mayor's letter asking Lord William de Swyneflete to defend the burgesses, came to 4s. 8d.; moreover, 6s. 8d. was given to a clerk named Baron and his associates (clerks of the Council of the Prince) for their advice and trouble in writing about the "*fine* for the Tolbooth."

In the accounts for the years 1374 and 1376 are these items:—
£14/15/3 received for the share of the prince for the Tolbooth, as well on the screen as for *tronage*, *lovecop* and *measurage* for the time of this account.*

£8/6/8 paid the prince for rent of the same (1374-5).

£11/13/4 to the prince for his part of the Tolbooth rent to Easter, and

£13/6/8 to Michaelmas (1376-7).

After the duties were collected by the bailiffs, they were at stated periods taken to the Hall and placed upon the "screen" (Latin, *scrinium*, a chest or casket), that is, upon the top of the iron-bound treasury box, the keys of which were held by the town's chamberlains, who were responsible for its safety. May we not infer that besides receiving one-fourth of the profits, valued at £90 a year, Prince Edward also received an annual rent of £25 for the premises?

At the death of the "Black Prince" the castle and manor passed to his son Richard, a lad eleven years of age, who was crowned king of England (1377). During the second year of his reign negotiations for the exchange of the lordship of Rising for the castle of Brest, in Brittany, were brought about by John de Montford, surnamed the Valiant, and his wife Joan. Preparatory to acceding to this request

* *Tronage* was the duty paid when wool was brought to the *tron* or weighing-beam. The Tron-gate (way) in Glasgow and the Tron church in Edinburgh were named from their proximity to the public steel-yards. Tronage was afterwards applied to the duty upon all weighable goods. The Chamberlains of London received a writ from Edward I. to make a *tron* for the weighing of wool "in our town of Len" (18th April, 1298). The machine, after being examined and proved at the Gildhall, was sent to the Exchequer, where it was tested and stamped with the city mark. Then it was delivered "to the men of Lenne."

Measurage was likewise paid when certain goods were measured.

Lovecop (otherwise *lovecop*, *lofcop* and *lufcop*) is supposed to be a tax on corn—the right of taking from every certain quantity (say bushels) a scoop of corn, payable to some superior. [*Trans. Phil. Soc.* (1855): 33.] In the *Times* (of May 27th, 1857, p. 11), there is a report of a case touching the right of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, as Duke of Cornwall, to *lofcop*, i.e., to one moiety of the charges on exported grain, seeds and corn levied at a certain town upon the coast. (*Notes and Queries*, 1857, 2nd S., iv. 27.) It is defined in the *Eng. Dialect. Dict.* as "an ancient right existing at Lynn Regis." [query, "existing"?] Mr. Henry Bradley, M.A., one of the able editors of the *New English Dictionary on Historical Principles* (1902), thus discusses the derivation of this "puzzling" word: "The Dutch *lijkoop*, the Old Danish and Old Swedish *liithöf*, and the German *leitkauf*, all mean what in some parts of England is called a 'lucky-penny,' i.e., a sum which it is customary for the seller to give back out of the purchase-money. The general notion is that the seller treats the buyer to a drink in celebration of the conclusion of the bargain. The Scandinavian and German forms as they stand may very well mean 'purchase of drink'; there is an old Teutonic word *liith*, meaning 'strong drink,' which becomes *leit* in German. The Dutch word, which on the face of it would seem to bear the unlikely meaning 'purchase of one's life or body' must be a corruption; there are other instances in which the original *th* in a word borrowed early from some other Teutonic dialect has become *f* in Dutch. Further, we have in English dialect (Kent) a very similar word, with a curious variety of forms, meaning 'an auction sale.' The forms are *liescoup*, *lievechepe*, *litcop*, and, in a book dated 1681, *lythcoup*. Here again we have a curious alternation between *f* and *th*; and the difference in meaning from Continental words is strange. . . . I think *lovecop* must be associated with this group of words to this extent, that the ending is probably equivalent to 'purchase.' The East Anglian dialect so swarms with Scandinavian words that the presumption is that this term is of Scandinavian origin. Now in Old Norse *lofskaup*, though the compound does not to my knowledge actually occur, would mean 'purchase of leave or licence.'" This suggestion, however, is offered for what it may be worth. Subsequently *lovecop* was used synonymously with *lastage*, and denoted the payment of one penny per quarter on corn or grain exported by any merchant strangers not being freemen of the burgh (circa Edward VI.). The *lastage* upon all grain shipped at the present time is one penny per quarter, one half of which is paid to the Duchy of Cornwall.

Damp-toll, that is, Dam Toll, was paid for the maintenance of the roads upon dams or banks (*Ing. Post. Mort.*, vol. II. p. 30a: 6th Edw. III.).

Richard directed that a minute valuation should be made. The proposed exchange was ratified the same year, but Montford retained his East Anglian possession only about twelve years, because, growing disaffected towards the Crown, he revolted, and thus forfeited his estates in England; whereupon the barony of Rising, with the castle and all thereto belonging, reverted to the Crown (1391).

Although the exchange occurred in 1379, it appears to have been suggested during the lifetime of the "Black Prince," because the Duke of Brittany, John de Montford, was in Lenne prior to the disagreement with the burgesses. The chamberlains then paid 7s. 8d. for eight gallons of red and white wine which John and his suite consumed, 3s. 4d. for ferrying his horses over "the great river," and 20 pence for something or other when the duke landed at West Lenne. The point, however, upon which attention must be focussed is this,—that the large solatium voted to our neighbour at Rising was, as is expressly stated, "for having his lordship in the same (place) *again*." Does not this imply that an alteration was anticipated?

QUEEN PHILIPPA.

Between our townsfolk and the Queen there did not exist the reciprocal cordiality we should have expected, and were desirous of finding. The cause, however, will shortly appear.

Whenever the King set out on a "progress" through the country, he was followed by a decrepit army of borrowed carts. Under stress of circumstances, the official purveyors had power to commandeer vehicles within a radius of ten leagues; travellers, indeed, were often stopped in the midst of a journey and put to exasperating inconvenience. Forced loans were, it is true, illegal; hence the purveyors were emphatic in promising payment,—“ten pence a day for a cart with two horses, and fourteen pence for a cart with three horses,” according to the terms of the statute in that case made and provided, but when the day of reckoning came the purveyors were generally in a pitiable state of absent-mindedness. Their requisitions included hay, straw, wine, provisions, and in fact everything the royal retinue needed. Now the country swarmed with caterers, the majority of whom were other than associated with the King's suite. The business was a lucrative one; there was everything to gain and nothing to lose. These subpurveyors, who were degrees removed from the official purveyors, commandeered what commodities they thought fit, purchasing them at alarming prices, and selling them to superior purveyors, but never paying for them. The King, though cognizant, was quite helpless, because the government was defective and its measures were farcical. Trade and tricks go together, but surely the high-water mark of trickery is reached when the goods, which cost nothing, are sold, the money pocketed, and a fresh supply obtained without the outlay of a penny. These greedy caterers were not yet satisfied; they "bought," or far oftener *stole*, corn, which was measured to them by "the heaped bushel," and sold it "by the strike." In disposing of their hay, wine, etc., other sharp practices

were common ; so that on all transactions they secured a profit of 25 per cent. more. Many a time have our forefathers been thrown into fearful perspirations at the approach of the royal *cortège*; the poorer classes—the mediocres and the inferiores were, however, the real sufferers, because they did not possess the wherewithal to bribe the purveyors, as was the well-known custom with their neighbours the potentiores.

The sudden appearance of the bailiffs of the Sheriff of Norfolk in 1355 took the inhabitants somewhat aback. These worthy gentlemen, having formally presented their credentials, were of course hospitably entertained by the mayor, William de Bittering, at the town's charge. They were not exactly "on pleasure bent," yet they condescended to sample ten shillings worth of imported wine, which, no doubt, yielded them immense satisfaction. The object of their unlooked-for advent may be summed up in a few words,—they were commissioned to obtain and bear with them on their return "the Queen's gold." "Ah!" think you, "Her Majesty prudently left some of her superfluous treasures in the custody of the community when she last passed through the burgh." Alack-a-day! an extract originally penned by one of its burgh-treasurers dispels the fond illusion.

£4/13/4 paid to Edward de Cretinge, Sheriff of Norfolk, for the Queen Philippa's gold, pertaining to her for fines of the men of Lenn, made before William de Sharushulle and his associates, justices of the King's Bench at Norwich, for certain excesses, extortions and transgressions (1355-6).

And had the purveyors of Lenne forgotten how Goodman Kent committed a trespass against the Mayor and community by selling his wine at eightpence a gallon, when other taverners were charging but sixpence, and how he escaped punishment by being bound to forfeit a tun of wine to the community, if ever he did the like again (1336)? The burgesses, for whose good behaviour the community was answerable, had actually been summoned before the justices of the King's Bench and severely fined for their dishonesty, and the Queen, a thorough business woman, was determined upon having her rights. Although the community lavished gifts upon the members of the Royal Family, our caterers could find no excuse for charging extravagantly for what the Queen wanted. Were there not ordinances (*assizes* they were called), regulating the price of bread, ale, fuel and the common necessities of life, and why should not *la reine d'affaires* seek redress and protection? Though the fine was paid with apparent reluctance, yet voluntary atonement was made the next year.

£20 sent to Philippa, Queen of England.

£10 sent to her son.

£5/6 paid for a piece of wax sent to the said Queen; 2½d paid for the carriage of same.

40/ given to the Queen's steward, and 3/4 to the said Queen's messenger.

2/ given for a sword, bought and given to a certain minstrel of the same Queen, viz., to a herald.

Prompted by a heart exuberant with gratitude, our mayor, William de Swanton (may his name be cherished for ever!) presented

his horse to the Queen. This, if so he listed, he had a perfect right to do, but it was hardly honest of him to slyly accept 52s. 4d. from the exchequer of the burgh to cover his benevolence. Not only was his claim untenable, but the price was excessive.

In 1362 an Act was passed insisting upon purveyors paying ready money "at the price current of the market," etc. They were, moreover, no longer to be known by "the heinous name of purveyors" (that is, providers), but henceforth were they to be termed *achatours* or buyers. Honest men, as will be seen, were not then made by Acts of Parliament. The same year, Queen Philippa, one of her sons and a large concourse of followers were at Snettisham. Let us not trouble ourselves with "the why and wherefore," but be content with examining the still further propitiatory expenses defrayed by the town. After liberally tipping Her Majesty's treasurer to the tune of 26s. 8d., her avenor, who had charge of the horses' provender, 6s. 8d., the avenor's servant 3s. 4d., her sub-avenor 6s. 8d. and the sub-avenor's boy 6d, and further treating them to twenty pennyworth of wine, the loyal and subservient burgesses humbly approached the Queen with the following appetising offering,—three carcasses of beef 48s., six ditto veal 11s. 6d., ditto ditto of mutton 14s. 6d., a tun of wine £8 13s. 4d., and a quantity of oats amounting in value to 53s. 4d. Moreover, the canvas in which the meat was wrapped cost 2s. 3d., and the carriage 3s. 10d. The freight of the oats was 1s. 4d., of which the carter received 1s. For carrying corn the usual price was about a penny a mile per ton. To "make assurance double sure" our treasurers credited the town with 5s., which they handed to the Queen, because of "defective measure." The invoices were no doubt carefully checked, and irregularities reported, but whether the Queen looked the gift-horse in the mouth we cannot ascertain. If she were dissatisfied, it is a question whether she could sue for damages, because horses were not included in the *assisa venalium* as a common necessary of life.

To complete their purgation Her Majesty's son must not be forgotten, hence the community forwarded him two tuns of wine, £17 6s. 8d.; twenty quarters of oats (correct measure), for which honest Richard de Houton was paid 60s.; and, knowing how servants esteem some slight token of appreciative recognition, they sent them a small sum—nominally 20s., but which, according to the purchasing-power at this period, was not less than £20!

ON HIGHEST WING.

The most ancient of sports, almost indigenous to this country, was by no means ignored by our mediæval ancestors. Hawking was in early times practised by the British islanders, and perhaps by a few Oriental tribes; the Romans, indeed, were indebted to the conquered Britons for their knowledge of this fascinating diversion. Edward III. was passionately fond of the sport, and under his patronage it became highly popular, so much so that a person of rank was seldom seen abroad without a hawk or falcon upon his hand. The stealing

of a hawk was indeed felony. Culled from the town's disbursements are a few of the payments representing presents of birds, etc. :—

£4/2/6 paid to Geoffrey de Ketelston for falcons sent to the King (1279).
 £5/0/0 for two falcons sent to the King; 3/ given for a glove with the falcon, and 1/ paid to Wm. de Lakenham for carrying a falcon to Rising (1289).
 £9/6/8 given for two gerfalks (ger-falcons) bought for the use of the Lord King; 7/6 for jesses, caparisons and tures (straps, trappings. &c.) to the same (1336).

For attending to the King's birds, Andrew de Byri, whose name deserves mention in these chronicles for another reason, received 13s. 4d. this year, besides subsequent payments. This person, otherwise known as *Benedict de Byri*, was "a happy man"—though married, if we credit his sobriquet!

In the *Reliques of Ancient Poetry* are these convincing lines :—

In summer-time, when leaves grow greene,
 And blossoms bedeck the tree,
 King Edward would a huntynge ryde,
 Some pastime for to see.
 With hawks and hounde he made him bowne,
 With horne and eke with bowe
 To *Drayton-Basset* he tooke his waye,
 With all his lordes arowe.

To substitute "Castle Rising" for Drayton-Basset would certainly not endanger the poet's veracity, although it might upset the melodious canter of his lines.

To Sir Walter de Cheshunte, the royal steward at Rising, a falcon, costing £2, was presented (1339); and a second bird the next year, the cost of which, £3 11s., was likewise defrayed by the town. Herons, too, were highly prized; and they were set free for the hawks to pursue and pounce upon. To ensure success, the trainers were in the habit of offering wax models of refractory birds upon the shrines in our churches. The Duke of Lancaster accepted herons to the value of £2 in 1366, as also did Admiral Lord Nevill in 1372.

The burgh-bailiffs received a writ bearing the privy seal, which was dated July 2nd 1360, at Smerdon. This enchanting enigma is thus worded :—

*Si marchanz ou autres gentz vieignent a la dite ville par mer, ou par terre, od nuls ostours qui soient a vendre, et vous puiſſez trover nul de eux qi soit plus graunt de corps qe autres ne soient communalment, qe ceu facez prendre a n're oeſps, ia soit ce qil sit les pennes brisees.**

Here is a solution, in the crabbed phraseology of the period :—

If merchants or other people come to the said town by sea or land, with any hawkes to sell and (if) you can find any of them which is larger than they comorly are—(then) that you cause this to be taken for *Our* (that is, the King's) use, even if it happen that its feathers are broken.

Choice falcons, bred in Norway or in Livonia, a Russian province on the shores of the Baltic, were often brought over and sold to the

* For the difference between "use" from the Latin *usus*, and "use" from the Latin *opus*, see Professor W. W. Skeat's *Etymological Dictionary of the English Language* (1882). The latter is often spelt "oeſps" in Anglo-French, as *cynk centz quarſors de jurment et trois centz bacouns a l'oeſps le roi* (4 Edward III., 1331, *Rolls of Parliament*, vol. ii., p. 40).

nobles at high prices. The King was not to be eclipsed by his subjects; he would resort to a brusque and effective exercise of the "divine right" inherent in monarchs. The thieving bailiffs, acting for a person who could do no wrong, were, of course, morally irresponsible.

FIRE. FLOOD AND FEVER.

(1) There were two conflagrations in Lenne during this reign. The first is described as "the great fire." That the ravages were widespread seems likely enough, when houses were largely constructed of wood and generally covered with thatch. For carrying water the chamberlains paid 2s., and a like amount for watching a boat in the haven. In what a helpless condition the town must have been, when the fire-hooks used in pulling down buildings, etc., had to be made whilst the fire was raging! The construction of these instruments cost fourpence (1277-8). At the next outbreak the alarming state of unpreparedness was perhaps three-and-thirty times as great, if the sum charged "for making and carrying fire-hooks and ladders" to the fire is any criterion (1282-3).

(2) In 1301-2 "a great flood" inundated the town, and caused great damage to the buildings, especially those near the shore. There was spent in repairs £125 18s. 8½d.; and the next year heavy additional expenses were incurred for anchors, windlasses, spars, ropes, pulleys, timber, etc., besides £3 16s. 1d. to John Schilling for restoring his quay, which was washed away, £7 13s. and £4 1s. 5d. for repairing the South Gates and the "Dokke" (possibly a dry dock similar to the old one in the Friars fleet) respectively.

(3) Moreover, a terrible plague visited Europe in 1348, the effects of which were felt in Lenne the next year. This disease seems to have originated either in China or India. No plague was ever so destructive; in Venice 100,000 died, in Florence 60,000, and in Sienna 70,000. The fatality was so great that one-half or one-third of the human race is said to have perished. This may be an exaggeration. Nevertheless its ravages quite bewildered and appalled the writers of the period. Its appearance in England can be precisely fixed. Parliament was prorogued on the 1st of January, 1349, because of "the sudden visitation of deadly pestilence," as the King expresses himself in his letter to the Bishop of Winchester. The "black death," as it was called, was particularly virulent in Norfolk. In a single year upwards of eight hundred parishes lost their parsons, "eighty-three of them twice, and ten of them three times in a few months, which represents only a portion of the mortality among the clergy and religious orders." (Dr. A. Jessopp.) The unprecedented number of vacancies were perforce supplied by inexperienced youths, who had only devoted themselves for clerks. These novices, "all shaven and shorn" forthwith became rectors of parishes. "William Bateman, bishop of Norwich, dispensed with sixty *shavelings* to hold rectories and other livings, that divine service might not cease in the parishes over which they were appointed." (Blomefield.) Though no particulars are at hand respecting the mortality of our town, there

can be no doubt but that Lenne suffered with the rest of the district. The population of Norfolk was at this period 150,000, of which number one-half at least died. In Norwich, 57,304 died, "besides religious and beggars"; and the desolation in Yarmouth was subsequently described in a petition to Henry VII. in these words: "In the 31st year of the said King Edward III. by the great visitation of Almighty God, there was so great a death of people within the same town that there was buried in the parish church and churchyard in one year 7,052 men; by reason whereof the most of the dwelling places and inhabitations stood desolate, and fell into utter ruin and decay, which, at this day (1502), are gardens and void grounds as it evidently appeareth: where through the said benefice is at this day (worth) to the curate scarcely £40 a year."

I see no other conclusion to arrive at but one (writes Dr. A. Jessopp), namely, that during the year ending March 1350 *more than half* the population of East Anglia were swept away by the Black Death. If anyone should suggest that *many more than half* had died, I should not be disposed to quarrel with him. . . . The Bishop of Chester looks with grave distrust upon any theory which ascribes to the Great Plague as a cause "nearly all the social changes which took place in England down to the Reformation; the depopulation of towns, the relaxation of the bonds of moral and social law, the solution of the continuity of national development caused by a sort of disintegration in society generally." And yet [the recluse of Scarning continues] this appalling visitation must have constituted a very important factor in the working out of those social and political problems with which the life of every great nation is concerned.

Ten years later (1360) Lenne was in such a dreadful insanitary state that the Mayor, aldermen and constables were commanded to inspect the ditches encompassing the town "by reason of its situation upon an arm of the sea," which were "through the ebbing and flowing of the tides, filled up with mud and other filth, to the great damage of the town." (Dugdale). A crusade of sanitary inspectors, headed by the Mayor, soon vanquished the myriads of microbes which then infested the town!

CHAPTER XII.

Naval and Military Annals.

As Charles V. of France died without leaving male issue (1328), and as, according to the Salic law, females were excluded from the throne of that country, Philip of Valois was chosen King. From this moment Edward III. cherished hopes of obtaining the crown in right of his mother, who, it will be remembered, was the daughter of Philip the Fair, asserting that, although the law of France forbade the rule of females, it did not apply to their male heirs. And Edward slyly "winked the other eye," for he knew his claim was as transparent as "egregious moonshine"; but as circumstances prevented him from immediately pressing his demand by force of arms, and as Scotland, moreover, required attention, he was constrained to arrange his

countenance in order to render liege homage to Philip for the duchy of Guienne.

WAR WITH SCOTLAND.

On coming to the throne Edward sent a writ to John Perbroun, the admiral of what was termed "the north fleet," commanding him to select 40 vessels to be employed against the Scots; for not until the beginning of the 16th century did our nation possess a royal navy. Prior to this her fleet consisted of a miscellaneous aggregation of ships provided by the chief ports, supplemented by help from private merchants, and small fleets hired of the Genoese, the Venetians or the Hanse Towns for a specified period. Admiral Perbroun, it seems, visited Lenne, and selected the *Katherine*, a ship owned by Richard de Fakenham and Geoffrey Drew. For the use of the same the community agreed to pay one mark (13s. 4d.), whilst the King paid the wages of the crew—thirty men at 3 pence and the master and constable at 6 pence each per day. The armour, a despicable assortment of worn-out "odds and ends," was furnished by the townsmen and paid for out of the common fund.

As early as 1181 every adult freeman was compelled by virtue of the *Assize of Arms* to provide himself with weapons according to the extent of his property; this was reinforced in 1252, and again in 1285 by the *Statute of Winchester*, which commanded "every man to have in his house harness for to keep the peace according to the ancient assize." Sometimes the proffered articles were not accepted, as, for instance, when John Sefouls produced a pair of iron plates, valued at 18 pence, and Adam de Trunch a pair of iron gauntlets, a harqueton, a bassinet with ventail and a pair of plates with visor, for which rusty heirlooms he was willing to take 20 shillings. In both cases they were "received back" (1328).

Another writ gave rise to a repetition of the performance (1334). The equipment of a ship for Scotland was placed in the hands of William Jay, William de Hoo, John de Wesenham, Alan Spirling, John de Somersham and John de Cavendish. Among the offers received, the following constitute a fair sample:—

Thomas de Fransham	One pair of plates of horn	8/	Paid.
William de Blakene	A harqueton	4/	Accepted.
Robert de Chapel	A harqueton	3/4	"
Adam de Walsoken	One pair of plates	10/	"
	A harqueton	5/	"
	A bassinet with ventrail	6/	"
Humfrey de Wiken	A haubergion	4/	"
	A pair of gauntlets	0/8	"
	A bassinet with ventrail		Rejected.
	A harqueton		"

In those days the warrior wore a close-fitting leathern jacket; it was called a *doublet*, because the material of which it was made was double, a *purpoint* because it was often quilted or stitched, and an *aketon*, *harketon* or (as in the Lenne manuscript) a *harqueton*. Over this jerkin a *pair of plates* were strapped, the breast-plate in front, and the back-plate *haubargeon* or *haubergion* behind. The head was encased in a *bascinet* or *bassinet*, a light helmet with a *ventail*

(erroneously spelt *ventrail*), or movable front, through which the wearer breathed. *Small plates*, either of iron or horn, were secondary defences, used as protection for the joints and the weaker parts of the mail suit. The development of these detachable pieces at this period resulted in a complete panoply of plate armour, which ousted the chain or ringed armour called "mail," from the French word *maille*, the mesh of a net.

The town provided the *Mawdelyn* with a *springald*, which the owner, Thomas de Melcheburn, was to restore when the vessel came back, or pay the community thirty shillings.

In 1337 the Sheriff of Norfolk was ordered to supply Sir Walter Manny, the admiral of the fleet north of the Thames, with provisions for three weeks. As, however, sufficient ships were not collected for the King's passage, the Admiral was severely reprimanded and strictly enjoined to concentrate all the ships capable of crossing the sea at Yarmouth not a month later than Easter. Even from the scanty information derived from our Hall Books it is clear the burgesses were cognizant of the King's order, because 9s. was spent in lampreys and sturgeon "for the use of the Sheriff of Norfolk"; also bread (5s.), a pipe of Rhine wine (£4 10s.), two barrels of sturgeon (£7 6s. 8d.), and other commodities were forwarded to Edward. Upon the Lenne fleet (which ultimately joined the others at the mouth of the Orwell), £36 5s. was expended, and a further sum of £35 4s. was sent by the hands of Walter de Ixworth to defray the victualling of the same.

Presently the keepers of the municipal house were set a-trembling by a surprise visit from the King's larderer. Roger Daketon was the unwelcome bearer of a writ to which was attached the portentous privy seal. On the mayor and bailiffs was thrust the responsibility of instantly providing Edward with a ship capable of conveying 5,000 fish to Euerwyk (Berwick), because the sustentation of the royal household was in jeopardy. To clear away obstacles, "reasonable payment" was promised for the use of the commandeered vessel; but what about the multitude of fishes? The protestations of the King's purveyors were generally regarded with mute suspicion (August 8th, 1337). Before, however, the civic doves had smoothed their ruffled plumage and adjusted their innocent heads for the purpose of devising "ways and means" which might lead them out of the difficulty, they were destined to receive another shocking writ, dated the following day (August 9th) at Euerwyk. The burgesses were now politely commanded to provide hospitality for Walter de Cotillor and Dame Isabel de Cotillor (his wife) and — their household, consisting of as many as they might choose to bring with them, who had apparently travelled from Scotland. The next year "a privy seal mandate" from Westminster asked for the payment of fifty marks to the bearer, Roger de Accon, another royal larderer, due for fish consumed by the royal household (November 5th 1338).

WAR WITH FRANCE.

For several years enormous sums, though represented by what might be regarded as modest figures, were wrung from the community and spent in providing ships and men for Edward's expeditions. The

effect of this continuous drain upon the limited resources of the townsfolk must have been severely felt. In the account rendered by Simon de Veteringe, John de Wesenham, Robert Robat and Simon de Snoringge, the municipal treasurers, are startling items marginally denominated "Expense Navium." We learn how our burgh paid the wages of the men on board three ships furnished by the town, namely, the *Cog Johan*,* the *Scinte-maricog* (St. Mary Cog)† and the *Katerine*, which amounted to £15 16s. 1d.; also by a second instalment the wages of men on board seven ships "in the Lord the king's service," to wit, the three already mentioned, plus the *Rose*, the *Margarite*, the *Welifar* (the Fare or Go-well) and another *Katerine*,‡ which came either to £66 13s. (Harrod) or £66 11s. (Jeaffreson). Moreover, money spent in the purchase of arms "for France" absorbed £16 more of the burgesses' earnings, besides 35s. spent in the reparation of old armour, and the buying of other weapons of defence from Paul Underclif, for which the chamberlains were credited 33s. (1337-8.)

In 1338-9 four fresh chamberlains were chosen—Robert de Wuttone, Simon de Roughtone, William de Swantone and Stephen de Kentes. Among their disbursements stands £10 paid to Thomas Melcheburne for the purchase of a ship called the *Magdalene*; besides £53/8 (query £55/8) the expenses pertaining to ten ships—the *Scinte Maricog*, the *Katerine Major*, the *Rose*, the *Margarete*, the *Welifar*, the *Katerine Minor* (for all of which payments had previously been made), the *Trinitez*, the *Gracedu*, the *Blithe*, and the newly-acquired vessel the *Magdalene*; and £9/16 (query £9/18) a fortnight's wages for "three ships found by the community . . . going towards Guernemuth (Yarmouth) at the feast of St. Mark the Evangelist." The money, apportioned as under, was paid to the constable of each vessel:—

Andrew Kynd	<i>Welifar</i>	16 men	63s
John de Reppe	<i>Katerine Major</i>	20 "	77s
Wm. de Secheford	" <i>Minor</i>	14 "	56s

The King's fleet set sail from the Orwell for Antwerp in July, 1338, and the most remarkable entries in the Hall Books during the ensuing year relate to expenses incurred by the ships and the admirals of the fleet, Thomas de Drayton and Robert de Morle (or Morley). Appended is a list of wages for three months:—

Thomas Robyn	<i>Cog Johan</i>	36 men	£17 0 0
	<i>Margaret</i>	30 "	14 18 4½
	<i>Katerine Major</i>	60 "	60 2 9
	" <i>Minor</i>	36 "	16 10 10
Robert Free	<i>Gracedu</i>	36 "	15 19 1
Walter Brekheved	<i>Goodyear</i>	30 "	13 18 6
			£138 9 6½

* *Cog* was the name applied to a small vessel (Danish and Dutch *Kog*), from which is derived *Cock-boat* (*Kog-boat*).

"The *Kogges* of Ingland was brought out of bandes
And also *Christofer* that in the streme stands."

Laurence Minot (circa 1352).

The painting of tutelar saints on the prow of vessels was the survival of a Roman Custom. (Aubrey.)
† William Haunsard, the ex-sheriff of London, provided a ship which was also called *La Sainte Marie Cogge*. His vessel, and not the one belonging to Lenne, did signal service at Sluys.—[*London and the Kingdom* (1894), vol. I., p. 182.]

‡ Subsequently distinguished as the *Katerine major* and the *Katerine minor*.

HANDS—IDLE AND MISCHIEVOUS.

Whilst cruising about and awaiting the admiral's final orders, five of the Lenne vessels found themselves, through no fault of their own, of course, in serious difficulties. They were manned by brave, impetuous fellows, who, for amusement rather than necessity, instinctively boarded certain Dutch vessels with which they accidentally came in contact, and innocently abstracted therefrom "divers things." Their recklessness was reported, and the Mayor, advised by his brethren, addressed a letter to the masters of the Lenne ships then lying off Hunstanton, summoning them to appear before the community and the men of Zeeland to account for their piratical performances. The letter was entrusted to Walter Kellock and William Baunne, who carried it to Hunstanton and delivered it to the proper person. For their services they received four shillings. As dangerous complications set in, Messrs. Henry de Gunton and Robert Robat were despatched post-haste to the mouth of the Orwell to have a conciliatory interview with the admiral "in furthering the business of the community." This journey is revealed through sundry disbursements, including 20s. 1d. the travelling expenses of our astute delegates (1339-40).

During the year Admiral Robert de Morle visited Lenne, on which auspicious occasion the community was constrained to beg his acceptance of £10. Costly presents were pressed into the reluctant hands of his son, his knights, his esquires, his clerks, his butlers, his pantlers (in charge of the bread stores), his chamberlains, his archers, his coachmen, his palfreymen, and to every person directly or remotely associated with him. Even Sir Edmund de Gunvile, who was casually "with the admiral at his coming," must perforce receive a falcon, which cost 36s. 8d., as a souvenir from the delighted burgesses. Thus were the offences of our too patriotic sailors condoned and the favour of the incensed admiral recovered. At the great naval victory at Sluys, Admiral Morle commanded the northern fleet, comprising vessels from Lenne and Yarmouth (24th June, 1340).

In 1342, Hugh de Betele, the mayor, received certain credentials instructing him to place implicit trust in the bearer, John Lambert—a man remarkable for his probity, who was sent from Westminster to render minute information concerning the King's most urgent needs. Edward had just embarked in what is often termed the "Hundred Years' War," and from time to time, perhaps far oftener than our limited information goes, was he compelled to ask for assistance. Prior to the defence of the Duchy of Gascony, he summoned a naval parliament or a council of shipping. From Norfolk great things were expected, because it was the richest county in the kingdom, and because, moreover, the wages paid there were higher than those elsewhere. Yarmouth sent four representatives, the greatest number from any place in the kingdom; Lenne two, whilst many other ports were allowed but one. A royal commission ordered the immediate seizure of all vessels in the Thames, for the King's use, whilst our town was instructed to provide 100 of its most vigorous and soldierlike men

(December 1345). The writ contained minute specifications as to the shape and make of their armour. Now it had been enacted that except under great urgency no-one should be compelled to serve out of his own county (1272). Later, however, Edward was constrained to issue a "Commission of Array," authorising the "pressing" of men into the service of the nation (1297). In the above instance the men with their accoutrements were transported to Portsmouth by mid-Lent, from whence they sailed under the King's command.

The celebrated victory won at Crécy was probably due to the "vigorous men" of Lenne, led on, it may be, by our brave neighbour the Lord Rising (26th August 1346). Our town contributed besides to the success achieved at La Hogue in Normandy (July 1346). The following items relate to this memorable event:—"For the conveyance of men-at-arms to Sandwich £21 18s," also various expenses paid to the masters of the ships at "le Hogges," that is, La Hogue (Froissart), and later £10 given to John Howard, knight, because "twenty men-at-arms at Lenne came not into the King's service." At the siege of Calais (1347) the total assessment for the whole kingdom was 14,956 men (748 vessels), and of these Norfolk contributed 2,470 men (61 vessels), Yarmouth 1,950 men (43 vessels), and Lenne 482 men (16 vessels). There were, however, 47 ports which sent less than 100 men each; of these Blakeney provided 38 men (2 vessels). The supremacy of Norfolk needs no demonstration. Fuller's remark: "No county doth carry a top and gallant more high in maritime performances than Norfolk," was as applicable in 1347 as when subsequently written.

Again in 1350 the King's clerk, one Peter de Donewyz, came with a writ commanding "the bailiffs and community" to draw together their ships, galleys and all other vessels of their port and coast, and to promptly put them upon the sea, in order that they might follow the King's fleet (August 5th). At this juncture Philip VI. died a hostage in England. He was succeeded by his son John. The truce was notwithstanding prolonged, and not until 1355 was the war renewed.

A MÆDIEVAL MAN-OF-WAR.

To increase the strength and augment the efficiency of the fleet, Edward commanded every port in the kingdom to supply what was termed "a barge," but what was in reality a war-ship. Our expenditure in 1373-4 *de preparatu unius navis supra mare ex mandato Regis* amounted to over £250. Mr. Harrod transcribes the following curious items:—

£6	10	0	for 200 ells of canvas brought in London for sails.
£8	4	0½	„ 264 ells of canvas bought in Lenne for sails.
	3	9	„ 6 ells of white linen cloth for streamers and fane.
	5	0	„ painting fane and streamers.
£2	16	8	„ 50 oars bought of John Couper, of Puffleet, and 16 short oars at 8d each.
	4	7	to Thomas de Moordon and Thomas atte Green, expenses of riding along the sea-coast to Blakeney for carpenters for the said barge.
—			„ John de Combes and six other carpenters working four days in the charnel upon the building of the "caban."

- £1 4 0 to 13 bows and 12 garbs of arrows, with a box and lock to same.
 13 0 „ 39 tables of “popular,” bought of John Wyth, to make 39 shields.
 3 2 „ for leather for binding the same shields.
 £1 6 8 „ Thomas Payntour for painting barge and shields in their proper colours.
 £1 12 6 for 15 yards of white and red cloth for hoods for 60 mariners of same barge.
 2 0 given by order of the mayor for drink to the said mariners when they worked on their hoods in the Gild Hall.
 3 4 „ them to drink when the barge first went through the port of Lenne.

The next year (1374-5) there is a further charge of £46 15s. 3d. (or 4), of which “6s. 8d. was paid to Thomas Drewe junior, and two others for going by the sea coast to arrest mariners for the barge, together with the charges of three horses, and 2d. paid for a boat in the port to divers ships for *arresting* mariners for the barge.” Why was this press-gang organised? Were the painted shields and red riding-hoods not sufficiently attractive? Possibly there had been a wholesale desertion. The reluctant services of the “impressed” were, however, not long required, because the expensive craft was soon dismantled, and, after a minute inventory of the fittings had been drawn up, all were carefully packed away in one of the gloomy vaults beneath the Gild Hall (1376-7).

PAY, PAY—PAY.

The Parliament of 1377 granted the king a capitation tax of fourpence for every lay person of either sex in the kingdom above 14 years of age. The returns are instructive, as shewing the relative importance of the towns in Norfolk at this period. Notorious beggars and the brethren belonging to the four mendicant orders were excused, but all unpromoted ecclesiastical persons were compelled to pay, and those who enjoyed the sweets of promotion were charged three times as much as their less fortunate brethren.

Towns.	Amount.	Paid by	Estimated population.
Norwich	£65 17 5	3,952	5,928
Lenne	£52 2 4	3,127	4,691
Yarmouth	£30 13 8	1,941	2,911
London	—	23,314	34,971

The port of London made liberal grants of two-tenths and two-fifteenths, besides advancing £5,000 upon the security of the customs and certain plate and jewels.

If these sums were collected fairly and according to the population, Lenne would then have been nearly as large as Norwich, and almost twice as large as Yarmouth; but 30 years before Yarmouth supplied 1,950 men (43 vessels), whereas Lenne only contributed 482 men (16 vessels). The diminution may be accounted for by supposing that the Black Death was more virulent in Yarmouth than in Lenne.

Faithful promises of speedy repayment were held out like tempting baits to induce the Assembly to raise loans and to levy tallages. In the “good time coming,” when the King’s ships came

home, were the impoverished householders to be recouped for all these loyal sacrifices so bravely endured. Continually, however, were their hopes deferred, until at length their patience was quite exhausted, and the struggling community grew sick at heart. Was not the trade of the port ruined because their ships were taken to serve the King? Had not their sons been seized in the mill and workshop? How could those who were left raise more money to carry on a cruel war? Even the great gild, a brotherhood of rich merchants from whom the town had repeatedly borrowed sums of money, now refused any further advances. . . . After waiting twelve weary years the Congregation through their bailiffs humbly reminded the King of his indebtedness to the burgh, and the misery of the depleted community. They prayed for the repayment of £550 4s., the expenses to which they were put when providing ships for His Majesty and others "to parts beyond the sea."

Edward's heart was touched, but having no money wherewith to meet his numerous obligations, he did what was best under the circumstances by addressing polite letters to the bailiffs "and good people of Lenne," frankly acknowledging their manifestations of affectionate concern for his (the writer's) honour and profit, *and also* for the honour and advantage of all his people, *and also* for the good despatch *de n're guerre Descocce*—of our war in Scotland. Direct reference is, moreover, made to the £38 12s. 0½d. expended the previous year for armour, bows, arrows, cloth for his archers and men-at-arms "to and at Berwick" (20th July 1357). At a later date similar compliments were heaped upon the burgesses for zealously complying with the King's requirements when waited upon by John de Swanlonde and William Getour, his majesty's clerk and mariner. This letter was sent from Windsor Park the 20th of November 1365.

Had the good folk of Lenne grown dilatory and remiss in supplying the King's insatiable wants? Were they faint and weary in well-doing? Or, had those wicked potentiores been once more "cornering" the markets? It would be unwise to say, but the fact remains that the Mayor received letters patent despatched from Westminster granting special pardon to the community (10th November 1361). Ten years later the over-due and long-expected season dawned; the King repaid the burgh chamberlains two hundred marks (22nd June 1371). Many other like payments, including the wages of our impressed seamen, were received at the hands of Hugh de Fastolf.

OUR FORTIFICATIONS.

Throughout the course of this long and eventful reign, and more particularly during the war with France and Scotland, the insecurity of our town was a subject which often occupied a prominent position on *le tapis civique*. It would, however, be injudicious to pad this section, regardless of proportion, with details covering half a century. Again and again were the ditches scoured or recast, the surrounding wall and earthwork repaired and the gates strengthened to assist in

repelling an assault. The old stock of battered armour was refurbished, and a supply of more modern weapons obtained; new and powerful engines of warfare were also constructed; guards were moreover stationed at critical times in front of the Gild Hall, which was indeed the armoury, and at the head of the dark, tortuous lanes leading to our waterway. A few short quotations will amply illustrate an anxious, busy and expensive period.

In 1337-8 no less than £51 4s. 7d. was spent in clay, gravel, spades and ditchers' wages for the defence of the burgh; in 1339-40 the amending of the embankment connected with the sluice of the North Close occupied fifteen weeks. The next year these items appear:—

£17 15 10½ for making fourteen springals.
 £10 14 3½ for quarrels for them.
 £6 12 4½ for timber for the North Tower (near Kettle Mills).
 £8 5 8½ for timber for the East Gates, and
 £43 5 4 for making and mending the clay walls.

Springals (espringalles, espringolds or springolds) were engines of warfare, which, by means of a powerful spring, were capable of hurling missiles at the enemy. Stones were first used, but in this instance massive blunt-headed arrows or "quarrels" were employed. Three years prior to this, the town possessed only one of these important defensive weapons, which was fixed at the East Gates, the principal entrance, but now fourteen were added to the meagre stock (1340-1).*

Owing to the alarming state of poverty so prevalent in the town, the Corporation, feeling they could tax the inhabitants no more, resorted to an unusual method. There were then some eight and thirty gilds in Lenne, and to continue the fortifications (the work upon which was probably at a standstill for want of money), the Assembly decided to levy a tax upon a moiety of their chattels (1372-3). From this source £167 5s. was drawn. The highest contribution, £27, was paid by the Gild of the Ascension, whereas the wealthy Gild of the Holy Trinity paid but 50s., a sum totally incommensurate with their worldly possessions. Let it, however, be borne in mind that the merchant brethren had already given a donation of £5 towards the repairing of the church of St. Margaret; and who will say there was not a staggering contra account? For it was no phenomenal occurrence for the burgh to borrow largely of this opulent fraternity. The community's indebtedness amounted to £160 in 1377-8, and to over £500 in 1409-10.

* The gates or entrances to towns were protected by wooden towers or *bretaches* raised upon mounds. The rising ground beyond the South Gates, towards the east, whereon one of these temporary defences stood, may be clearly traced. It was called "the bellasis at Rond's Hill" (circa 1173). Blomefield points out that at the entrance of Audry causeway, in the Isle of Ely, there was a strong tower called a *bellasis*, erected to defend the passage across the fens (vol. viii., p. 491). Probably there was a similar construction beside the "dam" or causey" beyond our East Gates. *Roudeshill* (8th Henry VIII.), now known as the "Spread Eagle estate," marks the forgotten site (Harrod, p. 36). Query: May not *Rond's Hill* be a name common to both sites? It is by no means unusual to mistake an *n* for a *u*—Roudes hill, Roud's hill, Rond's Hill.

Bretach, *bretask*, &c., from the Old French *bretach*, *bretesque*, &c., Latin, *bretschia*, a battlement or rampart.

"Atte laste hü sende
 Al the brutaske withoute."
 —Robert of Gloucester,

The contribution from the gilds was spent in this manner:—

Timber and board	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	£21	8	5
Cement, plaster of paris, sand, &c.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	13	10
Stone and tile	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	0	5
Iron and smith's work	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	14	11	1
Lead, resin, oil, "powder," 120 lb. at 4d the lb.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	5	8
A springal making	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	14	5
Carpenters and sawyers	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	16	14	2
Masons and tilers	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	14	15	1
Ditchers	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	42	11	2
Porterage	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	9	8
Gifts to officers	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	16	10
Cost of conduit	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	13	5
Balance spent the next year (1373-4)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	19	10	10
									£167	5 0

Not only was there a transition in the construction of armour, to which allusion has already been made, but the character of warfare was beginning to change. Our forefathers in Lenne were early acquainted with the use of Greek fire (*le feu grequois*), an inflammable mixture, composed of sulphur, naphtha, pitch, gum, and bitumen, which could only be extinguished by the application of raw hides or sand saturated with vinegar, and now this up-to-date burgh purchased 40 shillings' worth of "powder."* The first account of the composition of this explosive is given by Roger Bacon in 1216 (the Chinese are said to have been familiar with it in A.D. 85, yet cannon were not introduced into western Europe before the beginning of the 14th century. Edward certainly made a detour from the beaten track when he employed five field-pieces against the French at Crécy (1346). The transitional stage is apparent in the *Roman de la Rose*, for Chaucer, who lived at this period, says:—

And eke (also) within the castil were
Springoldis, gonnys, bowes and archers.

By virtue of letters patent dated Westminster, 4th May, 1377-8, the custody of the town was handed over to the local authorities. The burgh was to be thoroughly fortified against attacks of the King's enemies, whether foreign or otherwise. This onerous grant, reaffirming and enforcing powers given about 60 years before, was to continue during the King's pleasure, and no longer. A large sum, £113 os. 1½d., was accordingly spent in purchasing "a certain enclosure for the defence of the town," but as the boldest of our speculative writers have not attempted to locate this "enclosure," we pause before expressing an opinion—that it was somewhere in the Newland.

THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM,

which lasted for more than 200 years, began in this reign. There were, it is true, many minor differences between the townfolk and the

* Used in bombards or "crakys of war," which were formed of bars of iron, bound together with hoops, their mouths being larger than the chambers. They were similar to the embryo cannon preserved in the castle at Rising.

bishop, and squabbles over certain port dues were not uncommon incidents, but the great principle for which they contended was the power to administer justice in the burgh, and the right, moreover, to share in the responsibility of that administration themselves. Striving, even as were other towns, for self-government and social independence, the community was ever in a state of dissatisfaction and unrest. Always on the alert to defend their "liberties," our forefathers plunged into many a hard struggle with their manorial lord, who, setting aside their charters and rudely ignoring their mayor, often infringed upon the statutory rights of the subject. Why, they asked themselves, should an ecclesiastical officer preside over their courts rather than their own mayor? Was it reasonable that their revenue—their profits and fines and forfeitures—should be pocketed and carried away by the bishop's steward, instead of being used for the common weal? Were all their lucrative privileges and civic monopolies to be unjustly filched from them? Such were the main questions at issue. But how could a wretched community contend with a wealthy prelate? The necessity for financial support, when the long-threatened climax came, was patent to all. There was nothing save the principal gild upon which the community could rely; therefore, to strengthen their hands, the gild of the Holy Trinity was thoroughly reorganised, and by means of a special charter, all lands, tenements and other possessions belonging to the gild in the burgh were permanently secured to the brotherhood (1305).

Now the next steps were unquestionably hostile, and by no means likely to please the lord of the seignior. The mayor sought power to distrain for sums levied by the burgesses, and the Assembly presumptuously decided that 26 of their number might choose a committee comprising 12 of "the more sufficient of the town" to devise a scheme whereby the burgh might be adequately represented in the King's Parliament and elsewhere (1314). This palpable aggression terribly upset the episcopal equilibrium. Alarmed at the approaching outburst, the town sought legal advice from Adam de Pincham; Thomas, the clerk, was despatched to Norwich to interview William Ayermin, the incensed bishop; Robert de Oxwike prudently enrolled the town's charter in the presence of the King; and John de Swerdeston, Thomas de Melchburne, Thomas the clerk and others, appeared before the parliament at York in order "to further the bishop's business" (1327-8); for the contentions had now absorbed several years. Much opposition was displayed by London, Lincoln, York and possibly Lenne, at a proposal to remove the staple of wool to the Continent. Edward deliberately abolished the staple altogether, reestablished free trade, and thus subdued the opposition (August 1328).

There was a temporary lull in the seething of the coming storm, but the brewing was not materially affected; with slight interruptions the process of social fermentation went on steadily. At this juncture it was remembered that the "great charter" (C. 1.) expressly stipulated that the privileges conferred upon the community at Lenne

were to be regulated by the law and customs of Oxford. Who knew for certain the methods adopted by that far-away city? Would it not be wise to send some of their number to make direct inquiry at Oxford, so that these ruinous contentions might be settled once and for all? It would be an expensive undertaking in sooth, notwithstanding it was the best policy to pursue. Whereupon Roger de Bristole and Thomas the aforesaid—an important acquisition, were selected for the mission.

The deputation from Bishop's Lenne was graciously received, and a meeting of the citizens of Oxford forthwith convened, whereat the visitors asked for advice and instruction upon certain perplexing matters. The mayor, Richard de Cary, and other influential burgesses, answered the various interrogations. [Attendant expenses 33s. 6d., which was probably laid out in wine.] During the inquiry the Statutes of Oxford were diligently consulted [cost 40s.], and being counselled by the Mayor, the clerk of the city made a copy of the said statutes for the use of the deputation. After a prolonged absence, Roger de Bristole and his learned companion returned safely to Lenne [43s.]. To clench the advantages gained by the outlay, the liberties of the burgh were formally asserted before the Parliament held the next year at York, by William de Brinton and Thomas the burgh-clerk [£6 15s. 9d.].

The culmination of the present disputes was the purchase of a brand-new charter from the King, for which, with a duplicate prepared by Geoffrey de Mumbi and Thomas the indispensable, the Corporation paid £55, besides a fee of £20 to His Majesty the King, costly offerings to Lord de Ufford, which amounted to £5, and several no less valuable presents to the irreconcilable bishop (1335).

C. 9. Dated at Nottingham; 1st of April; 9th year of Edward's reign (1335). It confirmed C. 8, and provided that the wills of the burgesses bequeathing tenements within the town should be publicly proved and enrolled before the Mayor and townfolk in the Gild Hall. Further, it provided against the seizing or detaining of ships and merchandise unless the principal debtor were a manucaptor or surety.

To prevent encroachments, and to know exactly those affected by the charter, it was thought advisable to "beat the bounds"—*pro pulsatione libertatis* vj pence (1336-7). Legal assistance was again needed; hence the next year Sir Edmund de Lenn was engaged to meet the Assembly in court [13s. 4d.]. Another deputation, the outcome no doubt of his advice, consisting of burgesses Roger de Buttele, Geoffrey Drew and the town clerk, appeared before the King's council in London [£8 3s. 9d.]. The success of this expedition to the metropolis seems evident, because the self-same year Thomas Wulsi, on behalf of the town, went boldly to the hall of the bishop's steward, and then and there openly asserted the "liberties" of Bishop's Lenne [1337-8].

And now were the burgesses stricter than ever in being well represented in Parliament wherever it might assemble, whether in London, or York, or Nottingham. The Mayor, moreover, persisted in holding a court twice a week in the Gild Hall, where (without consulting

"my lord the Bishop") he dealt with debts and transgressions not only within the bounds of the town, but those also arising on the water between St. Edmund's Ness (Hunstanton) and Staple Weere; besides he seems to have laid claim to the view of frankpledge and the criminal jurisdiction of the Leet Court.

For every municipal aggression, there followed a manorial retaliation, until

A DOUBTFUL COMPROMISE

was at last brought about during the episcopate of Antony Bek. At the bishop's deliberate instigation, letters patent were issued by brother William de Claxton, the prior of the convent of the Holy Trinity at Norwich, which proved to be a réiteration of "the perpetual confirmation" of the liberties granted one hundred and forty years before by bishop John de Grey. This disappointing example of mediæval advertising, bearing the authoritative seal of the Chapter, was unquestionably exhibited in some conspicuous place, and afforded the aspiring inhabitants a slight degree of satisfaction (27th April 1343).

A royal mandate, addressed to "the mayor and honest men of Lenne," quickly followed, which was for the purpose of insuring a stricter observance of the Statute of Warranty. It was intended to assist those, impleaded respecting *lands* in the city of London, who should call a foreigner for warranty. It also enforced the observance of the provision that, when a plea should have been moved in London by brief respecting any tenant in the same city, it should not be lawful for the tenant to make waste the house of the petitioner pending sentence (1344).

The bishop's successor, William Bateman, was far from pleased with the arrangement made by his predecessor; the doings, moreover, of Adam de Walsoken and John de Massingham, mayors of the town, caused him additional anxiety. At last the circumstances were placed before the King, with the result that a writ bearing the privy seal was issued. In the preamble it stated that certain persons were causing fear and trouble in Lenne, not to the King's injury alone, but to the prejudice and damage of "our most dear and well-beloved William, bishop of Norwich, and seigneur of the town"; and further it entreated the Mayor and community, under pain of forfeiting the rights they enjoyed, to alter their demeanour so that they might escape His Majesty's most grievous anger.

Taking advantage, Bishop Bateman assumed the view of frankpledge of the men of Lenne and the tenements formerly held by the Corporation; his justification being that he was strictly following the precedent set by his predecessor John Salmon (bishop 1299-1325), and more or less perpetuated by his successors. The view of frankpledge of the men of Lenne and the tenants of the burgh was, he contended, his prescriptive right, as was also the hustings, with the examination of covenants, conventions and transgressions, pertaining to the same place. And, as if this usurpation were not enough to tax endurance,

he either wholly withheld or threatened to withhold the right of the burgesses to elect a mayor (1346).

In this dilemma, the Assembly appealed to the King for protection, and he appointed a Royal Commission to investigate the grievances between the bishop and the burgesses. The commissioners—Robert de Thorp, William de Notton and Roger Petygard, were met by William Bassett, William de Thorp and the burgh clerk, Edmund de Grymesby, who stepped upon the scene, when the faithful Thomas sanded his last parchment and made his final exit. After considerable deliberation, and with the advice and full concurrence of his council, Edward adroitly shuffled out of the difficulty; he coolly cut the Gordian knot by first appropriating the privileges to himself, and then as was quite within his province, handing the view of frankpledge, the hustings, liberties, lands and tenements, to William de Middleton, the sheriff and escheator of Norfolk.

This alteration was duly ratified by three documents:—

Letters patent, dated at	Porchester,	24th June	1346.
A brief,	"	Windsor,	6th July
A brief,	"	Westminster,	20th August

For six years the partially disfranchised burgesses submitted to Edward's unjust verdict. An earnest appeal was then made to the King's Bench, but the subservient judges decided against the town on every count, including the right of the burgesses to elect their mayor. To this, however, the inhabitants stubbornly refused to yield, for they immediately chose among themselves William de Bittering to act in that capacity.

At length, worn out, it may be, with these obstinate bickerings, Bishop Bateman prepared

AN INDENTURE OF AGREEMENT,

"For the determination of all disputes and contentions between him on the one part and the burgesses and community on the other part respecting the election of a mayor." He was prepared to concede to them the power to elect a mayor annually—a power, by-the-bye, they already possessed—on condition "that every mayor so elected and sworn . . . be presented *within three days* at Geywoode," either to the bishop, or in his absence to the bishop's steward, "and that the mayor at the presentation should solemnly promise to discharge his official duties faithfully, and also to preserve from injury the rights and liberties of the Church of Norwich" (1352).

This gracious extension of the time-limit seems to have had a pleasing effect, if such entries as these have any weight:—"Paid for wine when the mayor and honest men of Lenne went to Geywod to present the mayor to the bishop, 12 pence; paid *pro vno doleo vini* (for one tun of sweet wine) sent to the Lord Bishop, £5 13s. 4d.; paid *pro laumpers* (for lampreys), £3 3s. 4d.; and for *canevaces* (? reed-baskets) in which they were carried, 6 pence." Besides, to render their homage indisputable they humbly presented his lordship with the inevitable lump of wax, which cost £4 18s. 3d. (1354-5).

Bishop Bateman was succeeded by Thomas Percy in 1356, whose steward was Robert Urri. For causes unrecorded a marble cross [10s.] was bought and erected on the *Mawdelyn* causeway, possibly not far from the Hospital of St. Mary Magdalen or *Mawdelyn*. It was indeed a wayside cross, where pilgrims on the road to Walsingham might perform their devotions, but it was moreover a boundary mark placed there to shew the point of division between the liberties of Lenne and Gaywood (1362). Bishop Percy died in 1369, and was succeeded by Henry le Spencer or Despencer, who was, as may be seen, by no means willing to forfeit any of his rights as suzerain of the town.

When application was made for

THE PROBATE OF A WILL,

the common sergeant of the town went round and made a public announcement that the testament of burgess So-and-so would be placed before the Mayor and community in the Gild Hall at a certain hour, and that if any one wished to contradict the will of the aforesaid testator, so that the property bequeathed might not be enjoyed by the legatees, they had better be present to state their objections. If the public challenge brought forward no dissentients, the mayor, as the mouthpiece of the community, pronounced the deed valid; if, on the contrary, there were objectors, those concerned in making the will were examined upon oath, after which the decision rested with the mayor and his brethren. In either case the gist of the will was carefully entered in the *Red Register*. For example the testament of Margaret Frenhge appears among those enrolled. It was executed "on the eleventh of the kalends of May in the year of the Lord 1352," and was subsequently "proved" before the Mayor. The following paragraphs were then appended:—

This will was proved before us the Officials of the Liberty of the town of Bishop's Lenn, on the second day of the month of October in the year of our Lord one thousand three hundred and eighty-four. And administration of all goods touching the said will was given to the executor named in the said will, sworn in lawful form. In testimony of which we have put to these presents the seal of our office. . . . And we, Thomas de Coutessale, mayor of the town of Lenn, on 22nd January 1387, A.D., proclamation having been made and this will proved according to the law and custom of the town of Lenn aforesaid, in the ways and manners agreed upon, no-one in this matter opposing, we ratify and approve the present testament, signed with the pendent seal which we use in the office of the mayoralty, and enrolled in the Rolls of the Testaments at Lenn, as aforesaid.

The charter merely ratified a custom long in vogue, but it was necessary inasmuch as it did away with episcopal probate; and to this the lord of the manor, as bishop of the see, most strongly objected.*

* Prior to this the Earls of the Counties had cognizance of the probate of wills, which was a custom derived from the Romans. [*Reliquæ Spelmanianæ* : 1698, p. 129.]

The *last will* was distinct from the *testament*. As a rule, the *testament*, which gave instruction as to the disposal of goods and chattels, was first drawn up; this was followed by the *last will*, which related exclusively to the settlement of lands, messuages, &c. For instance, Thomas Thoresby executed his *testament* and his *last will* the 2nd of June, 1510, the executors and witnesses being the same in each case.

A lozenge-shaped seal, with the figure of St. Margaret and the dragon between the letters R and A, was attached to the episcopal probate of local wills (1303). It was circumscribed thus:—

COMISSAR : CVI : NORVIC : IN : LEN :—the Commissioner of the City of Norwich in Lenne. See engraving in Taylor's *Antiq. of Lynn*, p. 149.

WILLIAM BYWESTHALFTHEWATER.

The will of this worthy gentleman was read publicly in 1308, nineteen years before Edward III. came to the throne; hence (as already hinted) the charter in question only placed upon a legal basis a practice already existent in our burgh. The disposal of neighbour Bywesthalfthewater's property is not so interesting as his peculiar surname. Harrod contends that the fortunate individual derived this pretty geographical appellation from the name of a house. Mr. J. C. Jeaffreson politely disputes the suggestion, but unfeelingly flirts off with a more bewitching subject, cruelly leaving Harrod or his readers in the vortex of mental bewilderment.

In cases of intestacy, and when land could be had "for an old song," it was the practice for the eldest son to claim the western side or "above the bank" or stream, and the youngest son the eastern side or "below the bank." In Roman times the western side of the *mark* (or bank) was the *upper*, and the eastern and southern side the *lower* half. This custom, which prevailed in Mercia during the Saxon era, is akin to Gavelkind and Borough English, or is rather a blending of the two customs. Under the first, the lands were divided and the sons inherited equally; under the second, the youngest son inherited, to the exclusion of all others, unless the father willed or sold his estate. The reason why the youngest should inherit under the Mercian customary law—*just primæ noctis*—must be attributed to ancient serfdom. This peculiar custom is said to prevail to-day in Haddon and Cheshunt, which are centres of copyhold tenure.

"Now midway between Rising and Lynn is a green having an old bank crossing it to mark the limit of the Chase of Rising." This "green," Harrod goes on to assure us, is still known as Witton Green.

When Henry VII. visited Lenne (1500) he was met by the mayor, etc., "at the Green *Athishalf* Witton Gapp" (Hall Book, vol. III., p. 17). The Gap was an opening cut through the old chase boundary. The same writer construes *Athishalf* into *At-this-half*, which ought, we think, to be *At-his-half*, because it is quite possible that some owner left his two sons lands which were afterwards known as His West- or East-Half.

Similarly, if an estate were traversed by a stream or narrow haven, the eldest son (the father dying intestate) would take *his half* to the *west of the water*, and the other *his half* to the *east of the water*, on the opposite bank, and they and their descendants would very likely be distinguished by the compound surnames: *By-west-half-the-water* and *By-east-half-the-water*.

Such compound names were common in the Middle Ages especially; for instance, in connection with Lenne, Geoffrey atte (at the) Tolbooth (1357), Robert atte Lathe (1375), Christopher Bro(a)dbank (1501), Stephen Tumblebye (1576), William Makepeace (1634), Robert Gotobed (1634), Wilifred Turnepenny (1653).

THE TRADE OF THE PORT.

The Custom Rolls from the 25th of February to the 29th September, 1302-3 (seven months) shew the total value of the exports

and imports to be £2,257 14s. 11d., and £2,079 19s. 6d. respectively, whilst the duties paid thereon amounted to £103 15s. 9½d. From these and similar figures it has been estimated that Lenne was then doing about £20,000 worth of trade a year. A skilled carpenter or mason would earn 1s. 6d. per week (1350), a sum apparently insignificant, yet quite sufficient in those days to maintain himself, his wife and family very comfortably. Three centuries later (1580) when the custom dues of the whole kingdom were farmed at only £14,000 a year, Lenne contributed as much as £240 to the King's revenue.

Instead of ordering a new assessment, Edward III. appointed commissioners to treat with the various towns and districts (1334). They were asked to name a sum upon which a permanent assessment might be calculated. This met with general approbation; if, however, a burgh refused to suggest a reasonable amount, a sworn assessor was sent to help them over the difficulty. Villages are said to have paid only one-fifteenth, whilst towns represented in Parliament paid as much as one-tenth. For instance:—Norwich paid £94 12s. 0d., Yarmouth £100, Lenne £50, and Thetford £16. The following townships were assessed at £10 and upwards: South Lenne (£18), Babingley, Fritcham, Grimston, Gayton, Castleacre, North Runciton, Wiggenhall, Tilney, Terrington, Walpole, Walton, Walsoken and Emneth (1432). A dispute about a piece of common land was the cause of a riot in Lenne (1348-9).

* * * * *

Edward III. died at Shene (Richmond) the 21st of June, 1377, in the 65th year of his age and the 51st of his reign. He was interred at Westminster.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Peasants' Rising.

THE accession of Richard II., the only son of Edward the Black Prince, was welcomed by the fervid acclamations of the multitude, and his coronation was conducted with unusual splendour (16th July, 1377).

* * * * *

The French, taking advantage of the King's youth, at once renewed the war; hence the levying of subsidies to carry on hostilities was imperatively necessary. As, however, the sums raised were insufficient to cope with the pressing exigencies in France as well as Scotland, a tax of "three groats per head on every male and female of fifteen years of age, except beggars," was sanctioned by Parliament, with this elastic proviso,—“that the sufficient people in every town were to contribute to the assistance of the less able, so as none should pay above sixty groats for himself and wife.” This heavy impost, which fell oppressively upon the poor, was farmed out to collectors in each county (1380).

DISQUIETUDE IN ARCADY.

For centuries the condition of the lowest stratum of people throughout the kingdom had been one of villenage,—a social condition greatly resembling that prevailing in Russia at the present time; but now a spirit of democratic liberty was secretly germinating in the breasts of the humbler classes of the community. To sever the cords which bound them as serfs to their masters, to be free rather than bondmen, was the motive which governed their actions.

Already do we find that in self-defence the working classes had begun to form confederate clubs, the prototypes of our modern trades unions, whose object was to resist with a strong hand the claims for customary labour due from the holders of servile lands, which it appears the landlords, owing to the scarcity of labour (caused by the Black Death), were now trying to enforce to the utmost. In the struggle that eventually ensued, we do not find that the working classes were left to fight alone, for Walsingham's description of the insurgents as *discaligati ribaldi* (shoeless mob), though doubtless true to a large extent is far from being exhaustive. . . . We must admit that the popular party had obtained the active support and sympathy of a considerable proportion of the country gentry. (Edgar Powell.)

The infliction of a poll-tax, which was an untimely aggravation of their sufferings, goaded them into open rebellion. The discontent, so long smouldering, burst into flame at last. With the rising in Kent the general reader is conversant. He will call to mind the impulsive conduct of Wat the Tiler, the march of 100,000 excited peasants to London, their encampment on Blackheath, and the socialistic sermon based upon the highly popular distich :

When Adam dalf (dug) and Evè span,
Who was then the gentleman?

—He will remember how John Ball,* whom they released from Maidstone gaol, dwelt in his discourse upon the natural equality of man, declaring men might be equally free and noble, if only the archbishop, the earls, the barons, the judges and the lawyers were destroyed, and all ranks and grades in society at once abolished. Memory will conjure up the demolition of the palace of the Savoy; the interview with the King at Mile End; the immediate granting of the peasants' demands, which, remembering the tuition they had received, were reasonable; the preposterous insolence of Wat the Tiler; his instant despatch; the heroism of the young King; the dispersion of the turbulent crowd; the public proclamation revoking all the charters Richard had granted, and the wholesale execution of fifteen hundred delinquents. What an intensely interesting series of pictures from real life the student may enjoy with the aid of that miraculous cinematographic mechanism which Hamlet styles "the mind's eye."†

* Simon de Walsingham, prior of Lenne in 1331, was known as Simon Ball, that is, Simon the Labourer, from the Latin *Ballius*, *Bajulus*, a labourer or porter—*Fajulinorum appellatione veniunt Priores* (Du Cange). May not "John Ball," the name assumed by the excommunicated priest, be similarly rendered?

† Compare Thomas Walsingham's *Historia Anglicana* (1864, Edited by Thomas Ridley, M.A.) Vol. II., pp. 1-4, or, "A translation of Thomas Walsingham's Account of Litterer's Rebellion," by Rev. R. Hart, *Norfolk Archaeology* (1859), Vol. V., pp. 348-352, with John Capgrave's *Liber de Illustribus Henricis* (1858, translated by F. C. Hingeston), part II., cap. 9.

The risings in the disaffected counties may with advantage be tabulated :—

COUNTY.	LEADER.	OUTBREAK IN 1381.
Kent	Wat the Tiler, of Dartmouth.	} June 10th, great encampment on Blackheath; John Ball's harangue.
Essex	Jack Straw, "a riotous priest."	
Suffolk	John Wraw, of Sudbury, * a chaplain.	June 14th, at Lavenham.
Cambridgeshire	George Thomas Wrov, of Wood-Ditton.	June 15th, general throughout the county.
Norfolk	Geoffrey Lister, a dyer of Felmingham; "Jack Lister."	June 17th, Mousehold Heath, Norwich.

The outbreak in Norfolk was later than in Suffolk, but it spread with the same rapidity. The principal leaders were Sir Roger Bacon, knight, Thomas, the son of Thomas de Gyssing, knight, John Chacchevach (hunt the cow), who preferred to be called John de Montenay of Bokenham, and the renowned plebeian Geoffrey Lister, described as a *lister* or dyer, who resided at Felmingham, not far from North Walsham.

An isolated attack, it is true, was made on the 16th of June upon the manor-house of the Duke of Lancaster at Methwold, where the rioters deliberately burnt the court rolls, but the opening of the Norfolk campaign really began the next day, when immense crowds from Lenne, Thetford and Yarmouth flocked towards Norwich, and "as they came, caused every man to rise with them." Froissart states that 40,000 malcontents met on Mousehold heath. Access once obtained, the city was soon a prey to their unbridled violence. Dreadful scenes of rapine and bloodshed were witnessed in other parts of the county, as, for example, at Rougham, Wighton near Wells, Langford and Southery. At Yarmouth the gaol was broken open, and three miserable prisoners, whose only offence was that they were Flemings, were summarily beheaded. During the ensuing week unmitigated cruelty and senseless plunder reigned from one side of the county to the other.

THE CORDWAINER OF THE GRASSMARKET.†

Several highly-respectable and intelligent tradesmen of Bishop's Lenne threw in their lot with a small section of disaffected burgesses. Well may you ask their motives. Even Roger Paxman, the mayor, who had known many of them all their lives, was never more taken aback. There were Henry Cornish and Walter Prat, expert glovers; Thomas Colyn and—Pinchebek, tailors, the "cut and style" of whose doublets was the talk of the community; and Thomas Paynot, the

* "Johnny Raw," the name applied to a simpleton—a "Jack Upland" or a "Verdant Green,"—is derived from the Essex agitator John Wraw.

† Cordwainers were shoemakers, who worked up tanned goat-skins or *Cordovan* (first brought from Cordova in Spain, where it was made by the Moors). The name as it appears in the indictment was no doubt intended for John Spayne, or John of Spain, a *cordonnier*, *cordovannier* or *cordwainer* of that country, who worked cordovan. At the time when surnames were in process of being "invented" we note in our list of mayors John de Yspania (1280 and 1282), also John Hispania (1289 and 1292).

well-to-do weaver, who did not care—no, not the snap of the finger—for his rivals the Flemish websters, just established in the burgh. There was John Coventry, too, the maker of bows, and John Bokeler-player, the sturdy armourer, and a burgher named Sadlere, whom you could always find stitching away in the little *saddler's* shop up Cokrowe, near Bokenham's place. All were active partisans, but their enthusiasm was, as we may see, totally eclipsed by the daring energy of their leader, John Spanye, the shoemaker of the Grassmarket.*

Now it came to pass that John the Bowyer, who was never remiss in picking a quarrel, was not on the best of terms with the local collector of the poll-tax. Indeed, on the 16th of June, if the secret be now revealed, he sent an ungracious message to Nicholas de Massingham, who was not merely a collector of the king's taxes under the second commission, but a justice of the king's peace, and *a fortiori* an aristocrat of alarming pretensions. John Coventry curtly informed the great Sir Nicholas that, to avoid the unpleasantness of an unceremonious visit from him and his friends, he had better, as their needs were pressing, forward £10 to them at once. It is, notwithstanding, doubtful whether they received it, because John Spanye and his men-at-arms left Lenne the next morning by the East Gates.

The "Antient Indictments" (No. 128, Norfolk, Smeth), preserved in the Record Office, throw light upon this subject.

Et quod Johannes Spanye de Lenn Episcopi cordewaner die lune proxima post octavam sancte Trinitatis ultimam preteritam [17th June 1381] tempore hujus rumoris principalis ductor et manutentor malefactorum surgentium in patria venit usque Snetesham vi et armis cum .XXX. hominibus ignotis et incitavit homines dicte ville ad surgendum contra pacem domini Regis ad querendum homines patrie de Flaundres ad eos occidendos et decapitandos et minavit Radulfum Panton ad eum occidendum per quod idem Radulfus desperans de vita et membris suis invenit plegium ad solvendum cuidam servienti dicti Johannis X. s. contra leges et pacem domini Regis, &c.

With a threefold purpose the three hundred insurgents posted from village to village: first, they incited those with whom they came in contact to rise against the peace and join their ranks; secondly, by threats of personal violence they extorted large sums from the wealthy; and, lastly, they eagerly ferreted out settlers from Flanders, whom, when found, they killed. Their antipathy to these inoffensive foreigners deserves notice. The Flemings, who were craftsmen notoriously skilful in the mystery of wool-weaving, were encouraged (and some of them invited, as in the case of John Kempe, "the patriarch of the Norwich woollen manufacture"), during the late reign, to settle in this country. Queen Philippa of Hainault was naturally well disposed to her own countrymen, and the King did not

* At the western end of Norfolk street was the old *grass* (or fodder) *market*, which was a most important institution, when only respectable witches ventured to risk their lives bestriding resilient broom-stalks, and long ere Roger Bacon's prophecy, that carriages would roll along at unimagined speed with no cattle to drag them, was literally fulfilled.

Grass-market (Middle English *gras*, *gres*: Anglo-Saxon *grys*, *gras*—grass, corn, or vegetables). In 1272 the syllable appears *Gree-* (? *gres*), in 1365 *Gress-*, in 1352 *Cres-*, and in 1473 as *Cress-market*. There seems to have been a local tendency to exchange *g* and *c*, for Gannock becomes Cannock; this, however, was not confined to Norfolk, because the English word *grate* comes from the Latin *crater*.

Ever since 1477 a market has been held in Edinburgh at a spot called the *Grassmarket*, adjacent to which were the King's Stables and the *Cow-gate* (way). There was a *Cowgate* in connection with our *grassmarket*; its continuation leading to the Ferry, being in West Lenne, opposite the Public Baths.

resist the benign influence she exerted on their behalf, especially when he found he could replete an exhausted exchequer with heavy loans from the wealthy immigrants. Our nation is indeed enormously indebted for the unrivalled perfection of its textile industries to these "men of Flanders," who were at first regarded as interloping strangers, whose only mission on earth was a needless perversion of "the good old ways."

Arrived at Snettisham, John Spayne and his men sought diligently for the obnoxious strangers, who with their new-fangled ideas were ruining every webster not merely in the burgh of Lenne but the city of Norwich too. The open-mouthed villagers were either unwilling or afraid to offer assistance, because the Flemings found in Snettisham were either *struck down* or *beheaded*. There was, however, one person far more courageous than the rest; verily was he *desperans de vita et membris*,—"reckless of life and limbs." He came to the conspirators with ten shillings in his hand, which he satirically offered the cordwainer of Lenne, as an inducement to liberate his own servants. Can you not hear the impudent fellow? "You come to us, Master Cordwainer, urging that we should free *our* servants; look you, here are ten shillings if so being that you will promise to liberate *your own* servants." Swords were instantly drawn, but whether Paynot, the infuriated webster, or the ever-ready Bokelerplayer despatched this victim we cannot say; certain nevertheless is it that Radulfus Panton lost ten shillings and his head through a mistaken exhibition of Flemish temerity.

The following incident, preserved in the same indictment, shews how success attended the efforts of the Lenne agitator; the wavering were convinced by his oratory, the stubborn were coerced by the rough usage of his men, and the Flemish weavers, some of whom scarcely understood our language, were brushed from his path by the flash of a sword. Having scattered the seeds of discord broadcast, they rode off to do likewise in other places, expecting to reap a speedy harvest. In this they were not to be disappointed, because a contingent at Snettisham was immediately formed. The next day Roger Loksmyth paid Simon Wylymot a visit; true, they were neighbours, but Loksmyth called not necessarily as a friend, but as the chosen leader of John Spayne's converts. Who knows but that Loksmyth owed the other a personal grudge? He requested, with ample apologies, a supply of corn for his men's horses. Goodman Wylymot remonstrated, hesitating to comply with the unlawful demand. To stimulate his movements, the Locksmith drew a dagger and began probing him in the ribs in a somewhat unurgeonlike manner, at the same time threatening to bring the whole detachment for the purpose of destroying his goods and chattels. Fearing his end was inevitable, and listening perhaps to the piteous entreaties of his wife and children, Master Wylymot reluctantly parted with 15 quarters 2 bushels of the barley he could ill afford.

Disaffection was, however, rampant in the neighbourhood of Swaffham prior to this. On the 15th the rebels issued a proclamation

offering a reward of 20s. for the heads of John Holkham and Edmund Gurney of West Lexham, who were, as Justices of the Peace, a terror to evil-doers. Thomas Kenman and others tracked them hither and thither with the tenacious obstinacy of sleuth-hounds. Reaching the coast, the fugitives boldly put out to sea in an open boat, but were pursued as far as the port of Burnham. Both escaped the fury of the mob, but Gurney's house was completely sacked on the 20th. Simon de Snyterton paid a considerable amount as blackmail in order to save his life, the day before, at Barwick, not far from Docking; they, moreover, forcibly ejected Nicholas Mawpas from his free tenement, and installed Coventry, the valiant bowyer, in his stead. Besides, in their wanderings, they espied a traveller in a wood near Rising; as he bore neither spade nor distaff, they concluded that they had caught a "gentleman" in whom was there no work, and their delight knew no bounds when they perceived it was none other than Sir Edmund Reynham, a controller of the poll tax. As the most vehement expostulations were unheeded the controller innocently produced his pen and ink-horn, and lastly his book of accounts, to prove he was indeed a hard-working member of society. Strange though it may seem, these simple articles were looked upon as convincing evidences of guilt; and the fact that "he could read and write and cast accounts" was regarded as a qualification for his immediate extermination. They were just about to hang him, even as Jack Cade hung the clerk, "with his pen and inkhorn about his neck,"* when one of the party remembered their horses needed baiting. A compromise was thereupon suggested, and Sir Edmund of Reynham, to secure his freedom, was constrained to forfeit 14 quarters of oats.

Nor was the insignificant proletariat at Hunstanton without a saviour and champion, who would reorganise society, who would lead on his shrinking comrades to affluence or—death! Many, mostly fools, of course, said it was a forlorn hope, and shook their heads despondingly, remembering as they did the crushing defeat of the main body three weeks before. Not a whit daunted, Robert Fletcher and a few brave fellows forthwith armed themselves as best they could with bows and arrows and other weapons of a convincing nature, and set out to turn the stupid folk of Heacham from the error of their ways. The leader of the Hunstanton detachment was so eager for the fray, that he so far forgot himself as to curse the reverend father in God, my lord the bishop, for riding through the country to chastise the enemies of the King. As there are no indictments against the Heachamites, Robert Fletcher's efforts were probably abortive.

THE CHURCH MILITANT.

An inquisition was held the 15th of July 1381, when the following twelve witnesses were examined (*per sacramentum*) upon their oaths, namely, Simon Roberdeson, Thomas Burgeys, Henry Baylye of Brancaster, John de Walpole, Robert Rust of Shernbourne,

* See Shakespeare's *Henry the Sixth*, part II., Act IV., Sc. 2.

Richard Aleynesson, John Smyth of Holme, Henry Smyth of Brettenham (near Thetford), Nicholas de Chosele, Ralph Reyner, John de Stone and William de Docking. Three ancient indictments relate to Norfolk, namely, the Hundreds of West Flegg, Mitford, including *Villata de Estderham* and the Smeeth, from the last of which the above facts have been drawn.

The outbreaks occurred almost simultaneously in Norfolk, Cambridgeshire and Suffolk, and it is remarkable that when the storm burst the energies of the law were completely paralysed. No local force could anywhere be found which might be brought forward to stay the furious fanaticism of the mob. The indictments give indeed no information concerning the final collapse of the movement; yet graphic accounts are found in the chronicles of Thomas of Walsingham (1272-1381), the *scriptorarius*, or historiographer royal, at St. Alban's Abbey, and John Capgrave (1393-1464), Provincial of the Friars Hermits in England and prior of the Austin Monastery at Lenne. Both were Norfolk men, and ought certainly to have been familiar with local events. The first lived at the time of the peasants' rising, and the other was born in Lenne some 12 years afterwards. Both attribute the dispersion of the rebels to Henry de Spencer, the militant Bishop of Norwich, but in other respects their narratives differ. Thomas of Walsingham speaks of a fierce engagement at Walsham. Finding the insurgents in an entrenched position, the warlike bishop, encouraging his followers by a marvellous display of bravery, succeeded, after a great slaughter, in capturing the ringleader, "the king of the commons."

The Bishop therefore took with him the said John (that is Geoffrey Lister), the idol of Norfolk, that he might be drawn and hung and beheaded; and, having received his confession, and granted him absolution according to his office, he himself accompanied him to his execution, thus shewing to his vanquished foe the greatest humanity and kindness, for he even supported his head as he was dragged to the gibbet. Nor did the Bishop pause till he had detected and brought to justice malefactors throughout the whole county; and thus did the laudable probity and admirable courage of this warlike pontiff not only reestablish peace throughout the district, but proved eminently beneficial to the whole kingdom.

Thus wrote Brother Thomas, of Walsingham; now let us consider a corresponding passage from the pen of Brother John of Lenne, in whom Mr. Edgar Powell, in his *Rising in East Anglia* (1896), expresses the greater confidence:—

And thus hastening to Walsham he (the bishop) found the opening of the roads blocked with timbers and towers of other impediments. But by good management of the bishop and of other men, who had assembled there, the whole people surrendered, rejoicing that they might withdraw in peace. "Jekke Litster" (Geoffrey Lister) himself, leaping over a wall, hid himself in a corn-field. And one of the people perceiving this, announced it to the bishop. The traitor was sought and found; he was captured and beheaded; and, divided into four parts, he was sent through the country to Norwich, Yarmouth, Lynn, and to his (the bishop's) mansion, that rebels and insurgents against the peace might learn by what end they will finish their career.

Sir Roger Bacon was made a prisoner, though where and when it would be impossible to say; he was tried, found guilty, and

imprisoned in the Tower, but was pardoned through the fervid intercession of Anne of Bohemia, the future queen. Thomas de Gyssing was also liberated from the Tower (November 20th 1831). "No clue is given us as to the fate of John de Montenay; while the ominous word *decollatus* (beheaded), which appears on the indictment of several of the lesser leaders would seem to show that, at least in the opinion of the judges of assize, considerable severity was deemed necessary to firmly reestablish the reign of law. . . . It does not appear, however, that the king cherished any deep gratitude to his martial prelate (Henry Spencer) for the important services he rendered to the State, for on his return from an unsuccessful expedition to Flanders in the autumn of 1383, he was impeached in Parliament by the King's direction and his temporalities seized for the payment of a fine." (E. Powell.)

Bishop Spencer's victory is said to have been commemorated by the erection of the stone cross standing on what used to be the heath, adjoining the Norwich road leading to North Walsham. Norris mentions that he was told the marks of the camp were to be seen in his time. Dawson Turner, who was at school in North Walsham (1790), when writing in 1842, without corroborating this statement, contents himself with saying the heath had then given place to cornfields.

THE BISHOP AND THE TIPSTAFF.

In 1376 Bishop Spencer, whilst staying at his episcopal manor of Gaywood, engaged in a serious controversy with the authorities at Lenne, which Foxe minutely describes:—

The Bishop of Norwich, a little after Easter, coming to the town of Len belonging to his Lordship, being not contented with the old accustomed honour due to him, and used of his predecessors before, in the same town, required with a new and unused kind of magnificence to be exalted, insomuch that when he saw the chief magistrate or mayor (Richard Houton) of that town to go in the streets, with his officer before him, holding a certain wand in his hand tipped at both ends with black horn, as the manner was, he, reputed himself to be the lord of the town (as he was), and thinking to be higher than the highest, commanded the honour of that staff due to the mayor to be yielded and borne before his lordly personage; the mayor, with the other townsmen, courteously answered that they were right willing and contented with all their hearts to exhibit that reverence unto him, and would do so if he, first of the council, could obtain the custom, and if the same might be endured after any peaceable way, with the good wills of the commons and body of the town, or else they said, as the matter was dangerous, they durst not take in hand any such new alterations of ancient customs and liberties, least the populace (always inclinable to evil) should fall upon them with stones and drive them out of the town; wherefore on their knees they besought him, that he would require no such thing of them, and that he would save his own honour and their lives, which otherwise would be in great danger. But the Bishop, youthful and haughty, taking occasion by their humbleness to swell the more, answered that he would not be taught by them, though all the commons, whom he called ribalds, said nay. And also rebuked the mayor and his brethren, for mecokes* and dastards, for so much fearing the vulgar sort of people.

* *Mecoke* or *Meacock*, a spiritless, effeminate fellow. Hence in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Wildgoose Chase*. Act V., scene 1.

"Fools and meacocks,
To endure what you think fit to put upon them."

The burgesses, perceiving the wilful stoutness of the Bishop, meekly answered they would not resist him, but he might do as he thought good, and only desired him to give them leave to depart, and excuse their waiting upon him and conducting him out of the town with that reverence he required, for if they should be seen in his company the suspicion would be upon them, and so they should all be in danger of their lives. The Bishop upon this, not regarding their advice, commanded one of his men to take the rod borne before the mayor and carry the same before him; which the commons perceiving, he went not far in that manner, for the populace runned first to shut the gates, and some-one coming out with clubbs, bows and staves, others with stones, they let drive at the Bishop and his men as fast as they could, in such sort, that both the Bishop and his horse under him, with most part of his men, were hurt and wounded, "and thus the glorious pride of this jolly prelate, ruffling in his new scepter, was received and welcomed there, that is, was so pelted with battes and stones, so wounded with arrows and other instruments fit for so great a skirmishe, that the most part of his men, with his mace-bearer and all, running away from him; the pore wounded Bishop was there left alone, not able to keep his power, which went about to usurp a new power more than to him belonged; thus, as it is commonly true in all, so is it well exemplified here, that pride will have a fall and power usurped will never stand." [*Actes and Monuments* 1562, Vol. II., p. 807.

This amusing, though exaggerated, episode gave rise to two or three local incidents meriting attention.

(I) A BREACH OF THE PEACE.

The mob is dispersed; the fervour of the agitation is gently simmering, but the unguarded indiscretion, which culminated in an unpardonable insult to the Bishop, is clearly not forgotten. A stranger landing at the King's Staith will scarcely realise that the sullen apathy of the townfolk is a thin veneer concealing what may at any moment develop into reckless rioting. A storm is at hand, notwithstanding the pronounced calm. The social wire-pullers are at work, adjusting the limp, lifeless marionettes, which may when least expected spring into activity. Groups of craftsmen are loitering in the streets, and the tongues of the gossips are in motion, as if propelled by internal machines;

they shake their heads,
And whisper one another in the ear;
And he that speaks doth grip the hearer's wrist,
Whilst he that hears makes fearful action,
With wrinkled brows, with nods and rolling eyes.

Clem the Furbisher, with polishing-brush in hand, is holding soft converse with Hal the Fletcher, who unconsciously is whittling an arrow into a skewer; Jekke the Chapman, with merry twinkle in his eyes, unmindful of his unguarded pack, is listening to Ralf the Bowyer, who now and again brandishes a rough bowstaff, as he explains how thoroughly he belaboured "his reverence"; there is the barber-surgeon with his lance, and the cordwainer with his awl, conversing with the lister, whose bare arms, just taken from the dye-vat, are reeking as with blood. The ring of the bladesmith's hammer is silent, the fulling mills beside the rippling Purfleet are motionless, whilst webs of half-scoured cloth are lazily floating down Colville fleet,

This is the prelude of a municipal tempest. A series of secret meetings follow, and many burgesses pledge their honour to avenge the insult offered the Mayor and commons of this free burgh. Is there not a large stone house with well-stocked cellars in the Newland, hard by St. Nicholas? And another episcopal mansion at Gaywood, barely a stone's-throw from Lenne? Could they not find the bishop's overbearing seneschal at the Steward's Hall yonder, at the corner of the Jews' Lane,* and waylay the bishop's grasping bailiff on the King's Staith when he leaves the Tolbooth? And were there not other insolent retainers of his lordship in their midst? Was it right that they—the honest burgesses of Lenne, and theirs, and future generations (always uppermost in the reformer's mind) should submit to such indignities? The sword of the Lord would be turned against them, and when wielded by a bishop it would be indeed a destructive weapon. As punishment would sooner or later overtake them, might it not be well to remember the difference between the egg and the falcon?

Accordingly, as "the most honourable and venerable" the Mayor of the burgh was meditating in the Tenture Pasture, near the ancient dovecote, a little bird began slyly whispering in his ear, and the way in which that bird articulated our difficult language was remarkable. From information thus mysteriously imparted, Richard Houton, fearful of consequences, drew unto himself a band of men, stalwart, and loyal withal, and secretly entering a certain house one night, surprised a company "banded against the peace." Overawed by the commanding presence of the Mayor, and influenced by the respect they bore him, the conspirators surrendered and were led away to the prison, there to await an impartial hearing.

The trial of these over-zealous townsmen was conducted in the monastery of the Whitefriars. Now it was unquestionably the Mayor's duty as chief magistrate to preserve the King's peace at any cost, but it was indeed hard to proceed against respectable people, who, whether strictly right or wrong, were acting in defence of his honour and also for the preservation of their own privileges. In this dilemma he sent for Edmund Gurney to hold a session for the delivery of the prisoners. He, who put out to sea to escape the fury of the peasantry, was an eminent lawyer, one of the standing council, and recorder as it were for the City of Norwich, and also for the burgh of Lenne, his retaining fee for our town being 40/- per annum. The nave of the church of the Carmes was set apart for the trial, and John Olkam was engaged as counsellor for the town. The assembly was a grand one—John de Brunham, the mayor, Roger Paxman, of Lath Street, John Waryn, of the Saturday Market Place, Walter Dunton, of the Grass Market, John Colkirke, William Berhard, the "Lord Prince's steward," John Sewale, the clerk to the justices, the aldermen,

* A message at the corner of Jews' Lane (Surrey Street), where the Capital and Counties Bank stands, belonged at one time to Robert Chinnery, and once formed a part of the Steward's Hall. The premises were in the use of John King, a baker, and afterwards of Thomas Smith (1750). Mary Hill subsequently purchased the property from Thomas Allen and Robert Burrell, the assignees of Robert Chinnery.

common council and the burgh treasurers, besides many other influential persons were present.

And now, at a most interesting point, the act-drop descends upon the scene, and the wondering spectator is permitted to fill in the hiatus as best he can. Whether the prisoners were acquitted or condemned, and whether the punishment fitted the crime, can only be conjectured. A few facts, however, in the shape of items of disbursement form a meagre corollary to the narrative. First, the wine account; for few civic functions were then performed without the aid of stimulants. A consultation with the recorder, refreshers during the trial and revivers for the bishop's steward absorbed 11s. 2d. Then for services rendered: 6s. 8d. to the town's counsellor, 3s. 4d. to the justices' clerk, 1s. for the delivery of a letter, and 40s. for the maintenance, it may be, of the prisoners (1376-7).

(2) HENRY DE SPENCER *versus* THE COMMUNITY.

The next year the town was put to an enormous expense in defending an action before the King's Council, brought against the Mayor and Burgesses, for the assault committed upon the person of the Bishop and his retainers, when, as Lord of the burgh, he insisted upon having the mayor's emblem of office carried before him. The King so far interested himself in the matter as to write to William Rees, the Sheriff of Norfolk, asking him to do his best to appease the quarrel. From the first the gentry of the diocese, and subsequently the Council also, inclined to the bishop rather than to the people of Lenne.

The two persons who were seriously injured in the mêlée received substantial recognition at the hands of the community, as is evident from the "memorandum" extracted from the Hall Book:—

In the time of John Brunham, mayor (1377), that the mayor and community of the town of Lenne have with one consent granted to William Holmeston and Thomas Sparham, burgesses, in compensation for certain grave damage to their bodies by certain of the servants of the Lord Henry Spencer, the bishop of Norwich, during a certain controversy between the said bishop and the aforesaid community, a hundred pounds of good and lawful money, between them to be equally divided, to be paid to them or their attorneys at Lenne by the Mayor and Community, or by whomsoever else may be elected in their place in five years next following, beginning with this first year, and if it should happen that either or both of them die, the residue to their representatives.

To conciliate the bishop and to assuage any remaining vindictiveness, 13s. 5d. was paid for a huge wax candle, weighing 21 pounds, which was humbly offered in the church of the Holy Trinity, Norwich. Thus ended, for a while at least, the quarrel between the bishop and the community, who, for their presumption in touching "this model of a Christian prelate," as Dean Milman sarcastically dubs him, had to pay in costs (including the peace offering in wax) £515 5s. 5½d (1379).

(3) ANOTHER BREACH OF THE PEACE

happened in 1384-5, under the leadership of Philip Wyth. "Who this Philip Wyth was does not appear, but it is likely he was an agent,

perhaps a bailiff, of the Bishop of Norwich, at that time superior lord of the burgh, and between whom and the *communitas* or Corporation a continued contest of rights was carried on." (The late Daniel Gurney, Esq.) Thomas Morton was sent to West Barsham to consult with Edmund Gurney, who subsequently came to Lenne to pronounce sentence of punishment upon the misguided rioters. The recorder was assisted in his deliberations by Richard de Walton, Nicholas Massingham, other justices, and also by Andrew Cavendish, the Sheriff of the county. The result of the trial is not given, but a list of incidental expenses is transcribed in the *Record of the House of Gournay*, 1848, part III., p. 705.

PETITION OF THE TRADERS.

By reason of the unfair exactions of the bailiffs who collected the port dues at the Tolbooth, great dissatisfaction was evinced. So great indeed was the bitterness, that a petition was addressed to the Lord Chancellor, Thomas de Arundel, the Bishop of Ely, praying for relief from these excessive and extortionate demands.

It begins: *Pese a mon Seignor le Chancellor en salvaicion de driot heritage de sa Eglice Dely et meyntenance de droiture considereer southescriptz apartenantz a les custumes de la Tolboth de Lenn levees par les Bailiffs extorseusement et saunz garrant en desherison des tennantz mon dite Seigner et de tous le comon poeple ilonque repaivant.*

[Peace to my Lord the Chancellor in safety and just inheritance of his church at Ely, and in the maintenance of right; consider the underwritten relating to the customs of the Tolbooth at Lenne, levied by the bailiffs extortionately and without warrant, in derision of the tenants, my said Lord, and of all the common people and those who go thither.]

And ends: *Mon tresreverent Sr, cest' presentement fut fait al bannk le Roi a la darrein session en Norff', affyn gent due correccion dut avoir este faire par le Justic' solom driot et reson mes driot reson et loy sont mys a derer par un Supersedeas qe vient a le dit Justic sur ce en prejudice de Roi et de vous et de plosours altres Seignors et de vos tenantz et de toute comon poeple.*

[My very reverend Lord, this presentment was made at the King's Bench, at the last session in Norfolk, in order that some alteration should be made by the Justice, according to "right and reason." My just cause and precept are placed aside because of a *Supersedeas* [a writ to stay proceedings] that came to the said justice after this petition, which is in prejudice to the King and you, and to many other gentlemen, and to your tenants and to all the common people.]

And it moreover sets forth the recent presentments of the bailiffs by divers of the hundreds of Norfolk, ending at Easter the same year in the presence of the King at Norwich. There is no date to what is only a copy, but the King and Queen were at Norwich and Thetford in 1383. Harrod, moreover, preserves an extract from a year's accounts, now lost. It was copied by an antiquary of the 17th century. From this we learn that the King, and seemingly the Queen too, were in Lenne the same year, when the community presented him with 100 marks in pure gold, and £23 6s. 8d., in all £90, besides six falcons, and the Queen with two gilded cups (undoubtedly silver gilt), which cost £71 18s. 5½d.

During the mayoralty of Simon de Gunton (1360) the dues of the Tolbooth were divided (in what proportion is not stated) among "the

Queen (query Philippa), the [Black] Prince, the Earl of Suffolk and the heirs of Orby." Later, other persons participated in the profits.

RECEIVER.	FOR WHOM.	MARKS.
1397. April 15: John Merston, on behalf of Richard Fitz-Nichol (receiver-general).	John Duke of Brittany.	20
" July 1: John Merston.	" "	20
1399. Sept. 20: Robert, rector of Marlyngford (near Norwich), receiver in Norfolk.	Edmund Duke of York.	10
" Decr. 20: Edmund Aleshalle, receiver-general in Norfolk.	Henry Duke of Lancaster.	8½

BURGESSES IN PARLIAMENT.

In 1293 writs were issued summoning two knights from each shire and two burgesses from nineteen of the principal towns in the kingdom to a parliament in Shrewsbury. The upper house, indeed, met at Shrewsbury, but the other section, representing the democracy of the nation, at Acton Burnell, a village about seven miles distant. "Though very imperfect," writes Hallam, "this was a regular and unequivocal representation of the Commons in Parliament." The so-called "Statute of Acton Burnell," to assist merchants in the recovery of their debts, was passed.

Three Norfolk towns were represented in this assembly: Norwich, Yarmouth and Lenne. The earliest members, or "burgesses in Parliament," on record for our burgh are Johannes de Dokkyng and Recardus de Merlawe, related probably to Johannes de Merlawe, who was mayor in 1295. They were elected yearly by a committee composed of twelve fit and proper persons, but how and by whom the committee was appointed is uncertain.*

A PUBLIC BENEFACTOR.

John de Brunham, a wealthy *potentior*, cut a significant figure in our municipal programme at this period. In 1356-7 he acted in the capacity of chamberlain; in 1379, and again in 1382, he represented the burgh in Parliament; in 1409 his name appears among those who were bound to the Gild of the Holy Trinity for the repayment of a loan of £20, used for the repairing of St. Margaret's Church; and in 1413 he with eighty others entered into bonds of £50 each to secure peace to the town. He occupied the mayoral chair for the fifth and last time in 1391-2. As a slight appreciation of the good feeling evinced on his behalf, he decided upon doing something to benefit the town upon his retirement into private life. In conjunction with a "comburgess," named Richard Dun, of St. James' End, he applied for letters patent of licence permitting him to give and assign a certain messuage and a yearly rent of £3 15s. 7½d., also another rent of 12 pence, and the profits accruing to the passage of a boat out of the port

* For the members, recorders, &c., of Lynn, see the *Norfolk Official Lists* (1890), by H. Le Strange.

of the burgh, with the appurtenances thereto belonging, to the community. Licence was, moreover, granted to the Mayor and his successors to hold the same, "together with other things mentioned in the grant," strictly for religious purposes. This course was absolutely necessary; and the licence, overruling the Statute of Mortmain (1225) was undoubtedly a special favour granted by the King through the payment of a heavy amount, as was the case in another of John de Brunham's benefactions, relating to the Gild of the Holy Trinity, of which more may be said elsewhere. Robert, a son perhaps of John de Brunham, was a merchant living in Fuller Row or Clough Lane (1417).

LOCAL FINANCES.

In considering the disjointed array of figures before us, it must stubbornly be remembered that, although there is a tendency to consider the prices of commodities ridiculously low, sales were astonishingly infrequent, which was owing to a painful scarcity of money. A labourer earning a halfpenny a day would have to work the same number of days before he could purchase a goose marked at "twopence" as would a labourer earning half-a-crown a day when the price of the same article is ten shillings. The purchasing power, apparently so different, is really after all about the same. The Irishman reluctantly quits "a land flowing with milk and honey," not because salmon may be bought at twopence per pound and chickens sixpence apiece, but because of the great difficulty he experiences in securing the twopence and the sixpence. Let us disregard one side of the equation (the price of commodities) and try to be contented if we understand the other side aright. To do this, every item must be multiplied by twenty, or, in other words, every shilling represents one pound in modern coin. For instance, the revenue for 1377-8 amounted to £11,000, whilst the expenses may be put down at £17,480.

YEAR.	INCOME.	EXPENDITURE.
1339-40	£412 3 2 ³ / ₄	
1347-8		£512 18 4 ¹ / ₂
1354-5		£176 15 1
1355-6		£94 15 7
1356-7		£266 11 1 ¹ / ₂
1357-8		£92 1 7
1366-7		£165 18 5 ¹ / ₂
1371-2		£163 11 2
1374-5	£240 5 1 ¹ / ₂	
1375-6	£233 7 5 ¹ / ₄	
1377-8	£550 6 2	
1378-9		£874 15 9 ¹ / ₂
1379-80		£772 15 7 ¹ / ₄
1380-1		£351 14 10
1383-4		£203 15 9 ³ / ₄
1387-8		£304 16 9
1399-1400	£461 13 6 ³ / ₄	£394 18 5 ¹ / ₂

THE BOROUGH BALANCE-SHEET

for the year 1377-8 is particularly interesting.

MONEYS RECEIVED	...	...	...	...	...	£550	6	2½
MONEYS SPENT—								
(1). For a barge and boat	...	...	...	...	...	103	9	6½
(2). For an enclosure for the defence of the burgh						113	0	1½
(3). For Transgression done to the Bishop:								
“Paid as well to the Lord King <i>matri sue</i> as to divers other persons labouring for the community in respect to the Bishop's said cause”	...	£318	15	3				
Expenses of Mayor, aldermen and other honest burgesses going to London on account of a certain suggestion touching them and very many of the community laid before the King's Council by the Bishop of Norwich for transgressions done to him in the town...	...	£116	9	9				
Other items connected with this case	...	£180	0	5½	—	615	5	5½
(4). Various minor expenses	...	...	...	...	...	43	0	8½
						£874	15	9½

There is a balance of £324 9s. 7½d., therefore, on “the wrong side,” besides an additional sum of £17 for extra “labour,” made up of these items: £10 to Richard Houton, the mayor; £2 to Thomas Morton, clerk for counsel; £1 to the borough sergeant, Roger Bailly, for counsel; and £4, that is £1 each, to the chamberlains, Thomas Curson, John Penteney, William Erl and John Brandon. The town then owed the “Confraternity of the Great Gild of the Holy Trinity of Lenne” £160.

The entry respecting money paid to the King's mother, *matri sue*, refers to Joan of Kent, the mother of King Richard II.

THE POLL TAX

was fixed at the rate of three groats per *head* (poll) upon every lay person; beggars and those under fifteen years of age were alone excused. In other words, every township had to contribute as many shillings as there were residents above the prescribed age. Collectors, armed with power granted by letters patent dated December 7th 1380, were appointed. The whole county of Norfolk, *exceptis civitate Norwici et villa de Lenne*, to quote the compotus, was worked by eight collectors. Important places like Norwich and Lenne appointed their own collectors. The two-thirds of the subsidy paid into the Treasury in June 1380, represented an amount quite inadequate to cope with the nation's expenditure. Negligence and favouritism on the part of the official collectors gave rise to a second commission. The remainder of the subsidy was paid in June the following year. The collectors (seven for Norfolk) were in this instance to furnish statistics relating to population, arrears, etc. A staff of inspectors was, moreover, appointed to check irregularities. Norfolk, Suffolk and Cambridge formed one district. William Wenlok, clerk, was inspector for our county.

From the returns thus provided, the tremendous decrease in the population of the country may more readily be understood. At the time of the visitation (1349) the population of Norfolk is given as 150,000; according to the Lay-Tax Rolls of Richard II., twenty-six years later, it was 88,797.

Places.	Lay-tax rolls 1377.	First returns 1381.	Lay-tax rolls 1381.
Norfolk	88,797	58,714	66,719
Norwich	3,925	3,268	3,833
Lenne	3,127	1,757	1,824
Yarmouth	1,941	No separate returns.	
England	1,355,201	— —	896,451

A special tax was laid upon the clergy; those belonging to the higher grade were charged twenty groats, whilst the inferior clergy over 16 years of age paid only three groats (1381). The returns yield no particulars about Lenne. In the archdeaneries of Norfolk and Norwich there were 1,745 regular and secular clergy, besides 168 deacons, acolytes and inferior clerics over the age of 16 years. The clerical population of England and Wales in 1377 is given as 30,350. The second of the returns in 1381 gives a remarkable increase in the lay population, of 8,005, or nearly 12 per cent., whilst the discrepancy for Lenne under different collectors is only 67, not quite 4 per cent. The imposing of this tax upon the people certainly encouraged roving habits, because, as no-one could be charged except at the place where he dwelt, migration to evade the payment of the tax became general. Hence the great decrease between 1377 and 1381 must be set down principally to that cause.

CHARTER, COMMISSION, ETC.

C. 10. Westminster; 9th February, 1st year of his reign (1377). Another instance of *inspeximus*, which merely confirmed C. 9.
Letters patent of *inspeximus*, Beverley, 3rd September, 16th year of his reign (1392) granted concessions to the Gild of the Holy Trinity.

The war with France dragged on. Henry de Spencer undertook to lead an expedition to assist the burghers of Ghent against their count and his coadjutor the King of France. Temporary success crowned the prelate's efforts at first, but the campaign terminated abruptly without yielding any advantage. The bishop was severely censured by Parliament on his return (as has previously been hinted), because his fidelity was suspected (1383). Two years later the Scots ravaged the north of England, being materially assisted by the French. Richard boldly advanced against them, at the head of 80,000 men. Frightened out of their wits, the enemy precipitately retired, leaving the southern part of their country to his mercy. Edinburgh, Dunfermline, Perth and Dundee were burnt to the ground.

At this crisis, John Brunham, the mayor, received a royal mandate, addressed not to himself alone, but to the following influential burgesses: John Waryn, Richard Houton, Roger Paxman, Henry de Botele and Thomas Curson. It was indeed a commission under letters patent, dated Westminster the 17th May 1386. Upon them devolved the carrying out of the following somewhat onerous injunctions:—(1) The burgh of Lenne, including South Lenne, was to be put into an efficient state of defence “against the King’s enemies of France and their adherents and all his other enemies.” (2) A local corps was to be formed, into which all the able-bodied men of Lenne and South Lenne, between the ages of sixteen and sixty, were to be “impressed.” Power was moreover deputed to the above-named commissioners to levy money upon the inhabitants of Bishop’s Lenne and South Lenne towards the carrying out of the royal command; and also to severely punish all persons evading or resisting their orders.

Besides these serious municipal expenses, loans on two occasions at least were raised to assist the King. A comparison of the sums in the last column will help to gauge the relative importance of the principal towns in Norfolk at this period.

LOANS FROM	1385-6	1397-8
Norwich	£100	£336 6 8
Lenne	£100	£266 13 4
Yarmouth	—	£66 13 4

Presuming the basis of assessment to be the same, Lenne was four times as large as Yarmouth, and more than two-thirds the size of Norwich.

The latter loan was foolishly expended on an expedition to avenge the death of Roger, Earl of March, the King’s cousin, and heir presumptive to the throne, who had been slain by a party of Irish. Owing to this imprudent enterprise the country was left comparatively defenceless. The Duke of Hereford, whom the king had banished the year before, landed at Ravenspur, ostensibly to recover possession of his parental estates, because, owing to the death of his father, he became the Duke of Lancashire. His amazing popularity soon gained him 60,000 adherents. Unfortunately a fortnight elapsed before Richard heard of his cousin’s invasion; he hastened back, but was quite deserted, and his capture was merely a matter of time.

* * * * *

“The parliament, which, it is not unreasonable to assert, was entirely devoted to the Lancastrian interest, having received thirty-three articles of impeachment against Richard, in which his tyranny and misgovernment were detailed, voted his deposition; the throne being thus declared vacant, Henry (the Duke of Lancaster) was recognised as king, 30th September 1399.” (Curtis.)

CHAPTER XIV.

The First Lollard Martyr.

HENRY IV., Duke of Lancaster, cousin of Richard II., became King 30th September 1399. From the first he determined to be a worthy exponent of the martial virtues for which his family had been renowned until the days of his degenerate predecessor. With the nobility he was far from popular, but with the people he was a great favourite.

* * * * *

To enforce homage from King Robert III. and his barons, Henry promptly invaded Scotland. Edinburgh fell into his hands, but the canny Scots would neither fight nor swear fealty, and as his meagre stock of provisions became "fine by degrees and beautifully less," he hastily retired southward across the border (1400). At this juncture our mayor, John de Wentworth, was the recipient of a royal mandate, couched in the terms of letters patent, insisting upon the speedy preparation and complete equipment of a barge to serve as a vessel of war against the King's enemies. The order was issued at Westminster the 11th January, and as the vessel was to be seaworthy and ready before "the quindene"—the 15th of Easter following, there was certainly not a day to be wasted.

FOREWARNED—FOREARMED.

About this time, Lord Henry Percy, Lord de la Ware, and a large retinue were disporting themselves at Norwich. They were, in fact, borrowing money for the King and making arrangements for the defence of the city against the Scots and the French, who were supposed to be hovering somewhere in the North Sea, ready at any moment to pounce upon our shores. Lenne was, of course, in jeopardy; and its safety absorbed Lord Percy's profound attention. He came, he saw, and he—was sumptuously entertained at the town's expense. Among the numerous items in the Chamberlains' ledger are payments for capons, bustards and herons (4s. 8d.); for pike, mullet and other fish (7s.); to William Erl for 20 gallons of wine (13s. 4d.), and to Henry Deye for 40 gallons of "ditto" (26s. 8d.). Also, as befitting the occasion, to the minstrels who discoursed most eloquent music (1s.). Before taking his departure the noble Lord and his attendants not only enjoyed a cruise in the haven, perhaps to inspect the ships of the port (5s.), but they actually ventured beyond "the great river." Moreover, the ferrying of their 107 horses to and from the little township on the opposite side cost four shillings and sixpence.

Some of the ships of Lenne, when fishing off the coast of Scotland, near Aberdeen, sighted part of the Scotch fleet (1402-3). The fishermen boldly attacked the enemy, and succeeded in capturing certain vessels, which they brought, with their admiral, Sir Robert Logon, knight, and the crew to Lenne. Later four of our vessels on a voyage to Bordeaux were unfortunately swallowed by a whirlpool;

with this, however, the avenging Scots had nothing whatever to do (1407).

Shortly after his accession, and during the mayoralty of Henry Belleyeter, Henry visited Lenne, when the burgh was "so hard hit" that a loan was obtained from the Trinity Gild with which to provide a royal welcome. The debt, £58 15s. 10d., was standing against the town in 1417-8, that is, after the King's decease.

THE BISHOP'S STAITH.

Owing to the deplorable state into which the sea-wall or staith in the Newland had been allowed to get, the burgh authorities were at last compelled to bring an action against Henry de Spencer, the defiant bishop of the diocese. The dilapidated structure was so undermined and broken by the tides, that at length it gave way and fell into the haven, so that instead of there being twenty-eight feet of water, there was barely six feet (1401). To "make assurance double sure" they petitioned the King and his Council, praying that this serious obstruction might be at once removed, and the navigation of the port restored.

The King issued a summons, dated Westminster the 1st of June, 1401, earnestly praying that, without delay or difficulty whatever, the bishop would attend the Council at Westminster the day after St. John the Baptist's day next coming, that is, the 25th of June, without default, to treat with the Council on "very important matters touching the welfare of ourselves and you and the common profit of our realm."

On the 21st Henry de Spencer wrote from North Elmham excusing himself for being unable to attend. The bishop is "dead and gone," and can tell no tales, but the letter which survives is unequivocally interesting:—

I pray you to take excuse of my nonarrival in my own person [he writes, addressing the King], for I am now engaged in my Visitation in the county of Norfolk, which only occurs every seven years; and hearing these unpleasant news from Wales, I shall be at my manor of Northelmham, and will send two of my clergy to continue the rest of the visitation, which must be performed until the Monday next after the Feast of St. John. Whence August is so near that I cannot continue beyond without loss of said visitation for this time and great hindrance and damage to my jurisdiction. Wherefore I send to you my dear and well-beloved in whom I confide greatly in their loyalty, namely: Master Will. Sanday, Sir Robert Fowler, Master Henry Welles, Master James Cole, or three or two of them, to receive and hear the honourable will of our very trusty Lord the King, who shall by you shew them in lieu of me to make relation to me as to those and all other commandments and pleasure of our Lord the King. I and all the said persons shall be ready to obey them and perform them to my entire ability, saving the honour of God and the estate of Holy Church and mine—"

In the course of a letter written the 24th of August 1401, the King in Council addressed the Bishop, the "reverend Father in God and our very dear cousin," saying:—

We think, indeed, that those you (being on your visitation) have sent to attend our said Council at the said occasion have reported to you the matter touched by them on our behalf by said Council in right of the repair and amendment of one of our staithes [see *Rol. Parl.*, Vol. IV., p. 509 a., &c.], in our city of Lenne, which staith by reason of great inundations and ravages of the sea is very ruinous, and truly

if by you (to whom the repair of the said staith belongs,) or by ourselves by fair treaty (and accord) on the one part and the other, the said staith shall not be the more speedily repaired and amended, the said our city and our lieges dwellings therein shall be destroyed and annihilated for ever.

And we, desiring the safety of our said city and of our said lieges, pray you, counselling that the said our staith you shall repair and amend.

If this be done between the present time and the fortnight of St. Hilary [from the 11th to the 31st of January] next ensuing or thereabouts, with all possible haste, to the full construction of our said staith, to the saving of our staith and our city, and the conservation and indemnity of our lieges of said city, that you will certify to our Council in short time what may be your intention in this matter, and your will, and what you think to do. And we pray you moreover very earnestly, charging that, all excuses laid aside, you will be present in your own person with our Council at Westminster on the said *quinzain* [fortnight?] of St. Hilary, and without any failure, for certain very important matters which shall then be shewn to you and declared on our behalf by our said Council at your coming; and that you will by no means fail, for love of us, and as we trust in you. Given . . . by the Council of which were Messieurs the Chancellor, the Bishops of Durham, Hereford and Bangor; Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, Lord de Berkeley, &c.*

Ignoring the King's urgent appeal, and being crassly indifferent to the danger to which the lives and property of the people of Lenne were daily exposed, the haughty bishop apparently determined to "take his own time." Why, therefore, oh, agreeable reader, shouldst thou scamper at break-neck pace through this important epoch? *Festina lente*. Bishop de Spencer died in 1408, and the final settlement of the dispute devolved upon his successor some twenty years hence. Why, moreover, shouldst thou not seek mental relief in a brief literary digression? — "It is very rarely that any laborious study of the smaller area of a country parish can repay the long microscopic research which it involves. . . We have no history in the sense of having any sequence of events worth recording. If we try to construct chronicles, we have often to pass on by great strides from one stepping-stone to another standing out above the surface of the stream of time that goes babbling through, our tiny grains of sand get carried down into the great sea of oblivion—there they sink, if they do not perish. It is otherwise with the *towns*." (Dr. A. Jessopp.) The philosophy of the Arcadian recluse may indeed hold good where the would-be chronicler is blessed with exceptional perseverance, ample leisure, and with what is of the greatest importance—an inexhaustible purse; otherwise immense boulders of difficulties will be encountered, enough in themselves to dishearten the most daring and paralyse the power of the most expert literary enthusiast.

A MATRIMONIAL AGENT.

Now let us return to our subject, with grateful hearts, rejoicing that we face a narrow, stride-able hiatus. In 1403 Richard Young, Bishop of Bangor, also one of the King's council, was entrusted with an extremely delicate mission, the execution of which brought him

* These Norman-French letters are given in Sir Harris Nicolas's *Proceedings and Acts of the Privy Council*, Vol. I., pp. 165-8. An English translation may be seen in Mason's *History of Norfolk* (1884), pp. 213-4.

to Bishop's Lenne. His lordship was sent beyond the sea, to negotiate, if it were possible, a marriage between Henry the Prince of Wales, a lad just 15 years of age (subsequently Henry V.), and the daughter of the Queen of Sweden, Norway and Denmark. The acme of economy, as far as time, trouble and ammunition are concerned, is well expressed by the threadbare phrase—"Killing two (or *more*, for economy is illimitable) birds with one stone." Now it was necessary for the Bishop of Bangor to come to Lenne in order that he might secure a berth on board one of our Danish-bound vessels; why then should he not be commissioned to examine and report upon the condition of a brother-bishop's staith? Who, indeed, would exercise greater impartiality or carry out the inspection more carefully? The Lenne folk were, notwithstanding, stupidly suspicious. They were by no means predisposed towards bishops. They were not unmindful of Thomas Blundeville, who imposed crushing tallages upon their forefathers; nor could they forget Henry de Spencer, a disagreeable lordling who upset their tipstaff and involved the burgh in much needless expense. Well, well; perhaps under the circumstances to which they were bound to submit, it would be prudent for them to get "the right side" of his lordship. When, therefore, he cruised about the haven to inspect the ruined staith and to gauge the depth of the water, the community thoughtfully placed in the barge a gallon of the choicest red wine; and besides, when he finally sailed, they provided sufficient money to pay the wages of the sailors for the outward as well as the homeward passage.

The matrimonial negotiations were alas! abortive, because Henry subsequently married Catherine, the daughter of Charles VI. of France; but in 1404-5 ambassadors from the Danish court arrived in England with the object of arranging a marriage between Princess Philippa, the daughter of Henry IV., and the King of Denmark. "The King broute her to Lenne, for to take schip there. And in that towne he laye nyne daies, the two Qwenes, thre sones of the Kyng, Herri, Thomas and Umfrey; and many other Lordes and Ladies." (Capgrave's *Chronicles of England*. This incident is also narrated in the *Chronica Monasterii S. Albani*, 1866, p. 420.)

Henry IV. and Joanna the Queen, his second wife; and Philippa the prospective Queen of Denmark, the daughter of his first wife, Mary Bohun; also the King's sons—Henry, the Prince of Wales, Thomas, the Duke of Clarence, afterwards killed at Beaugé in Anjou (1421), and Humphrey, the Duke of Gloucester, were all at Lenne on this memorable occasion. Garrulous Capgrave naïvely asserts:—

I saw the only daughter of the most excellent King (Henry IV.) in the town of Lenne, where she went on board the ship in which she left England and went to be married to the King of Norway. [Eric IX. of Denmark and XIII. of Norway.] Those who knew her say that she so increased in wisdom that during the continual infirmities which oppressed the King her husband, all the causes of the Kingdom were laid before her, and that by her prudent counsel she brought everything to a prosperous issue. She indeed is the offspring of this King, and I saw her with mine own eyes. [*The Illustrious Henries*.]

Thomas of Walsingham refers to this incident, and mentions that there were also present at the embarkation, the Bishop of Bath (Henry Bowet) and *Dominus Ricardus, frater Ducis Eboraci*, that is, Richard Plantagenet, Earl of Cambridge, who was beheaded (1415). They accompanied the princess, and returned well pleased with the result of their mission. Through the friendly relation thus brought about our merchants obtained a warrant sanctioning the appointment of an alderman (or consul) for Denmark (1417).

SIR WILLIAM SAWTRE.*

During the latter part of the Plantagenet period, the renowned John Wycliff (1324-1384) flourished. He greatly distinguished himself through his controversies with the most scholarly of the mendicant friars, as well as by a powerful attack against the extravagant authority claimed by the Pope. The views he disseminated were similar to those propounded by the reformers of the 16th century. The Lollards† (as those who bravely embraced his tenets were called), were severely persecuted for many years; nevertheless they succeeded in laying the foundation upon which the Reformation, like a vast superstructure, was afterwards reared.

Even before Wycliff, the first sparks of religious enthusiasm, which culminated in the general enlightenment of Europe, were kindled in East Anglia. The celebrated Robert Grosseteste (1175-1253), to whom the reader must be introduced, was indeed a grand reformer, although his writings are now overlooked. His pen was ever busy denouncing the prevailing superstitions and corruptions of the Roman Church. Roger Bacon (1214-1292), a contemporary, declares he was the only living man who possessed all the sciences, and in whom the very spirit of action was united to love of learning. Robert Grosseteste, so preëminent for his scholarship, was born at Stradbrook in Suffolk; at the time of his death he was Bishop of Lincoln. No wonder the eastern counties were among the first to accept the new doctrine.‡

At the close of the 14th century William Sawtre, or Chatarris, as he was as often called, exercised his vocation as priest in the church of St. Margaret at Bishop's Lenne. Of the parentage and early life of the renowned "proto-martyr of Wycliffism" (Dean Milman) nothing definite is known. Whether he was a descendant of the famous Thomas de Longueville, "the Red Rover"—a *Charteris*, whom Wallace conquered, or a plebeian *sawtre*, whose father stitched leathern nether garments; whether he belonged to *Chatteris* in Cambridgeshire, or *Sawtree* in Huntingdonshire, none can decide. In

* The title "Sir" was formerly bestowed upon clergymen. The Welsh parson in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* is Sir (not "the Reverend") Hugh Evans.

† *Lollards* (from the Low German *lollen*, to sing slowly), were so called because of their practice of singing dirges at funerals. Akin are our words *to lull* and *lullaby*, associated with the Swedish *lulla*, to sing to sleep. Bailey, however, propounds a more fanciful though less reliable derivative—the Latin substantive *lolium*, the dandel, because these primitive Reformers were deemed "tares in God's wheat-field."

‡ He appointed his friend Roger de Wesenham (Weasenham) dean of Lincoln, in the place of William de Tournay. The remarkable career of Roger de Wesenham may be set forth thus:—Prebendary of Elstow, Lincolnshire, 1223, Rector of Walgrave 1234, Prebendary of St. Paul's, Archdeacon of Oxford 1236, Dean of Lincoln, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield 1245. He resigned in 1256. [*Roberti Grosseteste Epistolæ*, 1861, edited by Luard.]

1437, and possibly years before, there was a slight link connecting Lenne with one of these places. Our Prior remitted, as rent to the Abbot of Sawtree, the yearly payment of one shilling. Though unquestionably an obscure priest, William Sawtre was destined to be immortalised as "the true and faithful martyr of Christ, the first of all them in Wycliff's time." (Foxe.)

In trying to establish a sequence in the incidents associated with this deplorable event, it seems more than probable that at the onset William Sawtre, "being inflamed with zeal of the true religion," and greatly perplexed concerning certain theological dogmas, and, moreover, conscientiously wishing to do what was right, boldly took the initiative, and "required that he might be heard for the commodity of the whole realm before Parliament." (Foxe.) The request made to Thomas Arundel, *alias* Fitz-Alan, the Archbishop of Canterbury, was, it appears, forwarded to Bishop Henry de Spencer, who, being bitterly opposed to the Lollards, and "divining the cause," arranged for Sawtre to be heard before a convocation on the eve of the feast of Saints Philip and James, at the episcopal manor house at South Elmham (30th of April 1400). The poor priest, obeying the citation, repaired to the embattled mansion, which, standing upon the crown of an artificial mound on the summit of a hill, overlooked a well-wooded area. Among those present there was Lord Henry de Spencer, a follower of the "Prince of Peace," strangely famous for his military exploits; and the bold Northumbrian John of Derlyngton, who by reason of his manifold scholastic attainments had risen to be Archdeacon of Norwich; and John de Kinkingale, professor of divinity—an envied pluralist, priest of Fressingfield, near Harleston, and master of Gonville Hall, Cambridge; besides, being one of the delegates deputed to attend the Council at Constance, he subsequently attained the Bishopric of Chichester. In the learned assembly were also John Diffe, a friar, of whose piety nothing is recorded, but who was greatly esteemed because of his superior knowledge in ecclesiastical affairs; and Walter Carlton, the celebrated specialist, a "doctor of both laws," the secular as well as the ecclesiastical; William Friseby, Hugh Bridham and many other notaries well versed in legal intricacies.

What arguments were advanced we cannot say, but after a two-days examination William Sawtre was induced to recant, and was forthwith ordered to make public renunciations of his erroneous teaching in the churches at Lenne, Tilney, and wherever the bishop might suggest.

(1) HIS RECANTATION.

The first public renunciation was made on the 25th of May, in the grave-yard adjoining the chapel of St. James, where the Primitive Methodist chapel and the County Court now stand. Here, in the presence of the bishop, the clergy and the inhabitants of the town, William Sawtre declared in English that he had been misguided when he drew up the scroll presented to Archbishop Arundel. The next day a more impressive ceremony was enacted in the church of the

hospital of St. John the Baptist in the Damgate (Norfolk Street).* On this occasion the bishop, John de Kinkingale, William Carlton and Thomas Bolton, the officer of the Liberties of Lenne, were present, as were also the *élite* of the burgh, including (it may be) Edmund Belleyettere, the mayor, John de Wentworth, Thomas atte Brygg and Thomas Fawkes, the town chamberlains, as well as Thomas Ploket and Thomas Trussebut, the treasurers of the Gild of Corpus Christi, &c. Here Sawtre solemnly pledged himself "on oath upon the Holy Evangelists" that in future he would not propagate any so-called heresies without a special licence from the bishop. In rendering loyal obedience to his intolerant ecclesiastical masters Sawtre unquestionably strove to stifle his conscience, but, as will be presently seen, his efforts in this direction were unavailing and futile.

On the 20th of September the sheriffs of Norfolk and Suffolk were commanded by the King to issue a proclamation strictly forbidding the promulgation of opinions contrary to holy doctrine and derogatory to the friars. The next year Sawtre removed to London, where the people were strongly inclined towards the new religion, and where a more liberal consideration of his faith might reasonably have been anticipated. He was attached, as chaplain rather than rector, to a church dedicated to the memory of St. Osyth, a Saxon queen (the mother of Uffa, the East Anglian,) who was cruelly put to death by the marauding Danes. Her name survives in *Size* (or St. Osyth's) lane, but the church of St. Osyth was rededicated to St. Benet Sherehog—Benedict Skin-the-pig; you may see the little old churchyard still (1893), black and grimy, surrounded on all sides by tall houses. (Sir Walter Besant.) It was situated in Wood Street, a narrow yet important thoroughfare leading from Cheape Market, now known as Cheapside, to the gate in the wall (London wall) which then formed the northern defence of the city.

Even in the metropolis the current of religion in the life of this faithful minister of the Gospel was destined to run other than smoothly. Although he probably tried to modify the expression of the convictions which had caused so much trouble in the past, yet his attempts proved useless. The views he held were regarded as erroneous, and styled heretical, because they were opposed to those advanced by the leading scholars of the day. Unfortunately, moreover, they coincided with the tenets promulgated by Wycliff. The priest's simple life of self-denial no doubt annoyed the easy-going clerics, who thought far more of their own personal indulgence than of the destitution and misery of those among whom they were supposed to labour. He denounced the bad lives the majority of the clergy were living, and publicly declared the tithes ought not to be paid to profligate priests. Like Chaucer's poor parson, his object seems to have been

To draw folks to heaven by fairnesse,
By good ensample was his business,

* Mr. E. M. Beloe regards the "Blue Lion inn," *vulgo* "the Hanging Chains," as now occupying the site of Hospital of St. John the Baptist.

yet were there busy-bodies on the alert to mar the work he was doing, and to controvert the doctrines he taught. Rumour declared he was indirectly implicated in the rising of Thomas Holland the Earl of Kent, and John the Earl of Huntingdon, the maternal brothers of the deposed King, who, dissatisfied with the changes in the government, had entered into a conspiracy to seize the King at Windsor and liberate the imprisoned Richard. Through the treachery of Edmund Plantagenet, the Earl of Rutland, the plot was discovered, and the "little game" soon played out (January 1401). The report respecting Sawtre was ill-founded; it seems far more likely the news of his recent recantation at Lenne, reaching the ear of the archbishop, was the cause of the troubles which soon ensued.

The next month Sawtre was summoned before Robert de Braybrooke, the Bishop of London, in order that he might be persuaded to renounce the errors into which an unguarded tongue had once more betrayed him. As, however, he saw nothing to abjure, he was next cited to attend the Convocation of the province of Canterbury in St. Paul's Cathedral, where, before Archbishop Arundel, he was put upon his trial as before a court of justice. The Convocation was adjourned until the next Saturday, when the following definite charges of false doctrine were preferred against him:—

1. That the sacred cross on which Christ suffered is not a fit object of worship.

2. That it is more reasonable to worship a temporal prince than the aforesaid sacred cross.

3. That it is unlawful to worship angels, even more so, than the worship of truly good men.

4. That going on pilgrimage is unnecessary and useless; that vows to do so are not binding, and moreover, that the money thus expended had far better be bestowed in alms upon the poor.

5. That priests are bound to preach the word of God rather than to say their matins or to observe the canonical hours. And

6. That after the Sacramental words are pronounced, the bread remaineth the same as before, and that it ceaseth not to be bread, having in the meantime undergone no transubstantiation.

Sawtre desired to have a copy of the indictment, so that he might deliberately reply thereto. On the 18th he appeared once more before the Convocation, when he presented to the Archbishop and council the subjoined explicit statement of his religious views, which Robert Hall, Chancellor to the Bishop of Norwich, then read publicly:—

I William Sawtre, priest unworthy, say and aunswere that I will not nor intend not to worship the crosse whereon Christ was crucified, but onely Christ that suffered vpon the crosse; so vnderstanding me that I will not worship the materiall crosse, for the grosse corporall matter, yet notwithstanding I will worship the same as a signe, taken and memoriall of the passion of Christ *adoratione vicaria*. And that I will rather worship a temporall Kyng, then the aforesayd wooden crosse, as the materiall substaunce of the same, And that I will rather worship the bodyes of Saintes then the very crosse of Christ whereon he hong; with this addition, that if the verysame Crosse were afore me, as

touching the materiall substaunce. And also that I will rather worship a man truly confessed and penitent then the Crosse on which Christ hong, as touching the materiall substance.

And that also I am bound and will rather worship him whom I know to be predestinate truly confessed and contrite then an angell of God: for that the one is a man of the same nature with the humanitie of Christ, and so is not a blessed angell. Notwithstanding I will worship both of them according as the will of God is I should.

Also, that if any man hath made a vow to visite the shrines of the Apostle Peter and Paule, or to goe on Pilgrimage to S. Thomas tombe or anye whither els to obtayne any temporall benehte or commoditie; he is not bound simply to keepe his vowe vpon the necessitye of saluation. But that he may geue (give) the expences of his vowe in almes amongst the poore by the prudent counsayle of his superiour as I suppose.

And also I say, that euery deacon and priest is more bound to preach the word of God then to say canonicall houres according to the primitiue order of the church.

Also touching the interrogation of the sacrament of the aluter: I say that after the pronouncing of the sacramentall wordes of the body of Christ, there ceaseth to be very bread simply, but remaineth bread, holy true, and the bread of life; ynd (and) I beleue the sayd sacrament to be the very body of Christ after the pronouncing of the sacramentall wordes. [Foxe's *Actes and Monuments of the Church*: 1583, 3rd edition.]

On every clause of the indictment Sawtre firmly maintained his opinion, quoting freely from St. John, St. Paul, and St. Augustine; as to his conduct during the trial, there is nothing on record save the testimony of his prejudiced enemies, who described it as derisive, fanatical, and vacillating. Archbishop Arundel tried his utmost to convince him that he was wrong in his views respecting the Eucharist, and the next day spent three hours expatiating upon the same theme, but to no purpose. He then suggested that Sawtre should submit to the decision of the Church. Sawtre refused, except with the proviso: "Where such decision be not contrary to the Divine will." On the 23rd, documents purporting to be his previous adjuration were produced, and, according to the official account, Sawtre was constrained to admit them as evidence. An adverse sentence was the foregone conclusion, the pronouncing of which was deferred until the 26th. Sir William Sawtre, of Bishop's Lenne, was then condemned as a relapsed heretic; before, however, he could be handed over to the secular power, it was necessary for him to be properly "degraded," so that instead of being a priest "in the Pope's kingdom" and amenable to ecclesiastical law, he might be none other than an ordinary layman "without the pale." The ecclesiastical courts had no power whatever to burn, but they could condemn men as heretics, and thus leave them to their fate.

(2) HIS DEGRADATION

was publicly carried out in St. Paul's Cathedral, before Thomas Arundel, the Archbishop, who presided, and six Bishops, who, arrayed in their episcopal robes, acted as assistants, namely: Robert de Braybrooke (London), Henry Beaufort (Lincoln), John Trevenant (Hereford), Edmund Stafford (Exeter), Guy de Mona (St. David's), and William de Bottlesham (Rochester). When all was in readiness, the following terrible ordeal, which must have fearfully harrowed the

mental agony of this brave, outspoken man, was minutely carried out.

First, he was taken into the sacristy or vestry, where he was completely attired in the robes and furniture of the priest's holy office. Then he was led into the church, where a large congregation had already assembled. Sawtre was placed, of course, in a conspicuous position, and there before them all was gradually denuded of the various emblems of his pastoral authority. The sacred chalice and paten were rudely taken from him, so that he could no more celebrate the sacrament of our Lord's supper; whereupon he was stripped of his scarlet robe or *chasuble*, as being unworthy of this priestly honour. They mockingly handed him a Latin copy of the Holy Scriptures, merely to snatch it away, in order to shew he was no longer authorised to read therefrom. They, moreover, removed his *stole*, a narrow band of embroidery, which, as a deacon, he wore over the left shoulder. His girdle was next loosened, and the maniple, a napkin used by those officiating, was taken away. He was also asked to doff his *albe*, a white linen gown, which he wore by virtue of his office as a subdeacon.

The ecclesiastical triumph was, however, incomplete! A candlestick holding a taper was placed in one hand and a small pitcher in the other, but he was instantly requested to give them up, because of his unworthiness to act even in the inferior capacity of an acolyte. Likewise, he relinquished not only the book of conjurations, because he was considered unfit to carry out the duties of an exorcist, or holy-water clerk; but also the book of divine lections or church legends, because henceforth he ceased to be a reader. The surrender of a sexton's gown and the church-door key signified that he had in future no right to act even as a humble sexton. And, finally, as a climax to this theatrical display, the priest's cap was removed, his tonsure or hair-lock was clipped off, and upon his head was placed the cap of the common hangman.

Sawtre's appeal to the King and Parliament did not avail; he was delivered as a layman to the secular arm, and the selfsame day the king's writ was signed at Westminster.

(3) AND MARTYRDOM.

"Thus William Sawtre, the servant of Christ, being utterly thrust out of the Pope's kingdom, and metamorphosed from a clerk to a secular layman, was committed (as ye have heard) unto the secular power, which so done, the Bishops yet not herewith content cease not to call upon the King to cause him to be brought forth to speedy execution." (Foxe.) In compliance with this request, King Henry, "a compound of ambition, cruelty and hypocrisy" (Burnet), made out a decree against Sawtre, which concludes thus:—"We command you as straitly as ye may or can, firmly enjoining you that you do cause the said William Sawtre, being in your custody, in some public or open place within the liberties of your city aforesaid (the cause aforesaid being published unto the people), to be put into the fire, and there in the same fire really to be burned, to the great horror of his

offence, and the manifest example of other Christians. Fail not in the execution hereof, upon the peril that will fall thereupon. *Teste rege, apud Westmonast. 26 Februar. an. [secundo] regni sui.*"

On the evening of the same day, the 26th of February 1401, Sawtre was led to the Smithfield, a broad meadow beyond the boundary of the city, whither the inhabitants were wont to repair to practise with their bows and arrows at the public butts. Here the valiant though indiscreet Wat the Tiler, the leader of the down-trodden peasantry, was summarily dispatched by Sir William Walworth, the Lord Mayor of the City; and here, too, Thomas Badly and many more suffered for conscience' sake. At a secluded spot William Sawtre was chained to a stake, which stood not far from the present gate leading to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and here he was burned in the sight of many people.

Sawtre is usually spoken of as the first victim of the statute *de hæretico comburendo*. But it is remarkable that the writ for his execution appears on the Rolls of Parliament before the Act itself. This order may be merely a matter of arrangement, but it is observable that if the Act had been already passed the writ would have been issued as a matter of course to the sheriff, and would never have appeared on the Rolls at all. It appears probable, therefore, that Sawtre suffered under a special Act proposed perhaps by the clerical party in order to ascertain the feeling of Parliament as to the larger measure that followed. (Dr. W. W. Shirley.)

Commenting upon the legality of Sawtre's martyrdom, Justice Stephens observes:—

The clergy proceeded to a measure which can probably not be paralleled in the history of England. They forged an Act of Parliament, which appears in the statute-book as 2 Rd. II. c. 5 (1379). Though published as an Act of Parliament, this measure was not entitled to the name, for as Coke says (12 Coke's Rep. pp. 56-58) it was never assented to by the Commons. . . . The pretended statute gave no other power than that of arrest and imprisonment by the sheriffs on the order of the bishop, and this proves that before that time no such power existed. [*History of Criminal Law*, 1883.]

THE CHAPEL OF ST. NICHOLAS.

An important movement of an ecclesiastical nature was brought about during the episcopate of Henry de Spencer. At the suggestion of certain dissatisfied burgesses in the Newland, a local chaplain—Sir John Peye—forwarded a petition to the Pope, praying that the privileges for the administration of the sacraments of baptism, matrimony and purification might be conferred upon the chapel of St. Nicholas. The complete severance of this chapel-of-ease from the parent church, and the establishment of a distinct parish, seemed to be the object at which the discontented parishioners aimed. Pope Urban VI. granted the application, providing the alteration was not inimical to the mother church. Great discord ensued, which at length induced the Assembly to issue a letter patent, bearing the common seal, and a letter close, sealed with the Mayor's seal, to Sir Adam de Eston.

The letter patent, addressed to the faithful people of Lenne, and subsequently forwarded to the Court of Rome, after reciting the

Bull* received from His Holiness, announced that the Bull in question had been publicly read by John Lombe, master of arts and licenciante of civil law, who was "the organ" or representative of Ralph de Martham, prior of the Church of St. Margaret, in the presence of John de Brunham, mayor, Thomas de Botekesham, alderman, John de Elmyngton, public notary, and others. It set forth, moreover, how the precious document had been carefully returned to Sir John Peye, who formally acknowledged in their presence that it had not been altered or "injured" in any wise (28th February 1378). Throughout these transactions the greatest precaution was taken to shew that the Bull had not been tampered with.

The letter close was forwarded to Sir Adam de Eston, a very influential person then residing in Rome. The "Norwich Cardinal," as he was styled, belonged to the Benedictine monastery of that city. He was implored to do his utmost in restoring peace among the contending burgesses.

To express clearly the state of public opinion in Lenne, three separate lists were enclosed with the communication. The first contained the names of 79 burgesses who were present in the Gild Hall on the Monday before Ash Wednesday, and who consented to the sealing of the letter patent directed to the Court of Rome for resisting the privileges of baptism, etc., conceded to the chapel of St. Nicholas. The second contained the names of 81 burgesses, who declared that the Bull had been publicly read in the church of St. Margaret, and that it had been safely delivered to Sir John Peye, in the same church, "entire and uninjured, and not in any way violated or corrupted." And the third contained the 77 names of those who agreed to the sealing of the letter close, and who stated therein that the privileges conceded to the petitioners would be prejudicial to the church of St. Margaret, and that they therefore renounced the privileges. The mayor, "John de Brunham," appears in each list.

A second application was made in the reign of Henry VI. It was addressed this time to the prior of Norwich (Robert Brunham?), and was couched in the following words:—

Fulwurshipful and reverent Fader in God; We your gostly [spiritual] children the Maior, aldermen, burgeyses and all the Comons of Lynne humbly recomaund us to your good fadirhod. Besechyng that it like to your benigne grace be the avys [advice] of the richt, discret and religious personys your wurthi birthern of ye covent of Norwiche at ye reverence of God in encresynge of his lovyng and devocioun of ye pepil, and for ye gret quiete and ese of your parissheens of ye same toun to graunte yat ye sacrament of Bapteme and ye sacirimentall of Purificacioun maybe ministrid to your parissheens aforesaid in your Chapell of Seynt Nicolis in ye said toun, ye richt of your minister ye Cathedral church of Norwiche, and of Saynt Margarete ye parisshe church of Lynne in all yinges [things] alwey, &c. . . . whiche goode and holy vew shal

* The capsule of the seal was first called the *bulia*, a word afterwards applied to the document itself.

"A Pope's Bull and a Pope's Brief differ very much; as with us—the Great Seal and the Privy Seal. The Bull being the highest authority the Pope can give, the Brief is of less. The Bull has a leaden seal upon silk hanging upon the instrument; the Brief has *sub annulo piscatoris* [the Fisherman's Seal] upon the side,"—Selden's *Table Talk* (1716), p. 88.

Fur further particulars of the lesser signet, used in documents of minor importance, see W. Jones's *Finger-Ring Lore* (1898), pp. 198-9.

cause you gret merite for ye . . . yat we trist to God shal growe yerof [thereof]. In Witness herof to yis present lettir patent We have do sett our comone seel. Yeven in our Gilde Halle ye xiiij day of January in ye x yeer of ye reigne of King Henry ye Sext. (1432.)

The chapel of St. Nicholas was notwithstanding denied a font until 1627, when Bishop Harsnet consecrated the one now in use. In the inventory of church goods (1628-9) is the entry: "Itm. a little 8 square table to sett the Cover of the ffunt uppon."

THE ANNALS OF THE POOR.

Throughout this reign, our town was in a most unsettled and distracted state. Years of undeserved oppression at last goaded the people into reckless rebellion. So furious was the onslaught of the masses against the classes, that the mayor was fain to acknowledge his inability to cope with the awful emergency—to check the outspoken demands of the long-suffering democracy, who were conscious that numerically and in strength they could easily crush the dominating few. Why, they asked themselves, should they submit like belaboured hounds to such unbearable tyranny? Why starve their children to swell unjust exactions?

Unable, perhaps, to obtain assistance from Bishop Spencer, the mayor was constrained to appeal directly to the King; but John Wentworth's entreaty yielded no assistance to him and his brethren in this dilemma. He therefore addressed himself to the King a second time, piteously complaining of certain "outrageous persons who committed the most horrible crimes and (who) proceeded in the most riotous manner against their opponents," [the inoffensive potentiores] "with the intent to spoil and rob them of their goods, (to) burn their houses and (to) slay and dismember them" (11th October 1403).

Though there are deplorable breaks in the narrative of these events, the strife between the opposing factions was still vigorously carried on. Nine years later, Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury and Lord Chancellor, espoused the cause of the down-trodden burgesses; he sent "a memorandum" to the King, minutely shewing how the weak were contending against the strong, and how might was prevailing over right. His timely interference induced Henry IV. to issue letters patent, dated Westminster, the 25th November 1412. Four months afterwards the King died.

TRAITORS AT HOME.

Henry Percy, the Earl of Northumberland, utterly disgusted at the King's behaviour after the Scots were defeated and the Earl of Douglas captured at Homildon Hill, near Wooler, by his own son, Hotspur (14th September 1402), conspired with Glendower. Associated with him also were Richard Scroop, Archbishop of York, Thomas Mowbray, Earl Marshal, and Thomas Lord Bardolf. A sanguinary battle fought near Shrewsbury ended in the defeat of the insurgents and the death of the valiant Hotspur (21st July 1403).

A fresh conspiracy, despite this crushing blow, was inaugurated by Northumberland and his friends (1405), their motive being to

place Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, upon the throne. By the astute diplomacy of Ralph Nevill, this second attempt was frustrated. The Archbishop and the Earl Marshal were taken and beheaded at York, whereas the Earl of Northumberland and Lord Bardolf contrived to escape into Scotland.

The third and last attempt to subvert the government occurred when Northumberland's forces encountered a small body of troops under Sir Thomas Rokeby (otherwise Rockley), the sheriff of Yorkshire, on Bramham Moor, near Tadcaster, with disastrous results (14th February 1408). The Earl was slain, and his "head was streight waies cut off, put on a stake and carried openly through the city of London and set on the bridge." (Dugdale.) Lord Bardolf, though severely wounded, was captured alive; he died, however, soon afterwards, and was there and then politely quartered, according to the etiquette and formalities which statutory law provided for the speedy extinction of traitors and the immediate benefit of the nation. Samples of his anatomy were sent to London, York, Shrewsbury and Lenne, his head being specially reserved for the city of Lincoln. These ghastly "remembrancers" were exhibited publicly upon the town gates, to deter any visiting these places, as well as the inhabitants themselves, from following the example set by the misguided miscreant. It seems highly probable that the enticing proclamation of the leaders of these rebellions, that "whoso would have libertie should take up their armour and followe them," resounded through our streets, and that the insurgent forces were recruited with volunteers from Lenne. Through the earnest entreaty of Avicia, the widow, Bardolf's mangled remains were shortly afterwards removed and decently buried.

The loyal Harcourt announces the defeat of the rebels in a burst of exultation:—

From enemies heaven keep your Majesty
And when they stand against you may they fall
As those that I am come to tell you of
The Earl Northumberland and the Lord Bardolf
With a great power of English and of Scots
Are by the Sheriff of Yorkshire overthrown.

(Shakespeare's *Henry IV.*, part II., act IV., sc. 4.)

CONCESSIONS.

Just a few days prior to his death the callous bishop so far relented as to grant the mayor, Robert de Brunham, "a composition," which was almost a facsimile of the episcopal and mayoral arrangement of 1309. It was designed ostensibly to bring about an amicable settlement of those torturing contentions for which the burgh was becoming notorious, and was supposed to be mutually advantageous. What, however, the crafty bishop proposed to give was in inverse ratio to what he expected to receive (11th August 1406).

To the King rather than the bishop the town was indebted. Henry IV. granted the burgesses

Letters patent, dated at Westminster, 4th October, in the 8th year of his reign (1406), giving licence to certain persons to establish another gild in connection

with St. Margaret's church. (Harrod's statement that the Foundation Charter of the Gild of St. George the Martyr was granted in the reign of Henry VI. is a mistake.) And a charter C. 11, dated at Westminster, 6th March, in the 11th year of his reign (1432). It was a deed of *inspeximus* and confirmation, formally renewing and reaffirming C. 10, which was granted by his predecessor Richard II. in 1410.

A MUNICIPAL LOAN.

Anticipating trouble, Henry IV., it may be remembered, ordered our Corporation to provide a barge or vessel of war. It was well he did so, because he had soon to face not only an insurrection, but an incursion of the Scots. At this juncture, when his resources were severely taxed, the King borrowed from the community at Lenn £333/6/8, for the loan of which he offered certain tallies as security, which were delivered at the Receipt of the Exchequer. In the town's behalf Roger Galyon and Thomas Grey paid the money out of the customs of the port, of which they were the collectors, receiving, of course, a tally from the town (1401).

The King died in 1413, having appointed Thomas Langley, Bishop of Durham and Lord Chancellor, Sir John Pelham, knight, and John Leventhorpe, esquire, executors of his will. Twenty-four years passed, but the outstanding loan was unpaid. Hence on the 25th of June 1425 the Assembly seriously considered the advisability of applying for repayment. The services of our members in Parliament were enlisted. Thomas Burgh and John Copnote therefore suggested that the Corporation should furnish them with a deed of attorney, empowering them to act as the legal representatives of the town in this matter; they also asked for a letter, which might be forwarded to the Bishop of Durham, presumably the acting executor, asking that the outstanding loan might be met. The letter drawn up, according to an enclosed draft, read thus:—

Know all men by these presents, That we John Parmonter, Mayor of Lenn, in the county of Norfolk, and the whole community of the same town, have attorned and put in our place our beloved John Copnote, our true attorney, to ask for and receive, in our name and for us, of the Venerable Father in Christ Thomas Bishop of Durham, Sir John Pelham, knt, and John Leventhorp, esq., the executors named in the testament of Lord Henry late King of England, after the conquest the fourth, [that is, "King Henry the Fourth in his 4th year," according to the minute in the Hall Book] three hundred and thirty and three pounds six shillings and eightpence owed to us by the aforesaid late King for money lent by us for the said King's use, as appears more clearly by a certain tally delivered to us and levied at the Receipt of the Exchequer on Roger Galeon and Thomas Grey, then collectors of customs and subsidies in the aforesaid port of Lenn, on the ninth day of December in the 4th year of the said late King, &c. Dated at Lenn in our Gild Hall on the 25th June 3 Henry VI. (1425).

Whether the proverbial "butter" was ever skilfully extracted from the dog's mouth it would be risky to state; the son, however, could not be expected to pay his father's debts, because, as will be seen anon, he was himself at this time involved in even greater pecuniary difficulties.

BOROUGH ACCOUNTS.

An important change appears in the arrangement of the finances of the town. Accounts are now rendered by the mayor as well as the collector of taxes. Prior to 1402-3, the chamberlains or borough treasurers drew up their accounts conjointly; now a separate account is given by each of the four chamberlains.

A PRIEST OF ST. PANCRAS

named Arreck, who must have been an enthusiastic antiquary, spent eighteen years in searching for the *Life of St. Katherine*. His work in Greece was a failure, but when in Cyprus he unearthed a very old manuscript written (*circa* A.D. 490-7), by Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria, who was the pious spinster's tutor. Though hidden a century, it was in excellent preservation, hence Arreck was enabled to compile therefrom the saint's history in Latin. Capgrave wrote a metrical version of the life of the holy maiden, who was put to death by means of a *wheel*, like that of a chaff-cutter; and from this work we learn that Arreck died at Lenne when Capgrave was a regular here.

* * * * *

Henry IV. was seized with a fit while at his devotions in St. Edmund's chapel at Westminster, and died a few days after (March 20th, 1413). He was interred at Canterbury.

 CHAPTER XV.

The Revolt of the Burgesses.

HENRY OF MONMOUTH, the eldest son of the late King, was crowned as Henry V. the 9th of April 1413.

* * * * *

The social serenity of our burgh was greatly disturbed at the commencement of the 15th century by the antagonistic influence of two wealthy families, headed respectively by John Wentworth and Bartholomew Petipas. These rivals for municipal honours were the cause of "divers dissensions and discords." As powerful potentiores, each had subservient yet faithful adherents. Thus were there two factions, to one of which every inhabitant at least tacitly belonged. Need it be stated that between the Wentworths and Petipases no love was wasted? What one clique suggested the other as vigorously opposed, for no earthly reason save that it originated in the wrong quarter. In comparing the careers of these great magnates, it will be seen that as one luminary paled or sunk below the municipal

horizon, the other burst into civic existence, and, notwithstanding adverse influences, glowed with brighter and brighter effulgence.

John Wentworth.	Bartholomew Petipas.
1391 Member for Lenne	1412 Mayor of Lenne
1400 Mayor of "	1413 " " "
1401 " " "	1426 Member for "
1405 " " "	

The case of Lynn [writes Mrs. A. S. Green] is of singular interest. Nowhere else in England was there a corporation more wealthy, or more formidable from its compact organization and great authority. On the other hand, nowhere else, perhaps, was there a community of "mean people," burgesses and nonburgesses, so prosperous, active and united; sustained as they were in every emergency by the effective protection of their lord the Bishop, who, in his jealousy of the governing class, was forced to become the ally of the subject people, and to make their cause his own. Under these circumstances the conflict between the commons and the plutocrats who ruled over them had some original characteristics, and the problem of the Church and State emerges in a new and subtle form.*

For at least thirty years, from 1404 to 1434, local affairs were irremediably upset by the aggressive plutocrats and their turbulent partisans. The climax was almost reached when Roger Galyon, the nominee of the Petipas party, was for the second time chosen mayor. To achieve this distinction, Galyon threw in his lot with the people—the embryo democracy just struggling into being. In tracing the course of events which led up to a revolt against the squirearchy of Lenne, we will consider—

(1) THE ELECTION OF A MAYOR.

After public notice had been given by the sergeant-at-mace, a meeting was held in the Gild Hall on the 29th August—the Feast of the Decollation (or beheading) of St. John—a month before the expiration of the mayoralty (1411). The mayor for the ensuing year, commencing of course on the 29th of September, was chosen by a committee of twelve. The president or "alderman" of the local Gild of the Holy Trinity, by a kind of prescriptive right, always named the first four of the elective committee. They were invariably, need it be said, of his own social kindred—potentiores to the backbone. The four aristocratic electors followed suit by taking unto themselves four others, and the eight then chose the remaining four. If, however, through any unavoidable cause the alderman were absent, the jurats,† or members of the council, took his place, and, officiating in his stead, named the first quartette.

Now when the time drew near and it was necessary to select some one to take Roger Galyon's place, the burgesses found themselves in a unique predicament. The alderman was absent; this was annoying, but it had assuredly happened before, and in this there was consolation; when, however, the names of the "jurats" were called, there was no reply. How the burgesses stared at each

* Read *Town Life in the Fifteenth Century*, by Mrs. A. S. Green (1894), Vol. II., pp. 409-426.

† Jurats—not jurors; simply burgesses who had been sworn. Latin, *jurat*, he swears or takes an oath.

other in blank dismay! But Roger Galyon was equal to the emergency. Disregarding this palpable insult, he quietly asked the assembly whether it was their will to proceed with the election. Their answer being an affirmative, he next desired *those who were present* to name the first part of the committee. This was readily done, and the other eight members were selected according to the usual custom. The committee thus constituted retired, and after a while announced that they had chosen Roger Galyon for the second time to act as mayor of the burgh of Bishop's Lenne (1411).

An inspection of the Hall Book wherein these minutes are recorded reveals two or three remarkable features. For the *first* time a complete list of those who were present is entered. Of the one hundred and forty-eight some were *non-burgesses*, who had not yet taken up their "freedom," and for the *first* time in the annals of this burgh *non-burgesses* were permitted a voice in municipal matters. It was in sooth "a still small voice" crying in the wilderness of democracy. They could only vote for four—and there their voice apparently ceased; but step by step the influence of the people's nominees was felt until it culminated in the choice of their mayor.

The four-and-twenty councillors were, of course, disgusted with this lowering of the social standard, and indignant with the high-handed policy of Roger Galyon; they lodged an appeal with the privy council, and before long the Mayor received an order to produce the charters of the burgh in court for the determination of the dispute and to justify the course taken.

There was great commotion in the municipal dove-cote, and whisperings of the wrangling spread from the precincts of the Gild Hall to the market of St. Margaret, where idle gossips found unspeakable pleasure in outpouring an exaggerated account of the childish doings of the venerable fathers. Oh shameful sight, for civic birds in their snug little nests to "fall out and chide and fight!" Yet were those potent, grave and reverend signiors no whit worse than Dryden's "unfeathered two-legged things," which centuries afterwards succeeded them.

On Monday the next after the Feast of St. Faith the Virgin Martyr (6th October), a common court was nominated and elected in accordance with the precept of the Mayor and the assent of the Congregation (1411).

(2) A MOMENTOUS JOURNEY.

The deputation chosen to attend the Court at Westminster consisted of Bartholomew Petipas, John Bilneye, William Baret, William Hallyate, John Tilneye junior, James Nichassone, William Palmer and the town chamberlains—John Bucworth and William Walden, each of whom, if so he listed, might be attended by a servant. There were besides John Meryell and Thomas Middleton, with one servant between them, and moreover, William Cook and John Denver, who, without the aid of any domestic acquisition, managed somehow or other "to do for themselves." If the social

status of these representatives be gauged by the servants who accompanied them, it will be consistent to assume that the deputation was made up of members belonging to the three different castes.

Having prudently executed their last wills and testaments, and wisely provided themselves with reliable weapons of defence, and devoutly commended the souls and bodies of those they loved to the safe-keeping of God and the community respectively, these two-and-twenty liege burghers mounted their steeds and trotted boldly to the ford at the Mill Fleet, past Allhallows church and the monastery of the Whitefriars, over the intervening meadows and on to the South Gates, where, after receiving a fervid benediction from the populace thereabout assembled, a start was made upon what was indeed a perilous venture. They had not gone far before they were overtaken by William Walden's servant, but, "the more, the merrier," especially when number constitutes safety.

Their itinerary was precisely the same as the one adopted by the stage coaches of old, before the more recent route through Ely and Cambridge came into vogue.

	Bishop's Lenne.	Miles.		s. d.
Wednesday.	Brandon Ferry	24	dined	7 3
	Newmarket	17½	stayed the night	11 9½
Thursday.	Badburgham (Babraham)	12	breakfasted	4 4
	Barkway	15	dined	7 2
	Ware	13½	stayed the night	10 6½
Friday.	Waltham (Cross)	9½	"baited"	3 0
	London (St. Paul's)	12½		6 2

The deputation arrived in London about noon on Friday, and remained there nine days. On starting they took with them £34 6s. 8d., which was thus made up: £30 13s. 4d. from the town stock, including a donation from Bartholomew Petipas "on the part of eighteen persons on the Mayor's side," and £3 12s. 11d. from John Maseye, one of the town-treasurers. A satisfactory account of the manner in which the money was expended is given in the Hall Book:—

Food, &c.	£	s.	d.
The Saturday next ensuing	5	10	
Wine for our men and for those of the learned in the law of our counsel	3	2	
Cooked food; Sunday next following	7	5	
For little cups, hens (poulets), sauces, candles, water, pepper, saffron and powdered ginger, the same day	8	11½	
For bread, cooked food, oysters and cheese (Saturday following)	6	2	
For bread, beer and firewood; 22 men for 9 days	1	13	2½

Food, &c., <i>continued</i> .						£	s.	d.
For 13 men for food on Sunday	...	...	...	...	...	8	4	
" " supper and wine on Sunday	...	...	...	...	...	2	8	
For ground pepper, saffron and powdered ginger	...	...	...	...	...	2	1½	
For breakfast with our counsel; bread, wine and cooked food	...	...	...	...	...	8	5½	
For two cheeses and wheat (or white bread) for oysters	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	
TRAVELLING, &c.								
For the keeping of 22 horses 9 days, and beds and candles	...	...	...	...	...	4	0	5
For the keeping of 1 horse 17 days at Ware	...	...	...	...	...	3	0	
For crossing Brandon Ferry	...	...	...	...	...	7	4	
In going by water to Westminster, two days	...	...	...	...	...	1	0	
Boat hire to Westminster and food (Monday)	...	...	...	...	...	4	8	
Boat hire to Westminster and Lambeth hythe and wine...	...	...	...	...	...	2	4	
Boat hire to Westminster and sweet wine	...	...	...	...	...	2	1	
To John Denver for riding to London	...	...	...	...	...	6	8	
OTHER ITEMS.								
For a chest in which to keep the evidences...	...	...	...	...	...	0	4	
For writing copies of the different evidences	...	...	...	...	...	3	4	
Charity to poor men by the way	...	...	...	...	...	0	7	

Many legal men were retained on behalf of the mayor and burgesses of Lenne. The list includes:—

Sergts. at Law	{ Richard Norton John Burton William Skrene }	Who subsequently rose to be chief justices of the King's Bench.	
William Lodyngton (afterwards sergeant-at-law and justice of the King's Bench.			
William Cheyne (afterwards chief justice of pleas).			
John Babyngton (afterwards Attorney-general and chief justice of the Exchequer).			
John Franke (afterwards Master of the Rolls and Chancellor-Keeper of the Great Seal).			
William Gascoigne, junior (probably the son of Sir William Gascoigne, chief justice of the King's Bench).			
John Conyngeston,	Martin ———	Robert Paston,	John Alderford,
Averay de Manston,	William Champeneys,	Ralph Walsham,	and others.

John Crosse, of Lenne, instructed the counsel, who were paid as follows:—The three sergeants-at-law received 20s. each, nine 13s. 4d. each, and the rest 6s. 8d. each. The total amount expended in lawyers' fees alone absorbed £35 12s. 5d., that is, £1 6s. 2d. more than the sum with which the deputation started. Gifts and other payments were, moreover, made to these assiduous gentlemen. As for instance:—

£1	0	0	To Richard Norton, sergeant-at-law.
6	8		To Richard, Secretary of the Lord Chancellor.
2	0	0	To the Clerk of the Rolls in Parliament.
1	5	0	For sealing the Exemplification.
3	13	4	For writing " " and for record of same.
14	2½		To William Hallyate, one of the deputation, "a counsel learned in the law, and retained by the Assembly" (Mason), and his servant, for riding from London to Norwich, from thence to Lenne, and again to London.
6	8		For sweet wine for our counsel, and common wine.

(3) THE DECISION OF THE COURT.

After careful consideration it was decided that the Mayor and his plutocratic brethren, as well as the mediocres and inferiorities, some of whom were well-to-do citizens, should submit to the arbitration of 18 inhabitants of the town. Twelve "com-burgesses" were

to represent the recognised grades of society; there were to be four *potentiores*, four *mediocres* and four *inferiores* or freemen of the burgh. The remaining six, also *inferiores*, were nonburgesses, and, what is more surprising, they were to be "strangers," representing an important class who had not enrolled themselves as citizens or freemen. To make this arrangement effective, and for "the faithful fulfilment of the decrees and ordinances of the said eighteen persons," the court insisted that 172 of the inhabitants, whose names are recorded, should be bound to forfeit large sums of money in case of their non-compliance (15 December 1411).

06 BURGESSES:

22 potentiores	...	...	...	...	...	£100	0	0	each
84 mediocres and inferiores or "freemen"	£50	0	0	"

66 NON-BURGESSES:

Ordinary inferiores, or "strangers"	£5	11	2	"
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The "writing of submission" was, indeed, a conciliatory scheme, because *all* grades, from the highest to the lowest, were included, and we are inclined to the belief that each was proportionately represented too.

The signing and witnessing of the obligatory ordinances and decrees of the majority was carried out the 20th of May, and received the assent of the mayor and community the same day, whilst the obligatory bonds were executed by the various individuals concerned on 16th, 18th and 21st of July. When all was in order, the common seal of the town was affixed to each. (15th of December 1411.) The burgesses and nonburgesses having thus agreed to submit to the verdict of the committee, however adverse it might be to their private opinion, nothing remained but for the committee to carefully consider the subject in abeyance. Large committees are generally believed to be unworkable, and thus it proved in this instance; the members were "hindered in coming together and unable to do so." It was thereupon resolved, with the assent of the mayor and the whole community, that the award of the greater part, consisting of at least *ten* persons, should be equally valid and binding as though the whole number had been present (8th April 1412). An agreement having been executed to this effect, the committee met, and shortly afterwards presented their verdict. From their report, we learn how the mayors were in the habit of expending money extravagantly during their term of office, expecting to recoup themselves sooner or later from the burgh exchequer.

(4) THE ARBITRATORS' AWARD

is said to have been determined by the narrow majority of *one*; in the case of eighteen—an even number, *two* seems more reasonable.

(a) The following claims for money alleged to have been spent for the benefit of the community were declared to be unjust, and were therefore disallowed:—

1	Executors of the late Robert Botekesham	Mayor in 1395	£69	2	4½
2	Thomas Watirden	" " 1397	70	15	10
3	John Belletere (? Edmund)	" " 1399	36	18	8
4	John Wentworth	" " 1400	80	10	0
5	Thomas Brigge	" " 1402	122	1	5

(b) They, however, granted a quit-claim to John Brunham, Edmund Belleyettere, Thomas Watirden and to the executors of Robert Botekesham and to John Wentworth of the party of the *potentiores* and formerly mayors in respect to a certain sum of £457 19s. 7d., which sum, in addition to very many others, was spent against the late Bishop Spencer, the aforesaid John Brunham, Edmund Belleyettere, Thomas Watirden, Robert Botekesham and John Wentworth, whilom mayors of the town, from the 1st to the 13th year of Henry IV., “disbursed *without the consent of the aforesaid community*, unjustly and inordinately, to the serious prejudice and extreme depoverishment of the said community.”

(c) It was decided that in future the mayor was to receive a fixed fee of £10 for service rendered to the commonalty during his year of office “in accordance with ancient custom,” and, moreover, any further sum the community, “namely, the *potentiores*, *mediocres* and *inferiores* (being) nonburgesses,” might put aside according to his merits or demerits. The reward for good conduct might not, however, exceed £10.

(d) The mayor was to be personally responsible to the community for all arrears which ought to have been received for the benefit of the community during his mayoralty. He was invested with power to chose a committee of nine persons who were to have authority to deal with the rents accruing to the community. The committee in question was intended to be also representative, in that it was to consist of three *potentiores*, three *mediocres* and three non-burgesses (*inferiores*).

(e) Further, it was “decreed” that the *inferiores* not being burgesses who hitherto had been unjustly deprived of their rights were in future to enjoy the privileges granted to them by virtue of the composition made between the Bishop of Norwich and the community of Lenne. It is not, however, clear whether allusion is here made to the composition of Bishop Salmon (1310), or to that of Bishop Spencer (1406). The subjoined passage is from the earlier document:—

The Meyr also and comonalte befor seid have graunted that all taskes and tallyages unlesful (unlawful) and unresonable grevous which that by the grete men of the towne aforesaid upon the mene peple and the povere (French *pauvre*, poor) to their oppression and hyndryng, ofte tyme they have be (been) putte upon, and by grevous distressyng so vyolently of hem (them) take with owte cause and depauperacion gretly of the towne fro(m) hens forward it shall no more be do(ne), but whan profite or nede aske it resonably and mesurably it should be do(ne), and hove (have) suchie contribuciouns redyly after the faculte myght and power of every man with owte any excepcioun of any persone.

Thomas Fitz-Alan, or Arudel, the Archbishop of Canterbury and Lord Chancellor, made a decree for the confirmation of the ordinance (17th of November 1412), and letters patent embodying the burgesses' decision were issued on the 25th of the same month, but inasmuch as Henry IV. died the March following, his successor issued letters patent of exemplification to the same effect, dated the 10th of April 1413.

Throughout these struggles the strong desire on the part of the democracy to be heard in municipal government is prominent. Long enough had they been ignored by the wealthier classes, and treated merely as providentially provided tax-payers, but now, with Roger Galyon as their leader, they at last obtained recognition, for those who were not burgesses in the sense of having their freedom were in future to share in the management of the burgh in which they lived. A marginal note in the Hall Book says: "Galyon, at his own charge, bravely defended himself and ruled like a mayor indeed." The great interest and appreciation of the people in these matters is conclusive, because when the mayor was next elected no less than four hundred were present in the Gild Hall. Roger Galyon courageously continued the innovation of the previous year. The first four burgesses were chosen by the mayor and community, and not as formerly by the alderman of the Merchants' Gild. It was a day of indescribable excitement, because the baneful influence of the squirearchy was by no means eliminated from the elective body. For twelve weary hours were the members of the committee impaled in the council chamber, whilst the crowd, surging around the chequered gable of the Trinity Hall, grew more and more anxious to glean tidings of the fierce struggle in their behalf. But when the shades of evening absorbed the flecks of rosy light upon St. Margaret's hallowed fane, many "of little faith" turned despairing faces towards the broad Gothic window, and with heavy hearts sought their disconsolate homes, assured the brave champions of liberty were overpowered and that *Might* was once more triumphant. . . . As the clock in the belfry struck ten, the great doors unexpectedly sprung open and the jaded combatants appeared; and then—the maddening voices of those who had patiently watched and waited rent the air, for with them indeed was the victory. *Their* hero—Bartholomew Petipas—was mayor! How they fêted the dear old man and his friend brave Roger Galyon. Again and again they revived their resounding cries, and shouted, as only those who had suffered could shout, until their jubilant rejoicings were heard from the Deucehill to the bellasis at the South Gate, and from the Gannock to Lenne St. Peter beyond the haven.

(5) THE LORD CHANCELLOR'S INTERVENTION.

But the letters patent of Henry V.—patent in that they were open to the perusal of all, in contradistinction with *closed* or private letters—did not pacify the people as was expected, because we find Bartholomew Petipas writing piteous letters to some of his friends and complaining bitterly of John Wentworth and "his adherents and assentaunts" for perversely opposing him in the discharge of his mayoral duties. He besought his friends to acquaint the Bishop with the deplorable state of affairs in Lenne, either verbally or by letter, and he earnestly implored them to solicit his influence in suppressing what would sooner or later result in a serious breach of the peace (1413). Receiving no redress, the writer repeated his complaint next year.

In 1415-6 John Wakering, the Bishop of Norwich, was the recipient of a remarkable communication from "his own humblest tenants and devout bedesmen the Mayor and good men of his town of Lenne Bishopp:"—

We (are) wryten to yow in our symple man'r, preying yow yt (that) Barth. Petipas, Will. Hallyate, Thomas Middleton taylor, Thomas Barrington goldsmyth, Thomas Monethe, Thomas Beckham, John Balders, Thomas Littleport, Thomas Hardell, John Blome, Rich. Baxter, Andrew Fourbe abide out of yo'r (your) towne of lenne unto the tyme of yo'r (in) stalling at Norwich, the whiche schalle not be longe be the grace of God,—atte which tyme we schalle mete with yow & fulliche (fully) declare to yow all man'r of hevynesse ye which yay han (they have) wrought to us and yt to yo'r worschippfull person disclose and fulliche in hye & in lowe, put it in gov'nance of yow and of yo'r counsayll and for truly sire sithen (since) ye tyme yat they wenten out of ye towne of Lenne, of which ye shun (shall) sone be lord of, be ye grace of God stode never in beter reste and pees than it hath done sithen that tyme and yet dothe atte this day, & be yo'r good governance, these persons above wretyn sett an syde, we tryste in God to have reste and pees for ever more in yo'r towne and in our persons ye shal fynd us as lowly tenants as any that (be)long to yow within yo'r lordshippes & wt (with) our bodyes and our goodes, be as lowly to yow worschippful and rev'rend fader in God, we preye ye holy trinite, keep yow body and soule and fulfill your desires as ye can yo'r self devise.

This interesting demonstration of servility was penned the 9th of March, just prior to the installing of Richard Courtenay's successor, which happened on the 31st of the same month. Some of the most aggressive burgesses had, it seems, been driven from the town. The social upheaval in the mean time quite precluded the possibility of electing a mayor in the usual way. Hence in this dilemma, the Lord Chancellor temporarily settled the matter by appointing Thomas Hunt to act in that capacity. The quarrelsome burgesses had sacrificed, for the time being, their right to elect a mayor. This, however, was exceptional, and is the only instance in the history of our burgh.

The new bishop was not apparently disposed to interfere in the dispute, or, if he did, his action was useless; hence Thomas Hunt wrote to John Spencer, "the Viscount de Norfolk," the sheriff of the county, piteously describing "a rysing and a ryot" in the town. From his letter it appears that Thomas Felwell, a goldsmith, was the instigator of the disturbance, and that he was abetted by Thomas Hardell (of whom complaint had already been made in the letter to the bishop), and Thomas Enemethe. The writer refers moreover "to very many of the misdoers resorten and drawn again in counsailes to Bartholomew Petipas in sustenance of his partie." Possibly to induce the Sheriff to espouse the cause of the almost effete potentiores, he offered him a young he-bear as a present. It may therefore be premised that John Spencer was a sportsman, and not averse to the baiting of animals.

PLEDGING "A SACRED HONOUR."

Henry V. resembled his father in that he was often in want of money. Before embarking 30,000 men to besiege Harfleur he did not hesitate to pawn the Crown jewels, for he was then in pecuniary straits (1415). Among other things he pledged a great garnished

circlet of gold—*unum magnum circulum garnisatum*—for 1,000 marks; it weighed four pounds, was estimated to be worth £800, and was richly inlaid (says Mason, quoting the *Fædera*), with 56 balas, rubies of a peach colour (Harrod 54 carbuncles), 40 sapphires, 8 diamonds, and 7 great pearls (Harrod gives 47—a *slight* difference). To the amount, which was wholly raised in Norfolk, our town contributed four-tenths. It has been stated that the King wore this coronet at the famous battle of Agincourt; which, however, must be wrong, because it was surrendered on the 14th of July, and the battle was not fought until the 26th of October.

Mayor, Sheriff and community of Norwich	500 marks	£333 6 8
Mayor and community of Lenne	400 „	£266 13 4
Master Nicholas Somerset *	10 „	£6 13 4
Master William Westacre of Lenne ...	40 <i>℥</i>	£40 0 0
Master William Walton of Lenne ...	20 <i>℥</i>	£20 0 0
1,000 marks		£666 13 4

Neither of the Corporations was anxious to advance money on the security offered. The Mayor of Norwich interviewed Bishop Wakering, Sir John Erpingham, and John Wodehouse, the King's esquire in the city, but his efforts were ineffectual. On the 3rd March, St. Wynwald's Day, it was mentioned at the Congregation at Lenne, that one of their number, Thomas Brygge, was not yet returned from London, where he had, it seems, been sent to make inquiries about the "jewel." He arrived, however, the next Wednesday. A meeting was called, and after hearing his report, three of the jurats were chosen to visit the bishop and John Wodehouse, in order to explain that, by reason of their poverty, they were totally unable to raise the amount required.

On Monday after Palm Sunday, 9th Henry V. (query 3rd Henry V.), the deputation reported that they went to the bishop, at his manor of Thorpe, next Norwich; and, to be brief, no grace or help was to be got from him. He only said that "he wished them joy of such sufficient security for money," and they were silent; but John Wodehouse very honestly and wisely reasoned with the said reverend father, and declared the poverty of the town, but did not prevail; and he pointed out that the money might be raised by chevancy,† to be made by the bishop's authority. This the bishop at once refused. And it was clear, that as to this circlet pledged to Norwich and Lenne, he would not interpose one way or another. Whereupon Thomas Brygge reported to the Hall that the circlet was safe locked up in Norwich; one key being at Lenne. (Harrod.)

An indenture was therefore properly executed between Henry Chicheley, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and John Wakering, the

* This surname is transcribed in various ways: Jeaffreson writes *Somersot*, Harrod *Sconset*, and Mason quoting Rymer, *Sconset*.

† *Chevisance*, an agreement to borrow money; *Chevisauncer*, a usurer, often a great extortioner. Chaucer, in describing the merchant, says:—

"With his bargeines and his *chevisance*,
Forsothe he was a worthy man withalle."
Canterbury Tales.

Keeper of the King's Privy Seal, of the one part, and the several parties above named of the other part. Now in case the circlet were not redeemed by the King, his heirs, or his assigns, "within one year, half a year and a month from the day it was received in pawn," the creditors were empowered to sell the article, and thus recoup themselves, but the surplus, if indeed there were any, was to be refunded to the King or his representatives.

After a lapse of twelve years the circlet was still held by the Corporation of Norwich on behalf of themselves and the other mortgagees, when the Lenne Congregation was called upon to consider a communication from their burgesses in Parliament. Regret was first expressed because the Friars Preachers had cunningly "contrived a certain malicious bill complaining to the King about the community in respect to divers transgressions"; the writers next asked whether on behalf of the town they might take £100 for the money the town advanced in 1415. What a stroke of bad business, to be fined as it were £166 13s. 4d. for impoverishing themselves to do their King a kindness! As our members explained how impossible it was to get more, the Assembly felt at last constrained to accept the offer (17th November 1427). After a while John Wodehouse delivered into the Treasury the circlet pledged so many years since by Henry Chicheley, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and John Waking. The money was accordingly paid into the hands of John Wood (*sic*), whereupon Philip Frank, who must have been a frivolous member of that profound Assembly, stood up and sarcastically inquired whether the money should be received for the use of the community (16th April 1428).

Further, about this time a warrant was given to William Alnewick (who followed Bishop Waking in 1426), the Keeper of the Jewels, to deliver the jewels to the lords, knights and others in the King's expedition, which opened with the siege of Orleans, "in pledge for the payment of a second quarter's wages." (Rymer.)

Now the dates given in regard to this event are superlatively irritating. Compare the statements of three otherwise reliable writers as to when the loan was granted:

1887.	Mr. Jeaffreson	(p. 159)	gives 3rd	Henry VI.	(1425).
1866.	" Harrod	(pp. 105, 107)	" 8-9th	" V.	(1420-2).
1884.	" Mason	(p. 91)	" 3rd	" V.	(1415).

The late Mr. R. H. Mason, who worked independently of the transcripts made by Messrs. Jeaffreson and Harrod, appears to be correct, because the circlet was actually redeemed after *fourteen* years. These discrepancies are, notwithstanding, meritorious rather than unpardonable, because Mr. Jeaffreson himself sagaciously pointed out how erroneously our Assembly Book No. 1 is lettered at the back, and how it is but a collection of more or less imperfect year-books stitched together with insufficient care. (See 11th Report *Hist. MSS. Commission*, part iii., pp. 158-9.)

In this, as in sundry other matters, we are cruelly left to grope a way through the dark, guided at times by the tiniest ray of light. Those lazy brickmakers in Egypt complained because they could

not make bricks without *straw*. What a lame excuse, when the acme in the plastic art is reached by the workman who produces his tale of bricks without *clay*! Surely this is on a par with moulding history without facts. What an alarming tendency there generally is for History to degenerate into Romance immediately the supply of facts decreases. To interpret correctly, and to read between the lines, especially when they are not only defective in themselves, but in some cases decades apart, would circumvent the ingenuity of the most accomplished historiographical clairvoyant. However, in all hazardous interpolations, our clues, microscopic though they be, shall be faithfully recorded, so that in after years, if any enthusiast would presumptuously sweep away our deliberate conclusions (remembering of course how we have carefully discriminated between fact and fiction), we shall not demur so long as the *truth* prevails.

THE GAYWOOD OAK.

At the installation of John Wakering, who succeeded Bishop Courtenay (1415-6), the chamberlains were instructed to send "the reverend father in God" four tuns of wine. This, ordered of William de Hereford, was forthwith despatched. Money was scarce in Lenne; the inhabitants indeed were in no humour for parting with what they could so ill afford. How many applications the merchant made for payment is not apparent, but three years passed and the indebtedness remained. Then the clerk received an urgent request for the money—"lest the matter should reach the ear of the bishop." This the reader may paraphrase: "I have waited patiently long enough; behold the last appeal I shall make; if therefore you fail to pay me the money, I will let the bishop know the wine he received came from burgess Hereford and not from the community." To preserve the honour of the burgh, the merchant was undoubtedly paid (1419-20).

Bishop Wakering was a remarkable man, not undeserving the homage of the town over which he presided; he was a Master in Chancery, Master of the Rolls, and for eight days the Keeper of the Great Seal. He was, moreover, one of the English delegates at the Council of Constance, when "Europe saw for the first time three pontiffs contending for the chair of St. Peter." (Lingard.)

In 1420 John Spicer was chosen mayor. The Saturday following the election the so-called "Bishop's man" was solemnly presented by William Paston, steward of the liberties of Lenne, to the bishop's deputy or steward at Gaywood.* According to custom, sacred promises of fealty to the bishop and the bishop's church were made *under the oak*, otherwise known as "the Oak of Gaywood." This venerable tree was used as a rendezvous for the Court of the Hundred of Freebridge in 1561. It has disappeared, but as late as 1755 a gigantic oak was standing "at the entrance through the rampart on the north side of this (Gaywood) hall." (*Norfolk Tour*; 1795, p. 275.) Inside, for it was hollow, was a

* The same year the Council received an Award from Bishop Wakering, which formally gave effect to his decision respecting the method of electing a Mayor (1420).

table, around which eight or ten people might conveniently seat themselves.*

AUGUST VISITORS.

On the Monday before the nativity of the Blessed Virgin, 1413, John Botiller waited upon the mayor, Bartholomew Petipas, and informed him that his master, Thomas Duke of Clarence, the King's brother, and the Duchess Margaret, the daughter of Thomas Holland, the Earl of Kent, with 300 horse, would arrive in time for supper, and that the distinguished visitors proposed taking up their residence at the monastery of the Augustine Friars. The Assembly, hastily summoned, promptly decided upon presenting the Duke with £20, and his amiable wife with 20 marks, as a small token of the town's esteem. Possibly the duke and his suite were ferried across the river, because the community flocked on Tuesday morning to the Common Staith, where it was agreed that the members of the Corporation, attired in their red official gowns, should réassemble at 3 o'clock in the chapel of St. Nicholas, there and then to make their presentation. Despite the usual amount of vociferous contention among the members of the Congregation, the clerk felt constrained to add a rider to his entry, —that "every-one, after this, proceeded to his home in the patience of Christ."

The duke was unfortunately slain at Beaugé, in Anjou, whilst fighting against the troops of the Dauphin (22nd March 1421). The King therefore thought it expedient to hasten into France; on his way Henry V. entered Lenne, and was also a guest at the Augustine Friary. Now, although the burgesses were smarting under the remembrance of how they had been forced into advancing money upon the King's golden trinket, they met their sovereign with a beatific smile. Their welcome was expressed in exaggerated phrases, and, as if this were not convincing, they implored his acceptance of over £150, (for which read £3,000,) as a slight mark of undying loyalty (9th April 1421).

LETTERS PATENT.

- 1413, April 10th. Exemplification of Letters patent, dated at Westminster 25th November 1412 (Henry IV.).
 1414, May 20th, at Leicester. Inspecimus and confirmation of Letters patent, dated at Westminster 16th March 1410 (Henry IV.).
 1416, June 2nd, at Westminster. Exemplification of a certain instrument for the revocation of divers new ordinances and the réestablishment of the ancient constitutions and customs for the election of officers, &c. (A governing charter.)

* * * * *

Henry V. married Catherine, the daughter of Charles VI. of France, but in the summer following her coronation he died in France during the war against the Dauphin (31st August 1422). His embalmed body, after being conveyed with much pomp to Paris and Rouen, was interred in Westminster Abbey, near the shrine of Edward the Confessor.

* Hundred Courts were also held at Flitcham Burg (a tumulus) and at Fitton Oak, Wiggenhall St. Germans.

CHAPTER XVI.

The Hansa.

THE son of Henry V., an infant barely nine months old, was immediately proclaimed king (1st September 1422), whilst the government was vested in his uncles; Humphrey Plantagenet, the Duke of Gloucester, being appointed regent in England, and John Plantagenet, the Duke of Bedford, on the refusal of the Duke of Burgundy, regent in France. The demented monarch of that country only survived his son-in-law a few weeks, and on his death (21st October) Henry VI. was also proclaimed King of France.

* * * * *

During the Saxon dynasty, every able-bodied member of the community was expected to assist willingly in protecting property and preserving life; and this system continued, with slight modifications, until the establishment of a paid constabulary. Even now a peaceful citizen may be suddenly impressed to aid a policeman in the discharge of his duties. To maintain

THE KING'S PEACE

in the town wherein they dwelt, our forefathers assisted personally, and by paying subsidies they indirectly contributed to insure the King's supremacy, not only upon the high seas, but throughout the whole realm. In mediæval times, if you—presuming, of course, that you are reasonably advanced in years—were waylaid by one or other of the bands of sturdy beggars who roamed about the country, or were violently assaulted when on your way to the gild, the market, or the church, by some sneaking cutpurse, there were then, you will remember, no civilian soldiers in blue uniform standing at the street corners to whom you could appeal for timely help. Nevertheless by means of a well-understood system peace generally prevailed, because by virtue of this mutual arrangement every able-bodied man in the burgh or hundred became for the nonce a member of a kind of reserve police force. Irrespective of social position, every man was bound to provide himself with arms according to his circumstances. No one with impunity might evade the law—neither the substantial freeholder nor the meanest son of the soil; none were exempt save those under fifteen or above sixty years of age. Officers were instructed to call periodically upon every householder, when all weapons—the rude iron-clad stake of the tiller, the rough bill of the thatcher, as well as the sword and spear and richly-plated coat-of-mail of the wealthy merchant, were carefully inspected.

Constables, too, were chosen in every town; their duty being primarily to keep an accurate list of the various members of this important reserve force, and not to hale suspected persons to prison. Every man was bound to obey the constable when summoned to active service, or incur severe penalties. In case of a flagrant breach of the peace, the whole force would be put in motion; the “hue and cry” would be raised, and the criminal chased from place to place with a

dogged earnestness proportionate to the enormity of his offence. There was, then, as must be admitted, a simple yet effective organisation available for the preservation of peace.

The nation at large was in a state of great unrest during the "Wars of the Roses," and our town, although it luckily escaped the ravages of battle, was in this respect no exception. Besides manifold anxieties of a domestic nature arising from the unrelenting contention for supremacy between the mayor and the bishop, and the poignant differences between the burgesses relating to the ascendancy in local government, there was the hourly dread that the burgh might have to participate in the war which was raging at no great distance. Surely these were causes sufficient to upset the serene gravity of any terrestrial city, however imperturbable it might usually be! As far greater precaution was thought necessary, the burgh was divided into nine wards or constabularies,* each being under the supervision of a captain or constable,—words then indeed synonymous, the *captain* of a vessel often being styled "the *constable* of the ship."

(1) WATCH AND WARD.

The respective constables were chosen by twelve, or in some cases by eight, comburgesses, and not by the whole Assembly; the mayor, if needful, giving the casting vote. Before entering upon his onerous duties, the constable-elect was solemnly sworn "to maintain and sustain the king's peace." He pledged himself to see that the janitors faithfully secured the town gates at the right hour, and that the night-watch was regularly on parade as directed by the Statute of Winchester (1285). Any stranger demanding admission during the night was to be placed under arrest until the morning; if the imprudent miscreant attempted to flee, the watchmen were instantly to levy "hue and cry," so that the fugitive might be taken and delivered to the shire-reeve.

Nine so-called aldermen were also selected from the councillors, one of whom was to preside over each constabulary. They were empowered by the Assembly to decide controversies and disagreements of every kind, and by their own persuasive eloquence to induce the lamb to live with the wolf and cajole the kid and leopard into enjoying the same diet. Admitting the possibility, the Assembly notwithstanding acknowledged the thankless difficulty of the task, because it was slyly hinted that any person objecting to this coercive treatment would not be permitted to carry his grievance to either a spiritual or a temporal court without having first obtained a special licence from the mayor. If threatened by any serious insubordination, the aldermen might restore tranquillity by pointing to the campanile or bell-tower, built with the money freely given by their fathers (1432), from which an arousing alarm might at any moment be sounded.†

* The nine *old* wards correspond with the nine constabularies. Although the "South Lenne ward" was subsequently added, Simon Baxter and others were chosen captain and constables of the *Soken*, that is, of South Lenne, to defend the township from the South Gates to the Hundred House. (Henry VI.)

† An alderman presides over each of the three *modern* wards.

↑ In an engraving, *The West Prospect of King's Lynn* (1731), "Sold by Bowles & Son, Black-Horse in Cornhill," two "towers" and a "turret" are represented south and one "tower" north of the Purfleet; they are denoted by the letters I, M, O and P, and being other than ecclesiastical structures, they might have been erected as bell towers.

Owing to inexcusable neglect, the Council determined to fine every captain the sum of 40s. whose ward was not in a state of thorough efficiency within seven days; and every person who exhibited the slightest reluctance in obeying his captain was to pay 3s. 4d. for each offence (1442).

Battles between the Yorkist and Lancastrian factions were fought at Barnard's heath, St. Albans (1455), Blore heath (1459), Northampton (1460), Wakefield (1460), and finally at St. Albans again (17th February 1461), where Queen Margaret defeated the Yorkists under Richard Neville, the Earl of Warwick. She rescued her husband, it is true, but her success was the harbinger of his downfall. Just five days prior to this the military organisation of our town was perfected. The Assembly appointed *two* captains to watch in every ward "for a certain time" (12th February 1461).

(2) THE TWO BURGH CORONERS

played a subsidiary, though no less important, part in sustaining the King's peace. Their election to office was similar to that of the constables, but it was needful for them to be formally certified by the King's bailiff, "or other honest men of the country." Having received a report that some one was unfortunately wounded or slain, the coroner must go at once to the place, and summon four, five or six persons from the same, or, if necessary, adjacent town-ships, to appear before him as witnesses. Then, after the jury had solemnly sworn to record a true verdict, he must inquire whether they knew where the person was killed, and whether it happened in a house or field, etc. If the person were merely wounded, the witnesses were detained until it was clearly established whether the injury was mortal or otherwise. "And if he die the defendant shall be kept. And if he recover health, they shall be attached by four, or five, or six pledges or sureties after, as the wound is great or small. If it be for a main, he shall find no less than four pledges; if it be a small wound two pledges shall suffice. Also, all wounds ought to be viewed, the length, breadth and deepness, and with what weapons and in what part of the body the wound or hurt is, and how many wounds there be and who gave the wounds, all which things must be enrolled in the *Placita Corone* or the Rolls of the Coroner." (Statute, 4th Edward I.)

It was, moreover, the Coroner's duty to make inquiries respecting treasure trove.* Concealment of treasure trove was a misdemeanour at common law, and it is still incumbent upon any one finding treasure to make it known to the Coroner at once.

The only ancient documents of this class the town possesses are the Coroners' Rolls 30th to 33rd years of Edward I., and the Gaol Delivery Roll of the 33rd of Henry VI.

OUR BYE-LAWS IN 1424-5.

A thin vellum quarto of 67 folios, in the keeping of the Corporation, contains much valuable information. It is made up of

* "Treasure trove is where any gold or silver in coin, plate or bullion is found concealed in a house or in the earth or other private place, the owner thereof being unknown, in which case the treasure belongs to the King or his grantee having the franchise of treasure trove." *Chitty on the Prerogative* (1820). This is substantially Coke's definition.

a calendar, various short extracts from the four Gospels, the oaths administered to the different members and officers of the burgh, a list of the ordinances or bye-laws, the fines or penalties enforced for non-compliance with the same, and complete lists of the freemen of the town under each mayoralty from 1440 to 1662. On the fly-leaf is written :—

Mem. This book, evidently the property of the Corporation of Lynn, having, by some unknown means, got into the hands of Mr. Thomas Martin (an antiquary of Norfolk and Suffolk) in or before the year 1748; and afterwards through other private hands into a London bookseller's catalogue (in which it was published for sale in the year 1820), was bought from that catalogue for £4, and restored to the Corporation records in my possession as Town Clerk.

RT. WHINCOP, Town Clerk.

20th October 1820.

The thirteen bye-laws are thus described :—"Ancient laws renewed and other new laws (made) by the Council of the town of Lenne in the time of John Parmonter, Mayor in the 2nd and 3rd years of the reign of Henry VI." (1424-5.) A free translation of the Latin headings may be acceptable.

1. Mandate concerning the gift of holy bread (*panis benedicti*).
2. Punishment of those who as prisoners are brought to the hall.
3. Punishment for those who are sureties (*manu captiores*) of those breaking the liberties of the town.
4. Punishment of butchers selling meat other than in the market on the Sabbath.
5. Punishment of the chamberlains or treasurers who absent themselves from the hall.
6. Mandate to the judges concerning the registration of the fines paid by those taking oaths.
7. Punishment for butchers slaughtering animals in the King's highway (*via regia*).
8. Punishment of irreconcilable burgesses, not having the mayor's licence.
9. Mandate respecting the enrolling and admission of apprentices (to the freedom of the town).
10. Punishment for not being present at John Burghard's obit, and the order in which the twenty-four jurats are to sit, during the principal (feast) days, in the chancel of St. Margaret's church.
11. Punishment for those who are ordered to behave themselves in the hall, but who disobey.
12. Penalty for favouring a person contrary to the liberties of the subject.
13. Punishment of the chamberlains who refuse to carry out the mayor's orders.

It is surprising that these bye-laws contain no regulations respecting the sanitary condition of the town, the paving and lighting of its streets, the maintenance of the poor, nor the repair of the bridges, staiths and public buildings. Commerce is wholly unnoticed, and the crafts and mysteries, with one solitary exception, are severely

ignored. Butchers, it will be observed, were not allowed to slaughter animals from Easter to Michaelmas, in the principal thoroughfare or the King's highway; neither were they to sell their meat on Sundays, except in the market, under pain of forfeiting their freedom. Punishment was to be meted out to those burgesses who refused to submit to the ward-aldermen and failed to obtain the mayor's permission to bring their grievance before a higher tribunal. The first and tenth of these bye-laws, however, deserve more than a passing reference.

(I) HOLY BREAD.

Our Corporation at this period were responsible, not only for the salaries of the clergy, but also for the efficient celebration of divine service; hence there is provision for the equitable assessment of every householder for providing a weekly supply of holy bread, which was given away to the congregations at the Lenne churches. Referring to the Holy Loaf (*panis benedictus*), Dr. Daniel Rock writes:—

As soon as mass had been ended, a loaf of bread was blessed, and then, with a knife very likely set apart for the purpose, distributed among the people who went up and received it from the priest, whose hand they kissed. This holy loaf or *eulogia* was meant to be an emblem of brotherly love and union which ought always to bind Christians together, and its use lasted in England up to the woeful change of religion, and still continues to be kept up in France as well as the Greek church. The wafer was wholly different from the *eulogia*. [*The Church of our Fathers*, Vol. I., p. 135.]

An entry on one of the misplaced leaves of the Assembly-book, No. 1, confirms what appears in the vellum manuscript. From a memorandum headed *Forma Donacionis Panis Benedicti*, a mandate concerning the gift of holy bread, we learn that at a Congregation held the 6th of October 1428, it was decided that all tenements which were leased to farm for 20s. or more a year, and were inhabited, should give *panem benedictum cum candela cerea*, "holy bread and wax candles," even though the tenement in question were intersected by the King's highway.* But if the chief tenement consisted of several distinct tenements under one roof, then the principal should make the necessary contribution; otherwise the tenements annexed to the value of 20s. amongst themselves, so that each of them, if of the yearly rental of 6s. 8d., should give holy bread amongst themselves according to the rate of their farm. And if there were three tenements lying together, the occupiers should give *panem benedictum* in proportion to their rent. But if any refuse to contribute as directed by the bye-law, the common sergeant-at-mace or other officer, at the mandate of the mayor or his lieutenant for the time being, shall enter the tenement and levy distress upon all the goods and chattels, and shall bring the things so taken in distress to the Gild Hall, there to remain until the person or persons who refuse to give bread shall make satisfaction or pay 20s. sterling to the use of the community for the offence committed. These fines were to be strictly reserved for the purchase of holy bread.

* Compare *Norfolk Archaeology* (1864), Vol. VI., p. 231, with *11th Report, Hist. MSS. Com.* (1887), par. iii., p. 161.

The following minute appears 120 years afterwards in the Assembly-book, No. 5 :—

Friday, in the Vigil of Saiuts Peter and Paul, 3rd Edward VI. This day it is agreed and established by Mr. Mayor, aldermen and comen counsaill that Mr. Mayor on Sundaie next conyng shall in recompens of the wyne and breade for the communyon and for the offering, offer and give unto the curat of the church of St. Margaret viij d. for all iij churches, and that every inhabitaunt of this town oon (one) after an othr every Sondaye shall doo likewise as the turn shall come about in manner and forme as heretofore the *Holy Breade Loffe* hath ben yeven, provided allway that yf the hows (house) wherein such inhabitaunt doth inhabit and dwell be not of the value of xx s. yerely or so leaten that then ij or iij of the next shalbe joyned unto hym and to paie porcion lyke towards the charges of the communyon and offering aforesaid (1550).

The sacramental bread, possibly marked as our Good Friday *hot cross(ed)* buns,* and the wine were at one time provided in a similar way.

(2) BURGHARD'S OBIT.

The tenth ordinance directs the townsfolk to accompany the Mayor and Corporation to the church of St. Margaret upon the Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin, 15th of August, in order to pray for the repose of the souls of John Burghard, of Alice his wife, and of Margaret his daughter.

Burghard was a successful merchant, who amassed considerable property in Lenne; besides filling many minor offices, he was mayor in 1326 and again in 1331. Margaret inherited the estate at her father's decease (1379); she, however, granted it to the town conditionally, and appointed her husband, Thomas de Kenyng hale, and three influential neighbours, namely, Thomas Drew (mayor in 1362 and 1368), Geoffrey Tolbooth and Walter de Walsoken, as her executors. They at once entered into a covenant with Thomas Bolekesham (chamberlain in 1345-5) and fifteen other trustworthy persons, who represented the community, concerning John Burghard's estate, which is described in one document as consisting of "fourteen and a half messuages." In this indenture it is, however, thus set forth :—

A messuage and four shops in Stongate, one opposite St. Margaret's Church next Folkard's, three on the west side of Briggate (High Street), five in Mor Lane, one tenement in Grass Market, one in Damgate (Norfolk Street) at corner of Pakker's Lane, twenty shops in Pakker's Lane, two messuages in Webster Row (Broad Street), two next Purfleet and one in Burghard's Lane.†

There was besides an annual income of 53s. 4d. arising from the rents of tenements in Stonegate, Skinners' Row (St. James Street),

* Our "Hot cross buns" were at first made of the dough kneaded for the host, and were marked accordingly. Good Friday buns are said to keep for 12 months without turning mouldy, and some persons still hang up a bun in their houses as a charm against evil. In the Roman belief the host is supposed to be divine, and therefore imperishable.

The cross, however, is not exclusively a Christian symbol, nor did it originate at the crucifixion of Christ. Two crossed buns were found at Herculaneum, similarly marked cakes appear in Grecian sculptures, and the same sacred device was employed by the ancient Egyptians.

† Burghard's Lane, otherwise *Fincham Street*, was in the New Conduit ward, and corresponded with the present New Conduit Street (1580). On the north side there was the "mansion-house" (subsequently a house belonging to the late Mr. William Seppings) of Jeffrey Burghard or Burchard, who married Alice the daughter of Matthew Herlewyn, to whom accrued the *manor of Finchams* in West Winch; hence Fincham Street.

New Conduit was an appellation which referred to the conduit carried over the stone bridge in High Street to the east side of St. Margaret's Church (1581).

Briggate (north part of High Street), Purfleet, Mercers' Row (south part of High Street), Rotten Row, and Damgate.

In the reign of Richard II., the Corporation agreed to the proposed terms; they accepted the property for the community, and entered into a covenant to pay John Burghard's son-in-law £13 6s. 8d. as an annuity, besides £10, the yearly stipend of two chancel priests, who were to officiate in the chancel of St. Margaret at Burghard's obit or "anniversary day" of his death (1379).

To shew their appreciation, the inhabitants were expected to be present at the service. Associated with this bye-law is a strangely digressive clause which insists upon the attendance of the whole Corporation at church on feast days generally. Special permission was accorded the Mayor and Jurats—twenty-four *only*—to sit in the chancel (1424-5).

STRANGERS AND SOJOURNERS.

Several attempts from time to time were made to induce the foreigners living in Lenne, by becoming citizens, to pay their proportion of what was really a "borough rate." On the 1st of April 1430, eight persons appeared before the Assembly, seven of whom were forced to contribute towards the town's expenditure; the eighth, being leprous, was given a fortnight in which to quit the burgh, under a severe penalty of forty shillings. The defaulters, respectable tradesmen, included a beer-brewer, a hardwareman, a cloth-scourer, and two cordwainers, one of whom paid a fine of 10s., whilst the other, luckily "having a wife of great stature," escaped with paying one-sixth. Every alien householder in 1439 was called upon to pay 16 pence, and every alien who was not a householder 6 pence. This was a national tax, and the money thus raised was spent in carrying on the war in France.

From the decrease in the number of those fined, it is clear that the alien population were beginning to throw in their lot with their neighbours the burgesses. When the list of strangers was compiled for the county during the 15th century, the following are given as dwelling in Lenne:—Reginaldus Kascolm, Nicholas Symondson, Simon Johnson, Henricus Godfrey, A. Roberdson, Thomas Herrison, Willielmus van Flotelyn; and in South Lenne, Henricus van Stater. In 1551, nineteen strangers appear on the Burgess Roll, 13 of whom were Dutch, 3 French, 1 Flemish, and 2 Scotch.

MERCANTILE COÖPERATION.

The Hansa, or Hanseatic League, a celebrated trade alliance, derives its name from the old German word *hanse*, which signifies an association for mutual support. Hamburg, Lübeck and Bremen were, in the Middle Ages, vast depositories for the manufactures of Germany and Italy, from whence the northern countries of Europe drew supplies in exchange for their own raw products. The enormous wealth amassed in course of time by this coöperative confederacy excited the envy and rapacity of kings and princes and nobles, who tried to ruin their trade by augmenting the tolls, and devising other unnecessary exactions. Besides pecuniary obstacles, the merchants

were beset by scores of cut-throat adventurers who continually roamed the seas; hence they wisely determined to maintain ships and soldiers expressly to protect themselves in carrying out the commercial enterprises in which they were engaged (1241). A century later as many as eighty-five European towns were enrolled as members of the association, which became so powerful an organisation that their armament defeated the kings of Norway and Denmark (1348); it deposed Magnus, king of Sweden, whose crown was handed to a promising nephew; it equipped 40 ships and 12,000 troops, exclusive of seamen, during the war against Eric IX. of Denmark; and before the close of the same century it compelled our own sovereign, Edward IV., to restore all the property he had injudiciously attempted to withhold from them.

Nowhere was the Hanseatic power so great as in England. Of none of its connections do we possess more ample records. . . . England was one of the first depôts of "the common German merchants" long before these combined under the generic name of Hanseatic. From early days the English Kings had protected these rich foreigners, who helped them out of many a pecuniary difficulty. Indeed they accorded them such privileges and monopolies as could not fail to rouse the jealousy of their own people. . . . Edward I. and his followers extended these prerogatives, for the Plantagenets found the Hanseatic Rothschilds even more useful in aiding their war schemes than the skilful alchemists whom they had summoned to their court, and who knew how to shape the rose noble (the money of the period), out of artificial gold. Then, too, the Hanseatics were considerable creditors, who did not press unduly, and even overlooked a debt if some favour were extended in default of payment. [*The Hansa Towns*, by Helen Zimmern, 1891, pp. 179, 181.]

As a mercantile centre the importance of Bishop's Lenne was early appreciated by observant merchants, for a considerable trade was established between Lenne and certain ports in Norway at a remote period. Rightly has our own town been styled

(1) THE KEY OF NORFOLK,

because the county could only be entered on the west by the road leading through Lenne, which was unquestionably the outlet for the produce of the surrounding district, comprising seven counties. Here was held the largest cattle fair in the kingdom, yet this luxuriant grazing area could not produce sufficient sheep; hence they were driven hither from the moors of Yorkshire, the highlands of Scotland, and the verdant slopes of the Pennine and Cheviot ranges. Enormous quantities of wool, fells, hides, etc., were sent from Lenne every year, and many other remunerative enterprises were conducted with Gascony (south-west France), the Rhine provinces, Zealand (Holland), Germany, North Berne (Bergen in Norway), Prussia, Dacia (Denmark), and the various Hanse ports.

As early as 1271 the German merchants had some sort of a local organisation here, under their Alderman Symon, a citizen of Lenne, of whom we are told that he gave a pledge to the amount of £200 on behalf of some Lübeck merchants (Cunningham). A Latin letter written by Bartholomew, the Norwegian chancellor, and addressed to our mayor, respecting Thurkill and other traders, proves that at Bergen an immigrant colony of Lenne merchants had already settled. In

1284 the King of Norway applied to Edward I. for a renewal of the alliance between the merchants of the two nations; he nevertheless bemoaned the injuries and losses sustained by his traders through the bailiffs of certain English ports, especially from those of Lenne. (Rymer.)

Our merchants were apparently great in their own estimation, and wherever they went unpleasantness was sure to accompany them. In 1389 there were immense differences between the English and the Prussian traders. To appease these growing contentions a commercial embassy, headed by the Lord of Prucia (Prussia), visited Lenne. Now it was arranged that the lord and his suite should be graciously entertained. Sweet are the uses of diplomacy; to soothe the ruffled feelings of the foreigners what could be better than for them to dine with the holy father in God, brave bishop Spencer, to sit cheek-by-jowl with our most honourable mayor, Roger Paxman, of Lathe Street, and to have an agreeable *tête-à-tête* with the magnates of so royal a burgh. What could better tend to ameliorate any vindictive feeling his lordship might cherish against our thoughtless, seafaring townsmen! Elaborate preparations were therefore begun; an ecclesiastical cook and other of the bishop's servants came from Norwich to superintend the repast; but alas! as gods deign not to feast with mortals, even so my lord of Prussia turned his back disdainfully upon the sumptuous tables steaming in the Gild Hall, and hastily set out for London just as the town orchestra, augmented by professional musicians from distant places, began to outpour a most symphonious overture. What marvellous instrumentation! The plaintive murmur of the melodious vielle, the moaning drone of the guttural bagpipe, the shrill phrasing of the talkative clarion, and the throbbing cadence of the emphatic guitar, besides harp, and sackbut, and psaltery, and all other kinds of music, each contributed to enhance the volume of that sensuous, seducing prelude; but the voice of the charmers, though charming never before so harmoniously, could not induce his lordship to prolong his stay. How terrible the disappointment! But the bishop and the mayor exchanged significant glances; the sympathising guests who were present vigorously attacked the tempting viands, and the feast was consummated, without perambulating the highways and hedges. Truly was it a season of exceptional jollification after all, for 40s. is charged for a pipe of Gascon wine, 11s. 8d. for a series of mysterious culinary operations, and 18s. 4d. for ten quarters of oats—not for the guests, but for his lordship's hungry horses.

(2) HOME-RULE ABROAD.

The English merchants staying in parts of Norway, Sweden, Dacia and the Hanse towns were advised by letters patent of the 6th of June 1404 to meet together at some convenient place in order to select governors and to concoct ordinances for their self-government in mercantile affairs, and for the better execution of their important projects the governors were invested with power to punish any English seamen disobeying the merchants' laws. The document, which is

among those relating to our burgh, was probably addressed to the mayor. Henry V., moreover, granted a warrant for the election of an alderman or consul for Denmark and Norway (1417), because Iceland as well as Norway became subject to Denmark (1380). Mackerell gives a copy of the King's warrant, addressed to the Lenne traders. There is evidence that it is not original, but the confirmation of an earlier one.

Ye have an ancient custom [it reads] to have an alderman chosen by election among you to be the ruler or governor of your company in the said countries and to see good rules and order kept among you there, which we woll (will) be content to help and see to be holden for the increasing and augmentation of the commonweal and prosperity of you and all other of our true subjects.

These measures, though well devised, did not allay the friction between the Lenne traders and their rivals of the Hanse. Hence Henry VI. addressed himself to the pro-consuls, consuls, judges, etc., of Eric XIII. the King of Norway, Sweden and Dacia (Eric IX. of Denmark), respecting the sad disagreements between the traders "who were using mercatorially the parts of North Berne" (13th December 1424). Four years later he confirmed the letters patent issued by his father, but his action was ineffectual (20th June 1428). Negotiations to pacify the contentious merchants were again set on foot, when the Assembly selected John Salus to accompany the King's ambassador and John Muriell, who were to interview the King of Scandinavia (1431). An embassy was afterwards despatched to Bruges (Flanders) to remonstrate because of the grievances, damages and other harms the men of Lenne had suffered at the hands of the Dutch Hanse. On this occasion the mayor, Thomas Burgh, was unanimously chosen to represent the town; he was to be accompanied by "two proctours"—Walter Curson, clerk to the mayoralty, and John Bampton, clerk of the commonalty, who respectively guarded the interests of the *potentiores* and *inferiores*. The expenses of the delegates, who were to demand restitution and reformation of "Master Puce" (query—the Lord of Prussia), were to be levied upon the Lenne merchants (1435).

(3) THE STEELYARD AT LENNE.

In 1469 the English quarrelled with the German traders in London, summoned them before the courts, and imposed a fine of £13,520, while members of the steelyard were thrown into prison and the Corporation was nearly broken up. The answer of Bremen, Hamburg and Danzig, was given in a fleet which gathered against England under the leadership of Charles the Bold. But just at this moment came the English revolution by which Edward IV. was driven out of the country, and all the great trading bodies, the Hanseatic League and the Flemish and Dutch Corporations, seeing the danger which threatened their commerce from the new political situation, cast aside all minor quarrels and united to set Edward again on the throne. Such a service demanded a great reward, and in 1474 a treaty was signed at Utrecht by which the Hanse was given back all its earlier privileges, and secured in possession of its Gild

Hall and steelyard in London and its houses in Boston and *Lenne*. (Mrs. A. S. Green.)

There was, in this solemn treaty, one condition which affected our port. It was agreed that the steelyard in London, to its utmost extent, should be confirmed to the German merchants, and not only the one at London, but that at Boston also; and moreover, it was decided that a similar house should be provided near the water-side for their accommodation at *Lenne* (1474). Harrod says the letters patent of 1428 permitted the erection of a warehouse or steelyard at *Lenne*; It seems therefore that their house and yard were merely restored in 1474.

A steelyard was not necessarily a balance with a *steel* arm, but a weighing machine, so-called from the one previously used in the factory or *still-yard* in London; hence the expression "the merchants of the Hanse or still-yards" (*State Papers*). The premises belonging to these foreign traders in *Lenne* may be found by dividing the square plot between College Lane and St. Margaret's Lane into two almost equal parts by an imaginary line running east and west: Thomas Thoresby's two houses with their staiths, etc., occupied the northern half, whilst the Steelyard—a quadrangle with warehouses and staith facing the river, embraced the other half. Probably the two premises were separated by a narrow thoroughfare called *Leaden-hall*, which extended between the church and the foreshore. From the churchwardens' accounts we learn that 60 yards of "the street of the church sid (side) agaynst the *stylyerd*" were mended at a cost of three-halfpence a yard (1591).

There were at this time similar factories at London, York, Hull, Bristol, Ipswich, Norwich, Yarmouth and Boston.

(4) A LIST OF IMPORTS

may be culled from a 14th century poem, *The Libel of English Policie* (1346).

Prussia (Prucia or Spruce).—"High Duchman and Esterlings"—beer, bacon, osmonde (refuse from Swedish pig-iron), copper, bow-staves, steel, wax, pewter ware, greys (*grys*, badger skins), pitch, tar, boards, flex, Coleyne threde, fustian, canvas, carde (the head of the teazel, used in carding), boke-ram, silver plate, wedges of silver, metal, &c.

Spain.—Figs, raisins, wine ("bastard"), licorice, Seville oil, grain, white Castelle soap, wax, iron, wadmall (coarse cloth), goat and kid fells, saffron and quick silver.

Portugal.—Wine, oil, osey (*vin d' Aussay*, a sweet French wine), wax, grain, figs, raisins, honey, cordewain (Cordovan, *i.e.*, goat-skin leather), dates, salt and fish.

Genoa, the "Januays" or Genoese.—Cloth of gold, silk, black pepper, wood ("grete plente"), wool, oil, wood ashes, coton,* roche alum, gold of Jene, &c.

Venice, Venetians and Florentines.—Sweet wines, spicery, grocery ware, drugs, as scammony, spurge ("euforbe"), rhubarb, senna and correctives, monkeys and nicknacks.

* Professor Rogers, in his *History of Agriculture and Prices*, mentions the sale of three-quarters of a pound of cotton, then worth 1/ per lb., as early as 1303. The same year a merchant, Nicholas de Dees, brought to *Lenne* 4 bales of cotton, 1 bale of cotton-thread, 2 bales of sugar in bags, 2 bales of verdigris, 1 bale of Talingfer cinnamon and other spices, 1 bag of tartar (?), 12 lb. of silk and 5 barrels of vinegar. The value of the cargo was estimated at £1000. The cotton thread (*cotton filac*) was used for candle-wicks.

Flanders.—Fine cloth of Ipre, "that named is better than oure is," cloth of Curtryke of all colours (made of English and Spanish wool), flustayne and linen cloth.

Brabant, Zealand and Hainault.—Dyes, as madder and woad,* garlicks, onions and salt-fish.

Ireland (Irelande).—Irish woollen, linen cloth, fish, as salmon, hake and herring, skins and hides, as those of the hart, otter, squirrell, hare, sheep, fox, kid and rabbit.

Iceland (Yselonde).—Stock fish.

Brittany, or Little Britain.—Wine, salt, canvas and creste cloth (fine linen).

Referring to the traders of Brittany, the anonymous poet above referred to exclaims :—

They are the grettest rovers and the grettest thevys,
That have bene in the see many oone yere . . .
In Northfolke coostes and othere places aboutte
And robbed and brente and slayne by many a route.

THE IMPERIAL REVENUE.

The old assessment, fixed as far back as 1334, continued in force, but it became intolerably burdensome owing to the deplorable state into which the country had drifted (1449). The parliament, however, did not institute a reassessment, but, fully aware of the general depression, allowed certain deductions to be made upon the old list. The revenue amounted to rather more than £38,000, and upon this a proportionate deduction of £6,000 was permitted. Norfolk ranked in wealth as the second county in the kingdom in 1341, and as third in 1435. It contributed in 1449 £3,486 14s. 6d., or about one-eleventh of the entire amount, hence the county was entitled to an abatement of one-eleventh of the £6,000, or say about £545. The sum—£543 12s. 4½d., actually granted, was split up, and deductions according to the prosperity of the burghs or townships were allowed. Yarmouth was permitted to go scot free, whilst abatements of ten-seventieths and seven-seventieths were granted respectively to Norwich and Lenne. Hence, whilst Lenne was increasing in wealth and prosperity, Yarmouth, "an impoverished town," was degenerating at a rapid rate. No further alteration of the tax was made; it was finally discontinued in 1623.

ROYAL VISITS.

Henry VI. was no personal stranger. He was in Lenne the second week in Lent, 1434, when special preparations were made for his entertainment. The mayor's motion on this occasion, "that an order should be taken for £100. and that those who had been chosen to assess £30 should assess £100. the £30 being omitted," was adopted. Again, "this devout King, in the course of the solemn pilgrimage he made to the most holy places, received into his favour

* Woad or wad, used in dyeing, has been superseded by indigo. Fourpence was charged upon every ton, and "frayel" (frail, a rush basket; O. French *frail*.) of wad imported, two pence upon half a "frayel" and thus in proportion. *Les customs de la Talboth de Lenne* (1231).

The Trinity Gild moreover charged a toll called "key-age" (quay-age) "for every pipe of wad lying there (upon the quay) beyond a day, one penny and do more for a week" (1343).

Read the following articles by Mr. Charles B. Plowright, M.D. :—"On the Archaeology of Woad;" "On Woad as a Prehistoric Pigment." *Journal of Royal Hort. Society*, Vol. XXVI., parts 1 and 2, pp. 33-40; and "Woad as a Blue Dye, with an Account of its Bibliography" (*Trans. Norfolk and Norwich Naturalists' Society*. Vol. VII., pp. 138-141).

the place of the Hermit Friars of St. Augustine in the town of Lenne." (Capgrave.) It was on this visit that he directed the issue of a grant to the prioress and nuns of Crabhouse, near Wiggshall St. Mary Magdalen, and directed that the mayor's sword should be borne before him (1st August 1446). The next year he was at Norwich on the 29th of August. In 1449 Henry was entertained by Bishop Lybert at the episcopal palace in Norwich, when he perhaps came to Lynn. The Queen, Margaret of Anjou, was at Norwich (1453), and in North Walsham (1455).

LETTERS PATENT.

(A). *To the Community* :—

1423, July 3rd, at Westminster, "by consent of Parliament." Inspeximus and confirmation of letters patent dated at Leicester 20th May 1414 (Henry V.).

1427-8, Letters patent granting the town a Steel-yard.

1441, December 1st, at Westminster. Inspeximus and confirmation of letters patent dated at Leicester 20th May 1414 (Henry V.). It cost 8 marks, two shillings and fourpence.

(B). *To the Gild of the Holy Trinity* :—

1423, July 12th, at Westminster. Pardon and release to the alderman (William Trewe), the brethren and their predecessors.

1441, February 14th, at Westminster. Inspeximus and confirmation of letters patent dated at Beverley 3rd September 1392 (Richard II.).

1448, February 1st, at Westminster. Licence granted to Marmaduke Lumley, Bishop of Carlisle, Sir Thomas Scales (knight) and Imaine his wife, to empower William Goderede to give and assign "Scales' mylle,"—also to Master Adam Gerard (clerk) and Henry Wryght (chaplain) to give and assign two messuages and six acres of land in South Lenne to the Gild.

1456, January 29th, at Westminster. Pardon and release again granted to the alderman and brethren.

(C). *To the Hanse Merchants* :—

1424, December 13th, at Westminster. Exemplification of certain Privy Seal letters addressed to all the Proconsuls, &c., of Eric XIII., "King of Dacia, Norwegia and Swecia," for the settlement of all discord.

1428, June 20th, at Westminster. Inspeximus and confirmation of letters patent the 6th June 1404 (Henry IV.), endowing the English merchants staying in Prussia, Norway, &c., with self-government.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Bishop and the Sword.

PERPLEXING difficulties generally beset those lords and bishops who as feudal patrons were responsible for the king's peace within the burghs in their respective manors. As time advanced, the inhabitants of important towns like Lenne openly expressed their willingness to accept these cares by taking the reins of municipal government into their own hands. In many cases they were anxious even to pay for what they once begged and paid their superiors to befriend them in taking. The Bishop of Norwich, as lord of a large ecclesiastical manor, was, though weary and ill at ease, in no wise desirous of being relieved of his worldly burden. His stubborn conduct was peculiarly annoying, because long ere the struggle for democratic government

began, every town with any pretensions to greatness on the royal demesne had been freely granted the self-same privileges the lord of the manor persisted in withholding from the burgesses of one of the most prosperous towns in the kingdom.

ANTAGONISTIC INFLUENCES.

If the respective powers of the mayor and the bishop be examined, it becomes indisputably patent that the mayor of the bishop's town was an automatic *poupée*, whose movements were skillfully manipulated by his reverence behind the scene. The mayor was therefore irresponsible, you suggest. By no means; his duties might be nominal, but his responsibility to a higher power was terribly real, because he was supposed to administer statutory law impartially. Moreover, on the one side there was a powerful baron, the lord of Rising; on the other, a no less powerful prelate, the bishop of the diocese—who, like rival tradesmen, were both selfishly interested in the commercial prosperity of the town. Besides, there was another social factor, an ever restless democracy, the avowed enemies of the “upper classes.”

If not the actual nominee of the bishop, our mayor was unquestionably in what would now be regarded as a servile condition, in that he was compelled to obtain an episcopal ratification before entering upon his lease of office, which might be terminated at any moment should he fail to render respectful homage to the lord of the manor. The mayor was almost a nonentity—a figure-head and nothing more! The bishop presided not only at the Hall Court, but also at the Court Leet; he usurped also the view of frankpledge, that is, the right to scrutinize the feudal pledges tendered by the inhabitants of the town, by which they became answerable for the good conduct of others. The custody of the burgh was another ecclesiastical, or more correctly, manorial adjunct; hence the mayor had nothing whatever to do with the town defences, except on rare occasions and by special mandate from the king; neither had he power even to close the town gates without permission from the bishop.

To lighten the burden of tallages, the mayor tried to compel the strangers in Lenne to take up the franchise, as was the custom in other places, because, sharing in the advantages derived from living in a free burgh, they ought, as he reasoned, to contribute towards the municipal expenditure. The bishop, however, insisted upon the withdrawal of the mayoral decree; hence those refusing to accept the claims and duties inseparable from true citizenship—an *absolute condition of settlement in Norwich*—could shirk these responsibilities by coming to Lenne. Having a lucrative interest in the Tolbooth, the bishop was supremely anxious to increase the trade of the port, and to do this he encouraged the immigration of wealthy strangers by providing a town where they would be excused paying a “borough rate.”

There were sundry other piercing quills in the mayor's “downy bed of ease,” to which we must briefly refer. The baron of Rising,

defying alike the lord of the manor and the mayor of the town, established a court of his own, and dispensed justice, the quantity of which greatly exceeded the quality. Then, too, the people, oppressed beyond endurance, by the governing body, were so short-sighted as to seek protection from the prelate. At the time of the peasants' insurrection the lower secular clergy unwisely joined the movement, and went about the country declaiming against the tyranny of artificial distinctions and the aggrandisement of the rich. Without in the least intending, the followers of Wycliffe, by their revolt against authority, encouraged the general spirit of lawlessness; the successive steps of which may be traced in the struggle by which our borough, as others were doing, fought its way to self-government and independence. "The question which lay behind all minor struggles was that of the administration of justice in the town,—the question whether it was the mayor or an ecclesiastical officer who should preside in the courts, and whether their profits, fines and forfeitures should go to enrich the treasury of the bishop or of the municipality." (Mrs. A. S. Green.)

MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING.

History, like a skilled teacher, owns to the excusable knack of slyly repeating itself. To this infirmity of old age there ought to be no objection, because, on the authority of Francis Bacon, histories make men wise. Now it will be easily remembered how strongly Bishop Spencer objected to a simple wand being carried before the mayor (1376). Then the town paid heavily for an exhibition of disrespectful temerity, yet were our forefathers stubborn in adhering to what they considered right; instead, therefore, of foregoing so reprehensible a practice, they clung to it with redoubled tenacity. Moreover, about the year 1388 they provided themselves with a highly-polished sword and a scabbard of crimson silk, as a more suitable symbol of mayoral authority. This insigne of office was the source of constant expense, for, whether in active service or not, it required furbishing, which cost 2s. every time. John Algar, the bearer, received five marks a year as salary. Then, too, there were payments extraordinary for providing new "scales," for worsted and silk and velvet used in re-covering the sheath. During the mayoralty of John Couteshall, one of the chamberlains, William Erl by name, was entrusted with the silver zone of the mayor's sword and a silver mace, which were to be re-made, and the next year 2s. 5d. was paid "for a scabbard to the sword of the mayor with goldsmith's work to the same" (1388).

What a painful eyesore was the smart, glittering object to the haughty, pride-inflated bishop! Yet he could scarcely complain, because the awe-inspiring bauble was always borne with religious solemnity *before* him whenever he was in Lenne, and invariably *behind* his vassal the mayor.

When the King visited Lenne in 1446, Thomas Salisbury ventured to explain to His Majesty the degradation to which the mayors of this loyal burgh were forced to submit, in that the insigne of office was always borne behind them, contrary, of course, to the

custom in London, Oxford, and all other good towns in the kingdom. He entreated Henry to permit his successors to have the sword carried before them, because the burgesses at large, who were as leal as any in the country, sincerely felt the slight thereby put upon them. Touched with the earnestness of the appeal, the King, "from his great zeal, love and goodness, and out of his special favour," then and there granted the mayor's request. He forthwith commanded the sword to be carried *before* the mayor in future, *puncto erecto* (with the point upwards), and further warned the swordbearer "to have his hat upon his head,"—not that he was ever likely to place it upon any other member of his body, but to shew how unworthy he was to uncover in the immediate presence of so august a personage. To prevent misgivings, Henry gave the mayor a letter duly setting forth his behest, on parchment, sealed with his private signet, to deliver to Adam Molins, the Bishop of Chichester, the Keeper of the Privy Seal, or his accredited deputy.

On the 5th of August, the exultant Assembly publicly announce the sword will in future be carried as directed by the King. Just four days pass, when their order is strangely repeated (9th August). Was not this owing to the bishop's intervention? Again—it may be after further opposition in the same quarter—a Congregation is convened in the afternoon of the 28th of September. Ah! it is the last day of the burgh-year, hence the hall of the Gild of Corpus Christi is requisitioned for the special meeting, because the town clerk is no doubt busily engaged in the Trinity Hall, administering the customary oaths to the mayor-elect, the new chamberlains and the other officers of the Corporation, whose duties begin on the morrow. At this meeting the previous minutes are confirmed, and then the councillors, turning deaf ears to the bishop's threats, recklessly plunge into greater difficulties. It is agreed to pay the sword-bearer once more a reasonable stipend, and to confer upon him the freedom of the town without exacting the usual fine. To-morrow the most noble and venerable Thomas Salisbury will vacate the mayoral chair, when the sword and the bearer must play a conspicuous part. Let the appointed officer, therefore, hurry off to the Gild Hall, for there is no time to waste, so that he may comply with certain formalities and subscribe to the necessary oath.

Persecution succeeded the pageants of the mayor's day. The bishop, though refraining from storming the town with his men-at-arms, was highly incensed; so that when the Congregation met, there was apparently one item only to engross their consideration,—it was the old threadbare discussion about the method in which the mayor's sword should be carried (4th November). To convince his lordship that the town was in the right, it was thought expedient for the ex-mayor and one of the chamberlains to go to London in order to have the privy seal attached to the King's letter.

There was silence deep as death,
And the boldest held his breath,
For ———

a fortnight. Then the sword-bearer and John Pygott, the new

mayor, strutted boldly up and down the streets of Lenne, past the Steward's Hall and the White Stone House! Dark clouds, however, were gathering in the east, and the silence was ominously oppressive. At length the crashing fury of the storm was heard, and the attractive weapon was prudently concealed. . . . On the 20th of November the councillors were suddenly summoned to the Gild Hall. What! Upon the Sabbath? So vitally important were the issues that our pious forefathers thought themselves justified even in desecrating a holy day.

It was in the end decided that the new mayor, Henry Thoresby, William Hardy, William Wareles and others should immediately set out for London to meet the Bishop—of London? Ah, no; William Lyhart, the lord of Bishop's Lenne, the cause of all their trouble, because he professed to rule not only as feudal lord of the soil, but as guardian of the patrimony of St. Peter, "holding property in trust for a great spiritual corporation, and exercising an authority maintained by formidable sanctions." They soon discovered how easy it was to attain the get-at-able or right side of a king rather than that of a bishop; and when, as was often the case, the secular and spiritual interests clashed, the people had a rough time in their struggle between the upper millstone of the Church and the nether millstone of the Court.

The second deputation returned visibly crestfallen. Hence on Monday the 5th of December, the Council, despite the bitterness of their rebellious feelings, were forced to submit to the inevitable. The minute recites how Thomas Salisbury, at his own instance, desire or request, obtained the consent of Henry VI. for the bearing of the sword as in other places, how a letter with the King's signet was safely delivered to the Bishop of Chichester, and how at the instigation of William Lyhart the King annulled what he had already done. It was indeed a terrible blow to the town, but after the clerk had read the following document, bearing His Majesty's privy seal, there were none who dared to gainsay its meaning:—

By the Kyng. Trusty and welbeloved, We be enfourmed by the Worshipfull Fadir in god the bisshop of Norwich, Lord of the burgh and towne of Lenne, that undre colour of youre suete late made unto us at our beyng there, to have a sword and a mace to be boren byfore the Meire of the said burgh for ye time being, Ye the Meyre of the said borough have a swerd and a mace boren before you, otherewise than was done byfore oure beyng theyre, notwithstanding ye have no lettres patentes of our graunt so for to do the which is ayenst the fourme of oure lawe, and prejudicial to the said Worshipful Fadre in God, and to the Chirche of Norwich as [we] be enfourmed, And who be it that we were wele enclyned to your desire in this behalf, yit it was not, nother is not, oure entent, to prejudice any partie, and namely the Chirche for by oure oth made at oure coronacioun We be bounde to supporte and maynteyn the Chirche and the ryght thereof, And therefore We wol and charge you Meire straitely that all excusacions left ye ceese from hens forward to have any swerde or mace to be bore before you, othewyse than was used before oure beyng there, And We charge you straitely the Commoinalte of ye said borough that ye suffre not the Meire that now is, and that for the time shalbe, to have any swerd or mace to be boren before him in the said borough otherewise than was used also before our last being there. Yeven under oure Privie Seal at Westminster the viij. of November [1446].

Wherefore was the sword carried *behind* the mayor; but three years afterwards the Mayor of Lenne was permitted to bear the sword *before* the King.

Because of the alarming scarcity of silver coins, the people of England petitioned the King to permit none, save his own officers, to carry silver maces either in cities or boroughs (1344). Hence wooden staves tipped with silver or copper became fashionable in civic circles. This order was reinforced ten years later with the assent of Parliament; then were maces of brass, iron, or tin adopted, and in some instances rods of wood tipped with latten, an alloy much like brass.* The mayor's wand was a rod tipped with buck-horn (1376), and the bailiff's mace, probably of wood, was repaired and gilded, at a cost of two shillings (1373-4).

At a later period our town was the happy possessor of another sword,—one probably “made in Germany,” a seal of office, and two large *silver* maces, and two smaller ones. Of the so-called “King John's sword,” which is borne before our chief magistrate at the present time, nothing further need here be said.

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

The constant bickerings among the people of Lenne induced the Assembly to concede certain points, hoping thereby to pacify the most progressive members of a primitive democracy. They were quite willing for the election of the officers of the Corporation to be regulated by the usages in London. The experiment was hardly tried when “grievous discords, strifes, controversies, riots, dissensions and quarrels . . . sprung up and increased amongst the comburgesses and others . . . by reason of certain new ordinances and constitutions concerning and about the election of the mayor and the rest of the jurats, officers and ministers (servants) of the aforesaid town.” The document from whence this quotation is taken minutely describes not only the new method which seemed impracticable, but also the old method with which we are now somewhat familiar. It would be redundant therefore to expatiate upon “the ancient custom,” but there is one point in this descriptive recital which is apparently *new*: the alderman of the Gild of the Trinity nominated the first four of the elective committee, but he was supposed to choose “four more worthy and sufficient of the burgesses *not being of the state and degree of the aforesaid jurats*.” If this be a true exposition of “the ancient custom,” it must have been most wantonly disobeyed for many years.

The committee of twelve, having selected a mayor from the four-and-twenty jurats, then chose four chamberlains or treasurers, the common clerk, the sergeant-at-mace, the constables, the coroners, the janitors, the bellman and the waits or members of the town band, who skilfully extracted soul-animating strains from clumsily-shaped instruments.

* Robert Smith who lived in the Damgate, made certain *latten* gonnes (guns) for the town, which were valued at 28/6 (1452-3). These formidable weapons, mounted on wooden stocks or tillers, occasionally vomited stones or pellets of lead.

And what part did the ordinary people play in these elections? True, they were summoned to attend, as if their presence was indispensable, but they were mere spectators—supernumeraries who formed a picturesque background for the actors posing in front. Instead of sweltering in the crowded room, these “mute inglorious Miltons” had far better have enjoyed their leisure sauntering through the Tenture Pasture, basking upon the sunny Sands of Lenne, breathing the pure air beside the tidal Haven, or counting the Prior’s birds as they popped in and out the Dovecote near St. James’ Chapel.

When the old method, as amended in Roger Galyon’s time, was in vogue, angry disputes arose between the mayor and his friends and certain aspiring burgesses who impudently asserted that they ought to be elected jurats of the burgh. Surely these ignorant plebeians were as devoid of modesty as of manners. This, at least, was the honest opinion of the aristocratic section of the community. Through some indiscoverable medium the lamentable grievances reached the ear of the King, who sagely hinted that the burgesses could better settle these “ancient discords not cordially put to rest” themselves, without any outside interference. Whereupon the Assembly, with “unanimous consent and mere free and unforced free will,” decided upon adopting the ways pursued by the enlightened citizens of London.

(1) A NEW METHOD.

The election of the mayor and other officers of the Corporation was to be yearly, at which time all the inhabitants were to have free access to the Gild Hall, but nobody, under pain of imprisonment, was allowed to take part in the proceedings unless he were a burgess or an official servant of the town. The meeting should then and there nominate *two* jurats or councillors from the present four-and-twenty, or from those who had already risen to the rank of jurats,—not, of course, having been discharged from office through dishonesty or any other disgraceful cause. It was important to remember that those selected should be personally adapted for carrying out the duties of the mayoralty, and that they should belong to “the more discreet, more sufficient and more useful of the community.”

At this juncture the services of a person termed the *prelocutor* were indispensable. He was chosen by a majority of the burgesses on St. Bartholomew’s day, the 24th of August. All burgesses, except jurats, were eligible for this office. The newly-elected prelocutor must be present at the mayoral election, and though chosen possibly by the inferiores, he acted on behalf of the potentiores, carefully scrutinizing the action of the common clerk, and, moreover, watching everything which happened.

When all is in order, the clerk gauges the feeling of the meeting by asking whom of the two already nominated they prefer for their next mayor. Having in the mean time been “firmly sworn,” the clerk and the prelocutor listen patiently to the various suggestions advanced; then, after a while they go round asking every man, beginning with the mayor and his coadjutors first, for whom he is disposed to vote. The answers are written down by the clerk “severally and

secretly" in the presence of the vigilant prelocutor. If the two candidates gain an equal number of votes, the difficulty is solved by counting the mayor's vote as *two* instead of *one*.

In the case of the four chamberlains, the mayor and the jurats, or the greater part of them, select *two* burgesses (other than jurats), whilst the other *two* (other than jurats) are chosen by the burgesses themselves. If during the year a chamberlain die or be removed, a successor is at once chosen by the burgesses—*two* being named and the vote recorded "without fraud," as already described, by the common clerk in the presence of the prelocutor.

If a vacancy arise among the jurats, the burgesses name *two* likely persons *other than jurats*, who must, of course, be "more discreet, faithful and more sufficient, to take the state and degree of jurats to God's praise and the town's advantage and honour." After the votes are carefully taken the result is handed to the remaining twenty-three jurats for their approval! Regardless of the ability and popularity of the candidate, they, and they alone, finally decide whether he shall be raised to their own degree and status. If the jurat-elect be considered socially below the proper standard, he is promptly discarded, and the meeting is asked to nominate *two more*, who must be not merely competent, but, like the others, freemen of the burgh, owning property in the town the rent of which must amount to £5 a year. A retail victualler would be ineligible, because in fixing the assize or price of wine, etc., he might be influenced by private motives. If elected, he must promise to relinquish his business or be "omitted" by the elective jurats. This is no plutocratic caprice, but is clearly set forth in the letters patent, and in this Henry VI. follows an early custom, embodied in an Act of Edward II. In 1388-9 the city gilds objected to vintners and fishmongers taking part in the government of London, on the grounds that, being common victuallers, they were precluded by an ordinance passed in 1378. If, however, a duly elected or *accepted* burgess wished to be excused from serving, a meeting would be called and the reason assigned deliberately considered: if deemed plausible, he would be discharged; if otherwise, he would probably be fined £10, as was the case with Alderman William Pilton (1455).

Respecting the offices of common clerk, sergeant-at-mace, janitors (at the East, the South and the St. Anne's Gate), the bellman and the waits, there was to be an annual nomination by the mayor and jurats immediately after the choosing of the four chamberlains. The forms of oath prescribed for the prelocutor and the town clerk, etc., are given, and the document also sets forth that if either of these servants be proved unfaithful and be duly convicted of infidelity to his oath, he is to forfeit his office as well as the franchise of the town, both of which were never to be regained.

(2) ABANDONED FOR "ANCIENT CUSTOMS."

The new method soon proved objectionable to the inhabitants; it might suit the citizens of London, but it was obnoxious to the burgesses of Lenne. "Observing how immense charges, losses and intolerable damage have arisen through the administration of these

ordinances, and fearing lest they (should) redound to the final destruction and depauperisation, but also the desolation and probable overthrowing of all that town"—the townsfolk addressed a petition to the King praying that the order respecting the adoption of the new-fangled customs might be rescinded, so that they might reestablish the old methods of the burgh, which, though imperfect in themselves, were far superior to those of the metropolis.

Henry V. issued letters patent complying with the request, but "with no intention that by colour of the premises there should be in any respect any derogation from the right of the cathedral church of the Holy Trinity of Norwich, or the Venerable Father and Bishop [John Wakering] of the same place, who was Lord of the town of Lenne."

C 12. Dated at Westminster 2nd June, 4th year of the reign of Henry V. (1416). Termed, as already stated, "letters patents of exemplification of the tenor of a certain instrument for the revocation of divers new ordinances and constitutions, and for the reestablishment of the ancient customs at the election of officers for the town of Bishop's Lenne." It is to all intents and purposes a governing charter.

Was not this a melancholy example of "putting the clock back"? Their great desire at this crisis was not primarily to share in local government, but "to rest happily under the sweetness of peace." For many years, however, their social condition was destined to be otherwise. The London programme was a sad experiment, and now their rest was broken and the sweetness of their day-dreams soured even by ancient customs. Five troublous years rolled slowly by, and the democracy of the burgh were still strangers to the social sweetness so relished in bygone times. At a time when they were again at their wits' end, Bishop Wakering came forward with an opportune proposal, "for the determination and perfect settlement of differences long existing among his sons in Christ and tenants of his town of Lenne."

(3) AN INDENTURE OF AGREEMENT.

To facilitate a better administration of the law, the town had already been divided into nine "constabularies." The astute bishop, who was cognisant of the trend events were taking in other places, suggested that each of the constabularies should choose three burgesses every year (peaceful, law-abiding, competent men must they be, having a tenure in the burgh, but not necessarily in any particular constabulary), who should constitute a committee for the management of the finances of the town. In these property-owning burgesses, elected by the people themselves, should be vested power to fix all taxes and tallages (tenths or fifteenths), also all allowances, whether presents of wine to the bishop or of falcons to the baron; to repair the property belonging to the community, including walls and bridges; to recast the ditches, fleets and watercourses; and generally to decide on all payments. But if in any constabulary there were found a deplorable dearth of discreet and peaceful burgesses, then might the depleted constituency select three from a prolific

constabulary where they abounded. Moreover, if any of "the twenty-seven" proved "less than duly sufficient, discreet and peaceful," the majority of the twenty-four jurats, plus the twenty-seven of lower degree, might paralyse the constabulary whose judgment had been so defective by asking them to amend their choice.

Thus, whilst the *upper house*, consisting of the twenty-four jurats, or aldermen as they may henceforth be called, represented the well-fed, contented section of the community, the members of the Congregation from the various constabularies, or the twenty-seven, constituted a *lower house*, who represented the hungry, grumbling democracy. More than ever was the House divided against itself; nevertheless, Bishop Wakering's commendable proposal when formulated as an indenture of agreement was gladly accepted.*

Devised and established in the interest of municipal peace though they were, the new ordinances and constitutions made matters so much worse, and especially so by rendering quarrels fiercer and spites more rancorous, that in the opinion of the townspeople, or at least in the judgment of the prevailing party of the borough, it was needful to abolish them utterly, in order to recover the town from evils that threatened it with quick destruction. A few years later a better remedy for the insolence of jurats and the passionate discontent of the poorer burgesses and other inferior inhabitants of the town was devised by the Bishop of Norwich, when he established the annually-elected common council of "the twenty-seven" in order that, in respect to taxes for the sovereign and tallages for local charges and necessities, the populace of the nine constabularies should not be left completely at the mercy of the jurats, who were invariably drawn from the overbearing potentiores. If they were not wholly wanting in the virtues, it is manifest from earlier records of the community that the potentiores were not wholly exempt from the failings of a dominant class. (John C. Jeaffreson.)

The specific duties relegated to the two sections of the Assembly may be gathered from

(4) THE SACRAMENT OR OATH,

to which each assented before taking a seat in the administrative chamber.

The *four-and-twenty jurats* (aldermen) pledged themselves—

To be ready and obedient to the mayor when they are reasonably and honestly warned by the sergeant or called by the mayor for the needs of the town; to well and truly advise the mayor and council; to help well and truly, and to make a true assize (or assessment) touching the freehold (property) within this burgh, and truly deem (or judge) between the king and between party and party, when lawfully clepid (or called) thereto, and duly warned by the common sergeant; and honestly deal with their fellows in right *treating* [kindly read "treatment,"] judging and verdict yielding.

The *seven-and-twenty common councilmen*, or councillors, the direct representatives of the people, sincerely promised with their

* Duplicates were written upon the same skin, and were afterwards severed in a wavy, zigzag or serrate manner, so that they necessarily fitted together. Replicates were done in the same way, for although old documents were verbose, yet was the writing squeezed into small compass, so that there could be no difficulty in writing several on one skin.

The deeds with edges so cut were called *indentures*, and the verb "to indent" soon came to imply the making of a deed or compact. Latin *in* into, and *dens*, a tooth. The omission to *indent* a deed was formerly deemed sufficient to invalidate it. But a stop was put to this by a judge of uncommon common sense, who, when this objection was taken to a deed produced in court, remedied the defect himself by cutting a notch or two in the parchment with a penknife.

hand—not their lips, mark you,—upon “the book,” to come to the Gild Hall whenever duly warned, and—

To true counsel give for this town, and for needs that touch this town; to see all taxes, tallages, fifteenths and loans collected; to superintend all reparations—amending of houses, walls (sea-banks), bridges, fleets and ditches in respect to expenses, and to yield a true account after making allowance for charges and discharges, as often as it is necessary.

(5) THE ELECTION OF MEMBERS.

In some towns, whose municipal mechanism was of the simplest order, the selection of members to serve in Parliament was apparently transacted by the leet court or leet jury. In others the process was complex. Many years elapsed ere the deserving commons at Lenne were allowed to interfere when the election of “burgesses in Parliament” was on the municipal agenda. These annual episodes gave a dash of variety and excitement to the grand yet wearying epic of their civil existence; but although the exercise of the local franchise was purely a matter of local arrangement, and rested with those in authority, the masses were then rigorously excluded, and thus indeed it remained “until the cognisance of elections was claimed and recognised as a right and duty of the House of Commons.” (Stubbs.)

The *modus operandi* in Lenne was indeed complex. The mayor, who could always boast of a long potentioric pedigree, named *four* jurats of potentioric descent, who in turn also chose *four* jurats, collateral branches of the same opulent family, who likewise coöpted *four* more. The elective committee consisting of these twelve potentiores ultimately decided who were to represent the enlightened burgesses of the ancient and loyal burgh of Bishop's Lenne in the King's Parliament.

On the 17th of June 1432-3, the Mayor, as usual, named the first quartette, but in this instance he took *two* from among the jurats, henceforth *aldermen*, and *two* from the twenty-seven or *common councillors*. Then the *four*, a half-and-half mixture, chose *four*, who also chose *four*, who collectively elected John Watirden and Thomas Spencer. As far as the method went, it was satisfactory. However, when Richard Frank and Walter Curson won their seats, the mayor wantonly ignored the people's representatives from the constabularies (10th of January 1442). Let us imagine rather than describe the angry altercation which ensued; for the people, in a measure conscious of their power, were not disposed to be snuffed out of existence. In the end the whole Congregation, including of course the aldermanic brotherhood, were apparently constrained to agree to two resolutions:—their members were to receive 2s. each per day, but “no more in any manner” whilst attending to their Parliamentary duties; and it was unanimously agreed “that the mayor for the time being, at the pleasure of his will, shall name for the election of burgesses of Parliament any *four* persons it shall please him to name, that is to say, *two* aldermen and *two* of the common council, being present at the congregations whenever burgesses of this kind shall *in future* be elected for Parliament.”

This seems to have been faithfully observed, because on the 31st of March 1453, the mayor, who named the *twelve* electors, took them from the twenty-four and the twenty-seven; and again on the 31st of July 1455 the elective committee consisted wholly of aldermen and the members of the common council.

CALL TO ARMS.

When the French were about to attack Calais, Henry sent letters to Bristol, Newcastle, Dartmouth, Plymouth, Falmouth, Fowey and *Lenne*, asking the inhabitants to supply shipping—

—To occupy the sea in suche wise as we shall mowe have the rule and gouern-aunce thereof, and withstande the malicious purpose of al oure adversaries and enemyes, to the plesire of God, and to the worshipec and welfare of us and of this oure lande (28th March 1452).

Before bringing this section of the history of Bishop's *Lenne* to a close, it behoves the conscientious chronicler to give a few notes in reference to the

SPORTS AND AMUSEMENTS

of our forefathers. In reviewing the past, it must be frankly admitted that, although there was plenty of trouble, when floods and fires were the rule rather than the exception, when towns and villages were often decimated with the plague, when wars were frequent and food was extremely scarce, and when oppression was the order of the day, our country was truthfully termed "Merry England." Each season ushered in a variety of pastimes, which added brightness to the otherwise dull and monotonous lives of the town labourers as well as the village peasantry. Christmas festivities, May-day revels, the pageants of the oft-recurring saints' days, the mystery plays of the craft-gilds, all tended to lighten the burden of daily toil and to render their lives pleasurable.

(1) The game of *Ball*, either bandy-ball or camp-ball,* the earlier form of football, was played beyond the Deucehill Gate, upon the "sands of *Lenne*," the foreshore of the Newland. On one occasion a dispute arose between the players, and John Godesbirth drew his dagger and fatally wounded Adam the son of Richard Oter of Wells (1305). The culprit fled to the chapel of St. Nicholas for sanctuary, but after nine days, and without formally abjuring the realm, he escaped. Peter the son of Alan of Geywode, however, saw him, and immediately "raised the hue and cry." The murderer was, of course, captured, but as pledges were forthcoming for his future behaviour, he was permitted to go about his business. The

* *Camp-ball*, that is field-ball, is derived from the Latin word *campus*, an open space, a plain or a field. This game was generally played on the Sabbath, in fields adjoining the parish church, the kick-off being administered by the priest from the church-yard.

These camping matches were fought with great violence, which quite eclipsed our modern "Rugby," and often resulted in wounds, broken limbs, and death.

"To this day we hear of *camp* close and *camping* close at Elsing, Hevingham, Mattishall and Fressingfield; of *camping* field at Ashfield Magna; of *camping* ground at Denver; of *camping* land sometimes *londe* at Swallham, Garboldisham, Whissonsett and Needham Market, and of *camping* meadows at Harleston and other places."—Charles Mackie's *Early Football in Norfolk* (1893).

game was probably played, too, in the fields near the Haven, for the Boal was at one time known as *Le Balle* (1455-6).*

(2.) There is sufficient evidence to show that *Tennis*, the fashionable French game, *not* its feeble namesake "lawn tennis," was sometimes played in our burgh, for a fine of threepence was inflicted on "Bryncklowys, a tenyse pleyer" (*circa* Henry IV.).

(3.) *The Baiting of Bulls, Bears and Apes* was not neglected. In a "composition" executed at Eccles, between Bishop Raleigh and Hugh d'Albini, Earl of Arundel (1243), a tax of forty pence was stipulated to be paid at the Tolbooth upon every bear bought and led out of the franchise, but an ape was admitted free of toll. The Mayor of Lenne, you may remember, offered the Sheriff of Norfolk a present, which, when licked into shape, turned out to be a young he-bear (1416). Bruin was sent to London, his fare, 5s. 11d., being defrayed by the town. A "ber man"—one William Gun, is incidentally mentioned (1315).

(4.) *The Joust or Just* was practised here, and possibly the Tournament too, although prohibited by the Pope in 1228. The joust differed from the tournament, because in the latter lances were used, and only two knights could fight at once. Sir Hugh de Hastings came to Lenne to arrange for a display of local prowess at the "justes," and was entertained at a tavern with three shillings' worth of wine (1362). The chamberlains provided "the chief men of the justes" with wine, which cost the enormous sum of £8 10s. Marvel not, therefore, because our champions went forth like giants newly refreshed.

(5.) *Archery*, a favourite pastime with the populace, was greatly encouraged by the government. Edward III. issued a mandate, "that every one strong in body at leisure on holidays should use in their recreations bows and arrows, and learn and exercise the art of shooting, forsaking such vain plays as throwing stones, hand-ball, foot-ball, bandy-ball or cock-fighting, which have no profit in them at all." It is positively indisputable that the three greatest battles in this epoch—Crécy (1346), Poitiers (1356) and Agincourt (1415)—were gained through the undaunted courage of our yeomen and the marvellous skill with which they used their bows and arrows.

Another serious dispute, between the aristocratic and plebeian sections of the inhabitants of Lenne, occurred respecting a narrow strip of land between the town wall (East Gates to the Purfleet) and the fresh-water rivulet branching from the Gaywood river. Here butts had been set up for the practice of archery, but the public were excluded from the enclosure. What a terrific outburst of indignation there was! Why should a select few use the butts, whilst ordinary townsmen were prohibited? What were the people's representatives doing to sit placidly in the Gild Hall whilst their rights were filched

Bole (1465-7), *Boule*-mills (1614), but more recently termed the *World's End*—a common name for an out-of-the-way public house, the door of which was often protected with a spiked hatch to ward off the constables. The sign generally depicted a man and woman walking leisurely together. Beneath was the affectionate distich :—

"I'll go with my friend
To the *WORLD'S END*."

from them in so audacious a manner? They would talk to the seven-and-twenty—and talk to them they did most emphatically, but alas! to no purpose. There was William Fletcher, an expert arrow-maker, and Henry Mason the tailor, and John the osteller, and John Curlew, and Robert Barbour, and his brother William—but they could hardly pin their faith to him, for he was known to be as plastic as potter's clay. There were at least five brave burgesses who were prepared at any risk to fight the people's battle, to test the legality of the case, and settle the question once and for all. Not a whit undaunted, they clambered over the railings, and a rare day's sport they had at the sacred butts. How splendid the flight of Jakke Curlew's arrows, and the Barber's also; but none could approach the skill of the Fletcher, who might, if so he listed, put them each up to a wrinkle or two.

For this flagrant offence Fletcher and his companions were apprehended, and, like good citizens, they quietly submitted. Henry Thoresby, the mayor, as the mouthpiece of the incensed Congregation, preached an impressive homily upon the enormity of their offence, and wound up by fervidly exhorting them not to transgress any more. They listened attentively and retired politely, but ere long they were again enjoying themselves in this potentioric paradise.

When brought before the tribunal a second time for trespass, the Fletcher and his comrades boldly advanced their right to the use of the butts whenever they thought fit, and the Mayor, not knowing what to say, adjourned the trial, promising an answer after the next meeting of the Assembly. In the mean time there was what is described as "a great commotion." The municipal parliament, as previously stated, consisted of two antagonistic parts. As contending sections, each privately retired to discuss the subject, and this from distinct stand-points. The potentiores decided that the commonalty might have the use of the butts till Michaelmas for the payment of four shillings; the elected representatives of the plebeian inhabitants were of opinion that the people were entitled to the privilege free, providing no damage was done to the adjacent ditch, upon which the town was dependent for its supply of fresh water. A remarkable compromise was at last effected; the community were to have easement of the butts until Michaelmas, the proposed payment being carefully abstracted from the town's store, and formally entered as *rent* by the chamberlain (1426-7). This is serious, though funny; wherefore, appreciative reader, it would be iniquitous to laugh.

During the next reign (Edward IV.) all towns were ordered to set up public butts for the use of the people, and every man, no matter how elevated his social position, was commanded to have a bow his own height always ready for use; he was, moreover, to train his children in the art. Under a penalty of one halfpenny (a powerful consideration in those days) everybody was compelled to shoot "up and down" at the butts, not only on Sundays, but feast-days as well.

(6.) *Angling*.—Our earliest treatise upon this taking subject was written by a woman, Dame Juliana Berners,* in the *Book of St.*

* Prioress of Sopwell Nunnery, St. Alban's, the ruins of which are still extant.

Albans, which was printed by Wynkyn de Worde (1496). Prior to this our local records yield an instance of a lady fishing—for fish! Lady Margaret de Beaufort, the daughter of Sir Thomas Nevill, of Hornby (Lancashire), and the wife of Thomas Beaufort, the Lord Chancellor, was known to be a thirsty subject, as most anglers are. When, therefore, her ladyship was fishing at Bawsey pond, the sympathising chamberlains thoughtfully provided nine pints of red wine for her delectation, and like quantities when she was on her way to Wormegay, at Hardwick and Blackburgh hill. Moreover, when she visited Lenne to witness the miracle play, this bibulous nereid, unconscious of the tantalising tortures of “the black list,” consumed (surely not without some slight assistance) four-and-twenty pints (1409-10).

* * * * *

The “Wars of the Roses,” which lasted 30 years, began in this reign; the cause in a measure being the startling incapacity of the King to govern the nation. The Plantagenets, who strove for the supremacy of the world, were soon almost forgotten; their glorious crown, besmirched with blood, was bandied hither and thither by the Yorkists and Lancastrians, whose respective emblems were a *white* and a *red* rose.*

Queen Margaret won the second battle at Barnard’s Heath, near St. Albans (17th February 1461), and rescued her husband, but Edward, Earl of March, the heir of Richard, Duke of York, easily entered the capital. He laid claim to the crown, alleging among other things that Henry was altogether unfit for performing the duties appertaining to the sovereignty of England. The Parliament admitted his pretensions, proscribed Henry VI. and his family, and proclaimed Edward King (4th of March 1461).

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Fugitive King.

WHEN Edward IV. assumed the title of King, his tenure of office was very uncertain, for considerable forces in favour of the Lancastrian branch of his family were still in the field, eager to dispute his right to the throne. It was therefore absolutely incumbent upon him, if he wished to retain his position, to unsheath the sword (1461). Fully realising this, he unhesitatingly engaged in active warfare. The country suffered severely whilst passing through this sanguinary ordeal, in which 12 princes, 200 nobles and 100,000 yeomen and commoners perished. “All we can distinguish with certainty through

* “In the year of our redemption 1399, the 1st of January, King Richard the Second, in this county, near to the town of Harwood, ye river Ouze suddenly stayed her course and divided itself, so that for the space of 3 miles the wonted channell thereof laye dry, to the great amazement of the beholders, and ever since observed as a prodigious token of foreshowing of that great and lamentable division in the kingdom betwixt the families of York and Lancaster which the next year followed and continued the time of 90 whole years (?) together with bloodshed and loss.”—*Map of Bedfordshire* (1610).

the deep cloud which covers this period is a scene of horror and bloodshed, savage manners, arbitrary execution, and treacherous dishonourable conduct in both parties." (Hume.)

* * * * *

Fortunately, however, the civil war did not penetrate into the east of England; yet the inhabitants of Norfolk, in common with other favoured districts, were by no means unmindful of what was going on. There was

GREAT UNREST

in Lenne, though the townsfolk felt the effect in a less degree, but being bitterly antagonistic to the Lancastrians, they were quite willing, should a chance arise, to throw in their lot with the opposing faction. The compilers of local records were reticent, because it was unquestionably diplomatic in those days of strife and carnage for towns to be keenly secretive respecting their political predilections. That the burgesses of Lenne were on the side of the Yorkists will be clear after a while.

A letter, without either date, name or address, written by one of John Paston's sons soon after the accession, gives a vivid picture of what was going on in our immediate neighbourhood. The writer says:—

And also there is, at the castle of Rising and in other two places, made great gathering of people and hiring of harness, and it is well understood they be not to the King ward but rather to the contrary, and for to rob.

A HAZARDOUS "PROGRESS."

On the 19th of June 1469, Edward IV. was at Norwich, and, riding from thence through Hellesdon, he arrived at Walsingham on the 21st. Hearing the King purposed coming to Lenne, great preparations were hurriedly made to accommodate him and his suite. Entering the burgh on the 26th, he was politely entertained by Walter Coney, the mayor. Whether the Queen accompanied him is uncertain; she was, however, in Norwich later in the summer.

Ingulph describes Edward's subsequent journey to Crowland Abbey in these words:—

Having by way of pilgrimage visited Edmund the Martyr (that is, Bury St. Edmund,) the King hastened to the city of Norwich. After this he passed through Walsingham to Lenne, and thence through the town of Wisbech to Dovesdale; whence he rode, attended by two hundred horsemen upon our embankment, and the barriers having been opened and all obstacles removed, at last arrived at Crowland.

Edward IV. was in Norwich in 1474, and in Walsingham in 1482 (September), where he was joined by Lord Howard. On both occasions he visited many places in the county, and possibly came to Lenne. But the most important of the royal visits to our town happened in 1470; it was due to unpardonable offences given to Richard Neville, the Earl of Warwick, subsequently known as the "Kingmaker." On the 1st of May, Edward married the young and beautiful widow of Sir John Grey, better known by her maiden name, Elizabeth Woodville. This marriage incensed the nobility, especially the Earl of Warwick, who had been sent to negotiate a match between

the King and Bona of Savoy, the sister-in-law of Louis XI. It was an unpleasant surprise; but the Earl was still more offended when he learnt that the young King had secretly brought about a marriage treaty between his sister Margaret (whom Warwick had destined for one of the French princes), and the Duke of Burgundy. Annoyed because the King had married one so beneath him in dignity, disgusted with the inordinate favours heaped upon the Queen's relations, and smarting at the thought of having been thus wantonly befooled, Warwick entered into an alliance with Margaret of Anjou, the wife of Henry VI. He sullenly accompanied George Duke of Clarence, who had married his eldest daughter, Isabel Neville, to the court of Louis XI., where he was graciously received, and an accommodation was effected by that wily potentate between these hitherto mortal enemies. By this convention, known as the Treaty of Amboise, it was stipulated that Anne Neville, Warwick's second daughter, should marry Edward, the son of Henry VI., that they should unite their forces to reinstate the deposed King, and that in failure of male issue by the prince, the crown should descend to the Duke of Clarence.

At the time when Edward was putting down a revolt in the north, raised by Lord Fitz-Hugh (Warwick's brother-in-law), the earl and the duke landed without opposition at Dartmouth. The popularity of Warwick was so great that in a few days a prodigious army flocked to his banner. Henry was proclaimed King, and walked from the Tower to St. Paul's with the crown upon his head. Warwick proceeded without delay to Doncaster, where the royal forces were assembled, and Edward, fearing their fidelity, thought it wise to retreat.

Gloucester: Brother, the time and case requireth haste.

King Edward: But whither shall we then?

Lord Hastings: To Lynn, my lord.

(Shakespeare.)

Remembering his friends at Lenne, he determined, in this critical emergency, to test their loyalty. It is affirmed by certain writers that Edward, emulating the example set by his predecessor King John, approached Lenne by crossing the Wash, and good-naturedly permitted the in-coming tide to walk off not only with his baggage, but his money too. Worn threadbare by long service, this locally seductive tradition may be dismissed for what it is worth.

(I) THE KING'S ESCAPE

is thus given in the *Chronicles of Croyland*:—

All the English in the neighbourhood [of Dartmouth] felt compassion, as always is the case, for the exiles, who had just returned, and, not so much joining them as waiting upon them to shew them every attention, increased their force to such a number that the troops of King Edward, for which he was waiting at Doncaster, withdrew from a contest so doubtful in its results. There was then living in the neighbourhood, at his own mansion at Pomfret, John Neville, brother to the Earl of Warwick, who at this time had the title of Marquis of Montague. Although he had sworn fealty to King Edward, still, on hearing of the arrival of his brother, he had recourse to treachery, and entered into a conspiracy the object of which was to seize the King's person by means of a large body of men, which by virtue of the royal proclamation he had levied.

As soon as this reached the King's ears by the secret agency of a spy, he found himself compelled to consult his own safety and that of his followers by a precipitate flight to the port of Bishop's Lenne in Norfolk. Here finding some ships, he caused himself and his followers, nearly two thousand in number, to be conveyed across the sea to Holland, a territory of the Duke of Burgund.—(Ingulph).

About 10 o'clock on Sunday evening the 30th of September, the startled janitor at the South Gates lowered his draw-bridge and raised the heavy portcullis (*port Colyse*) to admit "Lord Edward the Fourth, the late King of England," who was accompanied by the second Earl Rivers (Sir Anthony Woodville, the Queen's brother), Lord Hastings the King's chamberlain, William the second Lord Saye,* Lord Cromwell (Humphrey Bourchier) and many other knights, esquires and valets, with about three thousand men. This statement from the Hall Book (No. II., folio 284) completely nullifies what Hume, who follows Comines, the French courtier, affirms in saying that Edward was attended by a small retinue.

It would be interesting to learn how the authorities coped with such an unexpected influx of visitors at so untimely an hour. This, however, is impossible, because the compilers of our records wisely refrained from saying more than was strictly needful. As zealous adherents of the Yorkists, they did all they could to further Edward's interests, but at the same time they discreetly kept their own counsel, for well enough they knew how their loyalty to one rival made them traitors to the other.

Fully realising the superiority of the forces pitted against him, and the futility of his present prospects, the King stayed in Lenne the next day; and, as no mention respecting the embarkation of his troops is made in the minutes of the Assembly, we are inclined to believe—not without tendering polite apologies to the shade of Father Ingulphus—that Edward temporarily disbanded his followers. During his stay, he judicially interviewed a small coterie who sided with his opponents, and graciously pardoned his old friend Walter Coney, the ex-mayor, Robert Gregory and several others.

In the morning, the Council assembled in the Gild Hall to devise measures for the safety of the town. Only one item of what happened at that momentous gathering is recorded. A special watch, composed of the most vigilant and accredited burgesses, was selected. This the Mayor and his colleagues were justified in doing, because the defences of the burgh had previously been relegated to them.

What an anxious time it was to the inhabitants of Lenne, anticipating, as they must have done, the hourly approach of the renowned Warwick; but no thought had they of abandoning their royal guest and his trusty followers in such a grave dilemma. Would that long, dreary October day never come to an end? The suspense grew almost unendurable. The welcome sound of the curfew was heard at last; lights were never more willingly extinguished, and the overwrought burghers retired to sleep, fitfully dreaming perchance of

* Lord Saye became vice-admiral to the Earl of Warwick; he was slain at Barnet, 14th April 1471.

enemies scaling the walls and exultantly parading the streets, dragging men and women, aye, and children, indiscriminately to prison, to be hung, drawn and quartered in the near future, as traitors to their liege sovereign. And what about the watchmen, in whose hands rested the destiny of a King and the safety of the burgh? How noiselessly they glided up and down the haven in their clumsy barges, afraid lest the plashing of their oars might contribute to the catastrophe they dreaded. With what patient, noiseless steps they paced the rampart and peered with straining eyes through the loop-holes in the gates and battlements.

Verily weeping may endure for a night, but of a surety joy cometh with the morning. The shivering sentinels descend from breezy pinnacle and church tower, exulting in the grand assurance that the Lord of Hosts was indeed on *their* side, for had He not answered their prayers and sent them a night of "gross darkness," so Egyptian in density as to be in sooth a hundred and forty-four times darker than ordinary, every-day darkness.

The long protracted vigil was over; the sun shone brightly, and at an early hour the streets and water-ways by which the little burgh was intersected were thronged by anxious town folk, all eager to expedite the departure of their hard-pressed monarch. All was in readiness by 8 o'clock, when the tide served. Then the fugitive King, with his stanch companions (Lord Cromwell alone excepted), after sincerely thanking the inhabitants for their kindness, and taking the mayor, Edmund Westhorpe, and the burgh officials affectionately by the hand, stepped on board the vessel and set sail for Flanders, whilst the cheering breezes whispered: "God speed, God speed," and the people of Lenne murmured with tears in their eyes: "Farewell, farewell King Edward, until we meet again (2nd October 1470)."

When well out at sea the Lenne vessel was chased by a small fleet belonging to the Hansa, which was then at war with France and England. The King and his friends, however, luckily escaped, and arrived safely in Holland. The statement that Edward fled with such precipitation that he had nothing with him to bestow upon the captain save a sable-lined robe which he could ill afford (Hume), ought to be well shaken before mentally taken.

(2) TRANSPLANTING THE WHITE ROSE.

After an absence of nine months, Edward returned with a small body of troops provided by the Duke of Burgundy. Where the descent upon the coast of England was actually made is a matter of conjecture. Ravenspur in Yorkshire, as well as Lenne and Cromer in Norfolk, have entered the competition, the result of which the reader must decide for himself. Historians generally regard Ravenspur in the Holderness with favour. There seems, however, to be a confusion of events. *Edward IV.* is said to have effected a landing there

* Neither do facts warrant the assertion that Edward "luckily found some ships ready, on board of which he instantly embarked." (Hume's *History of England*, 1812, Vol. III., p. 241.)

(14th of March 1471), but the Duke of Hereford, afterwards *Henry IV.*, under similar circumstances landed his forces at the same place (4th of July 1399). Richards contends that the King landed at Lenne on the 9th March, but Harrod points out, the incident is not even mentioned in the town records. Finally, a writer in the *Norfolk Archaeology* states, the King arrived off Cromer on the 12th, and sent Sir Robert Chamberlain (a Norfolk man), Sir Gilbert Debenham (a Suffolk man), and divers others, to ascertain whether the people in those parts were well affected towards him. As the convoy is said to have steered for Hull, it may be presumed the fickle-minded people of Norfolk had cast aside the white rose and were now foolishly toying with the red.

On this point Hume writes as follows :—

Edward, impatient to take revenge on his enemies and to recover his lost authority, made an attempt to land with his forces, which exceeded not 2,000 men, on the coast of Norfolk, but being there repulsed, he sailed northward, and disembarked at Ravenspur in Yorkshire.

To this shall be appended a further extract from the same authority :—

There is no part of English history since the Conquest, so obscure, so uncertain, so little authentic or consistent, as that of the war between the two Roses.

At the onset Edward met with little success, but his army gradually swelled during the march; he encountered the Lancastrian forces at Barnet, where a most obstinate and bloody battle ensued, and the Earl of Warwick was slain, with ten thousand of his brave followers (14th April). The Yorkists were once more victorious. Edward overtook the heroic Margaret and her French auxiliaries at Tewkesbury (4th of May); and here the Lancastrians were ignominiously defeated. The day following the conqueror's triumphal return to his capital, the corpse of Henry VI. was publicly exhibited at St. Paul's. It was strenuously reported that the deposed monarch died of grief, but sagacious writers who flourished under the next dynasty assert that he was murdered, and several of them attribute the deed to Edward's brother, Richard, Duke of Gloucester (1471). No further attempts were made to unseat the Yorkist King, and his position was rendered more secure by the birth of a son (afterwards Edward V.), in the Sanctuary at Westminster, whither his wife had fled for refuge.

THE REPAYMENT OF A LOAN.

The new governing body sprung at once into popularity, because it was more truly representative. It consisted of twice as many members, and embraced two distinct classes, whereas one only was represented before. In no stinted measure were the demands for which the inhabitants fought at last granted, including greater freedom of trade, a more equitable adjustment of tallages, and seats in the council chamber for those elected by the constabularies.

A further instance of the recognition the humblest were receiving occurred at the repayment of a loan. When money was needed, it

was borrowed either from the Gild of the Holy Trinity or from private individuals, without any formal application to a Local Government Board. In 1363 our town was indebted to divers burgesses the sum of £38 14s. 4d., which had been borrowed in the name of the community, and was no doubt expended in strengthening and increasing the town defences. To John Martyn and his associates a further sum of £6 was owing for money spent in defraying the wages of "subordinate persons" or workmen. As there was £8 in the *scrinium* or town money-box, it was thought advisable to tax the inhabitants to raise the necessary £36. For this purpose an impartial assessment committee was chosen, but the manner of its operation is omitted. Nevertheless, a complete list of those who served is given. Of the eighteen burgesses, six belonged to the "number of the twenty-four" (*potentiores*), an equal number were from the common council (*mediocres*), and the remaining six were *de communitate*, that is "of the community." Here we find the lowest and least influential class taking a share in assessing a tax for the repayment of a loan (11th February 1463).

A VAGUE TRANSACTION.

In 1461-2 John Burbage handed to the chamberlains certain deeds and a book (a valuable asset belonging to the late John Asseburne), to be by them deposited in the town coffer, but whether as security for the repayment of money or merely for safe custody is not apparent. The "charters," as they were called, related to tenements belonging to the following deceased burgesses: John Curson, of Baxter Rowe (Tower Street); John Flete, of Brigge Gate (High Street); and John Massingham, the brewer, of Damgate (Norfolk Street).

John Burbage was well versed in law; he was recorder in 1476, and probably much earlier. After the receipt of these documents, he was sent to consult with John Fyncham "on divers matters" in which the community was interested. As eightpence only was charged for the hire of two horses, his destination could be at no great distance.

Prior to this we find the burgh indebted to the Gild of the Holy Trinity the sum of £8, for money advanced by William Waterden and *John Curson* (1409). Of John Curson little can be gleaned; he seemed to belong to a wealthy family; beyond this we cannot go. William Waterden, as a mediocre, was bound in a sum of £50 when the townsmen revolted (1413); he served on the committee appointed to elect the burgesses in Parliament (1426 and 1433); he acted as scabin or treasurer (1423), was entrusted with a silver-gilt cup and cover weighing 36½ ounces, belonging to the Merchants' Gild (1430), and he rose to be an alderman (1433).

Later Burbage was sent to London by the Assembly (1474), during the Hilary term (expenses 39s. 2d.), and again the next year, when he was accompanied by William Nicholasson (part payment 40s.).

Despite the failure of 1482, another equally unsuccessful attempt was made during this reign to do away with the bishop's exclusive right to preside over

THE LEET AND HUSTINGS COURTS.*

Leet is really a contraction for "the Court Leet and View of Frank-pledge"; it is also applied to the *district* subject to the jurisdiction of this particular Court. Under the system introduced or perfected by King Alfred, all free male residents above 12 years of age were enrolled and divided into *decennaries*, made up of *ten* men, who were jointly responsible for the good conduct of each other. The one chosen as president or superintendent of each batch was known as the chief-pledge, the frank-pledge, or the headborough. The different decennaries were bound to assemble at stated times to consider the adequacy of their military defences, to repress offences against the King's peace, to enforce the removal of public nuisances, to inflict punishments according to law, and to exercise the functions of the police with regard to criminal delinquents. When summoned, every one was compelled to appear before the chief-pledge either personally or by proxy. The chief was accompanied by four good and lawful men, or *affeerors*, whose duty was to determine what fines were to be inflicted.

The form of oath administered to the chief-pledge at Lenne runs thus:—"Sir, ye shall truly and duly inquire of all manner of articles that belong to the *leet*, and not spare for love nor hate, but truly present, after ye have truly inquired; so help you God at the holy doom." To the affeerors (Anglo-Norman *affeuror*, to tax or assess), the four who attended with each chief-pledge, the following sacrament or oath was administered:—"Sirs, ye shall duly lay this leet that the headboroughs have presented and truly upon your discretions 'officially fix the fine' (*affeeren*) after their presentment, not sparing for love nor for hate; so help ye God at the holy doom."

The words *leet* and *lath* are derivatives from the Anglo-Saxon *lathian* or *gelathian*, to assemble, and are both used to denote places where the freemen gathered together to transact business at the Court Leet. There are at the present time five *laths* or divisions, similar to hundreds (originally ten decennaries), in Kent.†

At the Hustings Court (Scandinavian *hus*, a house, and *thing*, an assembly), deeds were enrolled, outlawries sued out, and replevins and writs of error determined. This court, which dates at least from the beginning of the 11th century, had exclusive functions for the recovery of land.

* For a list of the town's Leet Rolls, Headboroughs' Books and Husting Court Rolls, see 11th *Report Hist. MSS. Com.* (1887), pp. 210-211.

Until the middle of the 19th century, Nelson Street was *Lath* or *Lathe* Street, a name often spelt according to the caprice of the writer; for example, *Lathe* (1535), *Luth* (1645), *Lay* (1809), and *Ley* (1845), all variants of the original *Lath*. Robert the Mayor (1375) was distinguished from other mayoral Roberts of whom there was no dearth, by being surnamed *Atte Lath* (at the *Lath* or *Leet*). Doubtless he dwelt where the *folk-mote* or *leet* assembled. Thomas *Lathe*, buried in Stradsett Church (1418), was a great favourite of Henry IV., who bestowed upon him forfeited lands and houses in South Lenne.

The result of this movement was the issue of letters patent, dated at Westminster 6th of December, 13th year of this reign (1473), granting exemplification and inspeximus of—

- | | |
|--|-------------|
| (a). Letters patent, Porchester, 24 June, 1346. | } Edw. III. |
| (b). A brief patent, Windsor, 6 July, 1346. | |
| (c). A brief patent, Westminster, 20 August, 1346. | |

A charter was obtained the next year.

C. 13; dated at Westminster, 16th July, 14th year of his reign (1474) confirming—

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|--|
| (a). Charter (C. 10), Westminster, 9th February, 1377. (Richard II.) |
| (b). Letters patent, 14th May, 1377-8. (Edw. III.) |
| (c). „ „ Walton, 10th July, 1318. (Edw. II.) |

—and granting to the mayor and burgesses the custody of the town against hostile attacks by aliens, etc., the power to assess subsidies for the defence of the burgh and to distrain for the payment of the same; reservation being made of all rights pertaining to the Bishop of Norwich and his successors.

Other letters patent, dated at Westminster 16th December, 1st year of this reign (1461), were issued, confirming letters patent of Henry IV. (1406), and granting licence to certain persons to establish the Gild of St. George in connection with the church of St. Margaret.

BURGESSES IN PARLIAMENT.

At the election in 1467, the elective committee consisted of six potentiores and an equal number of the secondary classes. The mayor, Ralph Geyton, chose

- | | |
|-------------------------|-------------|
| four viz., two aldermen | } who chose |
| two common-council men | |
| four viz., two aldermen | } who chose |
| two common-council men | |
| four viz., two aldermen | |
| two common-council men | |

Hence, through the ward or constabulary members, the people had now an indirect interest in parliamentary elections.

The members having discharged their parliamentary duties, met the burgesses in the Gild Hall, “declared the acts of Parliament,” namely, “certain acts in writing and certain by word of mouth,” and received their pay.

During the first year of this reign, the borough was favoured with the presence of several distinguished guests, all “graced with polished manners and fine sense,” which considerably swelled the chamberlains’ disbursements. Prominently appear the names of

LORD AND LADY DE SCALES.

As early as the 12th century Middleton became the principal seat of this illustrious family, through the marriage of Roger de Scales (a descendant of Harlewin de Scalariis, Lord of Waddon, in Cambridgeshire) with Muriel, the daughter and coheiress of Jeffrey de Lisewis. Here the family settled, and, owning much property in the vicinity, wielded almost limitless power. Upon the site of the Castle, which for many years was the chief seat of the Scales, “the Towers” were subsequently built.

Be it remarked *inter alia*, that Robert, the eldest son of Robert the 6th Lord Scales, succeeded his father as the 7th Lord de Scales (1402), and dying without issue (1418), the estates reverted to his brother Thomas, who also resided in Norfolk.* He was one whose factious disputes occasioned a visit from the Duke of Norfolk (1452). He died in 1460-1. His son Thomas is believed to have died a minor; his daughter Elizabeth was, however, twice married: first to Henry Bouchier, the second son of Henry, Earl of Essex; and secondly to the Queen's brother Anthony Woodville, who was the 9th Lord Scales by virtue of his wife. In 1469 he became Lord Rivers.

Grossly impolitic it would have been for any town to have slighted such important neighbours; hence as soon as Lord Anthony entered into the possession of the estate at "Middelton," the Assembly voted Lady Elizabeth a congratulatory present, which cost *summa totalis* seven shillings, including as it did six flagons of red and sweet wine (1461-2). Later in the year, Lord Scales visited Lenne for the first time, and was soon drinking wine in the house of Arnulph Tixonye, an hostelry to which the mayor and his friends resorted. Mindful of her ladyship, the Assembly sent two flagons and one bottle of red and two flagons of sweet wine to the Whitefriars' monastery, where she was staying.

After a while Lord Scales left the town and "rode to the King" (1461-2). It seems indeed probable that the King was in Lenne this year, and that, attended by a princely retinue, he witnessed the annual spectacular miracle play performed at the Feast of Corpus Christi. Seldom did our old nobility travel unattended by their minstrels; and payments we find were made to the *King's minstrels*, as well as to those of Humphrey Bouchier the Lord de Cromwell, Richard Neville the Earl of Warwick, Sir John Howard the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Scales and other illustrious persons. Rewards, too, were given to a sergeant-at-arms, the bearer of a message from the King, and to another of His Majesty's servants, who brought a letter to the mayor, asking him to provide a supply of wheat. Wine was purchased to allay the thirst of William Fitz-Alan, the Lord Arundel; Sir William Langestrother, the master of Carbrooke in Norfolk, and one of the famous Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, besides the "dearest dear" wife of John Twier, who was a great favourite. The mayor and the sword were actually trotted out on this auspicious occasion, and the preparatory cleaning—of the sword, not the mayor—cost four pence, whilst eighty pence was spent in covering the scabbard thereof with "cremesyne velvett."

The Duke of Norfolk and Lord Scales were not wholly bent on pleasure, if reliance be placed on the *Paston Letters*. "Sir John

* Carvings of the arms of Robert de Scales, (gules, six escallop shells, argent) and those of Robert Ufford, the Earl of Suffolk (sable, cross engrailed, or) whose daughter Catherine married Robert de Scales, may be seen in the chancel of St. Margaret's church. Though public benefactors, the "good" they did, in many instances, is "interrred with their bones."

The scallop, a frequent bearing on escutcheons, intimates that the bearer or his ancestors had undertaken some long sea voyage or been a crusader.

Howard is come home," says the writer (he had been engaged in the war in Brittany, 1462), "and it is said that the Lord Scales and he have a commission to inquire why they of this county came not hastilier up after they were sent for." Were there any delinquents in Lenne? For the honour of the burgh, we trow not.

OUR VICTUALLERS.

Monasteries as places of accommodation and entertainment were only accessible to the very rich and the very poor. The first were tolerated, because as "paying guests," they augmented the friars' income by gifts and endowments. The squalid wayside taverns were too utterly wretched as abodes for persons of respectability and high social standing, hence the absolute necessity of not closing the monastic doors against them. The poor gained entrance through Christian charity alone, for the cheapest hostelries were far too expensive for their flaccid purses. Besides, inns were then by no means common, and knights were often constrained to sleep in barns and outhouses with their horses. They—the houses—not the knights—were known by their long projecting poles, at the end of which was a tuft of small branches. Believing in the proverb that "Good wine needs no bush," the English discontinued a practice that is still in vogue in Belgian villages. An idea of the exorbitant charges to which travellers submitted may be formed by carefully re-reading the expenses of the deputation to London (1411).

Besides the few decent and necessary hostelries to which we might have invited the less fastidious of our weary readers, there were, we blush to own, several taverns most infamously famous. The flagrant reputation of those frequenting these houses caused the Congregation much uneasiness. The rank Augean stables wanted a thorough cleansing, and Messrs. Caus and Company were not the men to shirk the Herculean task. Not only did they pass resolutions which were unusually drastic, but they instructed the common sergeant to make public proclamation for the enlightenment of the benighted dwellers in this wicked town, so that the taverner, who never heard the curfew and whose doors stood open at "unsealable" hours, and the habitual tippler, whose maudlin songs disturbed the slumber of more respectable burgesses, might have no excuse, if so be they were detected.

Be it therefore known to all and sundry, that the will and intention of the Congregation is to clear the town of drunken prowlers and common tapsters, to wit "misgoverned women." Henceforth a master employing such an one is liable to a fine of forty shillings for every offence, as is also the landlord who harbours such a tenant after friendly admonition from the mayor. Moreover, to stop profane trading, the Congregation ordains that during harvest and in cases of unquestionable need the wine taverners may sell meat and victuals upon the Sabbath; but if the butcher, the baker or the candlestick-maker venture to supply even strangers whose credentials are unimpeachable, they shall each and all be fined eighty pence (30th October 1465).

During this period the names of two or three inns are mentioned:—

(1) The *Bull*, in the Chequer ward, occupied the site of what has within a few years past been rechristened the *Earl of Beaconsfield* tavern, High Street. It bore a *bull* as a sign, and was assessed at £10 in 1752. Here Lord Thomas de Scales stayed when he examined Master William Leech, otherwise known as "*le p'clour*," or robber (1457-8), as also did John de la Pole the Duke of Suffolk (1474-5).

In the *Household and Privy Purse Accounts of the Le Stranges of Hunstanton* two entries relate to this hostelry:—"Itm p'd to my host of the Bull at Lyn by the hands of the forsayd Robt. for a cagg of els, v s . . . the xvij daye of Februarye for xxvj dosen candle, xxxijs. vj d. (1533-4)."

(2) The *Bell* was in the Kettlewell ward. The sergeant-at-arms was entertained here when he was the bearer of a writ; a charge of 4s. 7d. for "horsemeat" was entailed (1446-7). John Cooper was "the innkeeper" in 1599, and Edward Kynton supplied "muskedyne" for the communion in 1639. The house was assessed at £2 13s. 4d. in 1752. The old sign of the *Bell* remained in Norfolk Street not many years since.

(3) The *Swan* may be located in the Grassmarket, where an assault was committed, as given in the Gaol Delivery Rolls (1454-4).

MUNICIPAL WINE-BIBBING.

At times our records resemble a vintner's account more than anything else, yet many of the entries are justifiable. The expenditure was an investment, which was supposed to yield in some shape or other a good return. Not only was wine given to John de la Pole, the Duke of Suffolk, but to Sir Robert Wyngefeld the mayor presented *uno vase vini del Riene* (1473-4). Surely no burgess would be so captiously inclined as to object to a friend (who, by-the-bye, was the Controller of the Royal Household and a Knight of the Shire for the county of Norfolk), imbibing "a deep, deep draught of good Rhine wine," even though it cost the community thirty shillings, five of which was paid for the carriage to "Harley," or East Harling. Sir Robert Wyngefeld, or Wingfield (our forefathers and foremothers never displayed greater ingenuity than when spelling surnames), married the widowed daughter of Sir Robert Harling, and now proposed spending a while with his newly-adopted father-in-law. That magnificent specimen of mediæval art, the east window in the parish church at East Harling, perpetuates the lineaments of Sir Robert, who died—and we cannot disown it—*after* drinking the alcoholic beverage sent by the well-disposed, though short-sighted folk of Lenne (1480).

Other instances of wine-bibbing occurred when William Caus, the mayor-elect, presented himself at Gaywood before accepting the custody of the town (1464); * when, as a duly installed Mayor, he, with

* In 1688-9 the chapel-reeves of St. Nicholas paid "to Grace Smyth 3/ for two quarts of Clarrett at Gaywood Cort." Was not this "a custom more honour'd in the breach than the observance"?

his brethren, went about "to see the tenements of the community," in order to abate nuisances and check encroachments; when Lord Cromwell passed through the burgh (1461-2); and when on the 13th day of December the Feast of the Virgin St. Lucy was celebrated, possibly by a miracle-play, at Middleton (1465).

This deservedly celebrated maiden, the patron saint of Syracuse, was sore distressed because of a nobleman who was enraptured, if not mesmerised, by the amazing brilliancy of her eyes. Without hesitation Lucy tore them from their sockets and gave them to him, saying: "Now let me live to God." Sequel—heaven restored her eyesight; the rejected *lover* thrust a sword through her neck because she lacked faith in Christ, and the virgin died. Lucy is represented in mediæval paintings as waving a palm-branch and bearing a platter on which are two infatuating eyes. Other accounts attribute her martyrdom to the effects of red-hot pincers (A.D. 305).

ALDERMANCY.

Each of the nine unequal areas into which the town was divided for the advantages of local government was under the control of a superior officer, who was known as the captain or constable; he was responsible for the maintenance of peace in his own district. At this time many of the townsfolk were dissatisfied and rebellious. To help these worthy officials, who were almost driven to desperation, the Congregation decided to appoint coadjutants from the influential "four-and-twenty" of the upper house. Nine jurats were chosen, some perhaps of whom were infants in the discriminating eye of the law, yet were they all to be henceforth dubbed *Aldermen* (eldermen). Every

(1) WARD ALDERMAN

was to work in conjunction with his own captain, their sole object being to quell disturbances and to pacify the riotous. They were—and in this they ought to be sincerely pitied—to listen patiently to all controversies and debates, and to speak a word in due season; moreover, the effect of this magical word must "reduce" the raging disputants "to peace," rather than pieces as some deserved. Realising, perhaps, the truth subsequently expressed by Butler—

He that complies against his will
Is of his own opinion still,

the Congregation earnestly besought the unruly to submit to the judgment of the aldermen and constables, but, anticipating difficulties, and, like the war-horse, "scenting the battle from afar off, the thunder of the captains and the shouting," they determined to debar the recalcitrant from taking their grievances to any court. To the spiritual as well as the temporal court their pleas should be inadmissible unless the applicant were armed with a special licence from the Mayor (12th March 1479). Ten years prior to this, when a constable was wanted to fill the place of John Blanche, an elective committee of eight was thought sufficient. The first four were chosen by the Mayor, and the complement by those first selected. Two,

however, in each quartette, be it noted, belonged to the *Upper* and two to the *Lower* sections of the Assembly (13th December 1369).

(2) GILD ALDERMAN.

Just a month before the curtain was once again rung down on another of the many acts in the historical drama the varying scenes of which were laid in Lenne and the neighbourhood, it was necessary to elect another mayor (29th August 1476). William Nicholasson, whose year of office had nearly expired, stepped modestly upon the dais to nominate the first four of the elective committee. In so doing, he was merely following Roger Galyon's example, and complying with a custom established five-and-sixty years before. But he was quietly relegated to the obscure background, whilst the president of the Gild of the Holy Trinity stood prominently forward in a halo of municipal lime-light, asserting his right to do what the worthy mayor essayed to do. Surely this could not be legitimate business, yet we are told it was "in accordance with the form of an agreement in that respect made and exemplified under the king's great seal." Now Walter Coney was a favourite with the people, and deservedly so, for he added the beautiful Trinity chapel to St. Margaret's church, and had just commenced at his own cost the erection of the cross-aisle. With good grace William Nicholasson gave place to the benevolent veteran, but the burgesses were fearful lest their right should be infringed by the election of four potentiores.

Walter Coney nominated four, who nominated four, and conjointly the eight nominated the remaining four. By careful comparison the status of six out of the twelve members can be determined. *Four* belonged to the common council, *one* was an alderman, and *one* is described as "of the community." Though Walter Coney did what the mayor had usually done, he certainly conformed with the usages of the time, because *two* at least (John Trunch and William Rawlyn) of the four he named were unquestionably of the twenty-seven who represented the constabularies. Of the other *two*—John Ernesby and Edmund Bawsey, the waterman—nothing definite shall be said, but as their names occur neither in the mayoral list nor with the potentiores, the chances are in favour of their being either outside burgesses or members of the common council.

So far, well and good; the anxiety of the populace is assuaged, for the retrogressive movement, to which they deferentially submitted, has resulted in no curtailment of their rights. Mutual gratulations, from rich and poor, are heard. Everybody is delighted; the haughty merchant grasps the humble artisan by the hand, because, though moving in different social planes, they have one common object at heart—the moral and commercial prosperity of the town in which they dwell. As the excited burghers burst from the narrow confines of the Trinity hall, they are surrounded by inquisitive crowds, who, hearing how the merchant alderman had supported the democracy, raise a prolonged cheer. And now may the curtain slowly unwind, whilst the throbbing bells outpour a sonorous yet emphatic benediction. Inarticulate hubbub, say you? By no means,

my friend. To those of the folk of Lenne who listen aright, the message of St. Margaret's bells, so fraught with meaning, is well expressed by the words from the lips of a modern singer :—

Ring out false pride in place and blood,
And civic slander and the spite,
Ring in the love of truth and right,
Ring in the common love of good.

* * * * *

Edward IV. visited Walsingham in the middle of September 1482, and made a progress through some parts of Norfolk and Suffolk. Unfortunately attacked by a slight ailment, which was disregarded, but which developed into a serious disorder, he died on the 9th of April 1483, and was buried at Windsor.

CHAPTER XIX.

Our Lady of the Mount.

EDWARD V. had scarcely attained his kingly inheritance, when, by the cruel machinations of his "dear uncle" Richard, Duke of Gloucester, Protector of the kingdom, he was deposed, dethroned, and with his brother Richard, the Duke of York, murdered in the Tower. He reigned but a few months, being only thirteen years of age when he came to the throne (9th April 1483). The two brothers are believed to have been put to death in August, by Forest and Deighton, the subordinates of Sir James Tyrrel.

* * * * *

Edward V., who was probably at Ludlow, did not hear of his father's death until the 14th. On the 16th he addressed a letter to the Mayor and his brethren at Lenne, which was read at the Congregation held on the 24th.

THE KING'S LETTER.

. . . Trusti and welbelovyd We grete you well, and where as it hath pleased [God] to take out of this transitory lyf the most victorious Christen Prince of famous memory King Edward the iijth our kynd loving lord, and fader, whos soule God of his infinite mercye pardon, The lamentable and most sorowfulle tydinges therof was shewed unto us the xiiij daye of this present moneth, which stered us to alle sorowe and pensyfnes (pensiveness), yit remembryng that we be alle mortall and nedely must obey goddes ordenaunce and take it therfor as we shalle doo al thynges obeisantly after his will, And where (as) it hath pleased hym to ordeigne and provide us to succede and enherite my seid lord and fader in the preemynence and dignite Royalle of the Crowne of Englund and Fraunche, We extend by hym that sendeth alle power with the feithful assistance of you and other our true and lovyng subgettes so to governe, rule and protecte this our Realme of Englonde as shalbe to his pleasyr oure honor and the wele (weal) and suerte of all oure subgettes in the same and to be att oure Cite of London in all convenient haste by goddes grace to be crowned at Westminstre, Willyng and charging you to se that our peax (peace) be surely

kepte and good governaunce had within the town of Lynne, Not fayling to excute our commandement and your auctorite in that behalfe favour or dewte of eny persons what estate or degre he be offe as ye entende our singler pleasure and your trewe acquittall therin ye shal deserve of us speciall thanks. Yeven undre our signet at our Castell of Ludlowe the xvj day of April [1483].

* * * * *

On the 26th of June 1483 Edward V. was deposed; the next day the arch-hypocrite Gloucester hastened to Westminster, and, seating himself upon the throne, coolly declared himself King by inheritance and election. He and his wife, the widow of Prince Edward (killed after the battle of Tewkesbury), were crowned on the 6th of the next month.

During this short but eventful reign nothing of importance transpired in Lenne. It seems uncertain whether Richard III. visited our burgh at all; he was at Rising, however, on one occasion, for a letter he then addressed to a friend is extant. Therein he confesses: "I am not so wel purveide of money as it behoves me to be, and therfor [I] pray you, as my specyal trust is in you, to lend me a hundreth pound" (until the following Easter).

CHARTER.

The usurper's policy was a conciliatory one; his earliest acts were to bestow rewards on those who had assisted him in securing the crown, and in several instances he shewed himself superior to petty feelings of revenge. Neither was he remiss in bestowing charters. As a rule, the benefits conferred were as nothing when compared with the effusions of kindness and friendship therein expressed. Our town was one of the grateful recipients.

C. 14. Dated at Westminster, 21st February, the first year of his reign (1484).

It merely reiterated and confirmed that of Edward IV. (C. 13; 1474). Letters patent dated 21st February, 1484.

"THE RED MOUNT,"

or the Chapel of St. Mary on the Hill (the Gannock), now claims attention.* "If other buildings attract notice by their magnitude, this deserves it from its peculiar smallness. It is so well proportioned, yet so extremely diminutive, that it seems like a beautiful model for a much larger edifice, or it may not improperly be denominated a cathedral for Lilliputians." (Rev. E. Edwards.) Dedicated to "Our Lady the Virgin Mary," this wayside oratory, built in the fashion of a cross, is enclosed in an octagonal shell of red brick. Between is a double staircase, which afforded easy ingress and egress to the throngs of worshippers, who entered by one door and departed by the other. The building, buttressed at each angle, is made up of three storeys. In the upper, is the beautiful cruciform chapel (18 feet by 14½ feet, and 13 feet in height), which is a unique specimen of the later Perpendicular style, the

* The church of St. Mary Magdalen, at Woolwich, is near "Our Lady Hill." The original building is believed to have been dedicated to "Our Blessed Lady the Virgin"; but the second to St. Mary Magdalen by which name it was known as far back as 1455.

ornaments and panelling being of the most florid character. "The fan tracery is on the same principle as that of King's College, the works of which were then going on; and it may be that masons from Cambridge were the carvers, though that building does not shew such refinement in the mouldings and carved wood as this." (Mr. E. M. Beloe.)* The walls are pierced with square openings filled with elaborate tracery; thus, when there was not room in the chapel, those crowded in the adjacent passage could witness the elevation of the host. The floor of the lower chapel (*bassa ecclesia*), which is now bereft of plaster and pavement, is on a level with the Gannock. Between these chapels are two rooms, vaulted in brick and communicating with each other, which were used by the officiating priests.

(1) ITS ERECTION.

Short, yet interesting, is the story of the rearing of this sacred edifice. With commendable motives, William Spynk, the prior of Lenne, determined upon building a small oratory for the accommodation of the multitude of pilgrims who wended their way through Lenne to the miraculous shrine at Walsingham. The site chosen was an ancient embankment, beyond the eastern boundary of the burgh. Without further ado, the prior commenced the projected building, but the Corporation, disputing his right, ordered William Yates, one of the chamberlains, to warn Robert Curraunce (a name spent in many ways) that he was wrong in appropriating the land without having first obtained the consent of the Mayor and Commons (24th April 1483). Thus was the work abruptly brought to a standstill. The Congregation, however, approving the the prior's laudable intention, appointed a small committee, consisting of the mayor, Thomas Thoresby, the church-reeves, William Nicholasson and William Burbage, to interview and "commune with the prior for the ground of the hill called [prospectively and for the first time] the *Lady of the Mount*, for the weal of the Commons" (June 16th). The work was, notwithstanding, suspended, and the enterprise remained in abeyance until the 25th of January 1485, when the Congregation unanimously agreed to grant Robert Curraunce licence to build the proposed chapel on "*Ladye Hylle*,"—on the ground belonging to the community, providing he found sureties satisfactory to Henry Spylman and M. Fyncham, and that he moreover pledged himself not to deprive the people of their common grazing ground. At the best this was a vague agreement. However, during the mayoralty of Thomas Wright, the following resolution was passed:—

Agreed that the prior shall have al the grounde that the Lady of the mount stonde upon with the Grasing round the barr from the gannoke on to the clowe [sluice at the Purfleet] as long as it pleaseth the Meyer and the Comons, for the whyche Lese [lease] the Prior of Norwiche and the saide Prior shall give to the

* The late Rev. R. Hart was inclined to treat this as the only specimen in the county [*Antiq. Norfolk*, 1844, p. 30], there are, however, vestiges of fan tracery in the arch (south side) at the South Gates. May not these fragments be some of the discarded materials from St. Mary's Chapel in the Chapel of St. Nicholas (1413), which were used, more than once, when rebuilding the "Gates"?

said Meyer and Comons a medow plotte lying at the Mille called the Mille Medow as the ferme rent thereoffe (6th May 1485).

There was a further stipulation, that the prior should find four tapers for the two great candlesticks at the high altar.

Harrod says Robert Curraunce began the building, which was completed by the prior. We are, however, inclined to agree with Mr. Beloe, that Robert Curraunce was a local builder engaged in carrying out the prior's design.

To the popularity of the shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham we are indebted for this remarkable edifice. By far the greater number of the devotees passed through Lenne on their way thither. Those from abroad cast anchor in our haven; those from the northern counties took ship at Long Sutton and crossed the Wash to Lenne; and those from the west came by the only road by which the county could be traversed and that led through our burgh. It seems likely there was a modest chapel on this site before the erection of the "Red Mount," because William March gave 6/8 to the fabric of St. Mary the Virgin upon the Gannock Hill, and his will was proved the same year (1480) in the Prerogative Court, that is, three years before Robert Curraunce started building. Subsequently, in a survey of the town, we meet with Mount House, "a cundytt of recept," that is, a receptacle for the storage of water (1577).

Vulgar minds suggest there was profit to the prior, for the people made great offerings to this altar. But was that to *his* profit? The prior was the promoter of the work and the receiver of the offerings. By the rules of his order there could be no children of his to whom he could leave his substance; he accounted for every farthing to his superior at Norwich; he at least was unselfish. He, by his work, expressed and led the religious feeling of the time, and it is impossible to judge the ideas of the 15th century by those of the 19th. (Mr. E. M. Beloe.) *

(2) A PROTOTYPE IN FRANCE.

The Red Mount at Lynn is—"so far as we know, unique in this country," writes the late Mr. G. Webster in *Hunstanton and its Neighbourhood*, "but at Amboise, in the south of France, the traveller may see one of similar construction, dedicated to St. Hubert. It is somewhat larger, and even more beautiful, and we are ashamed to add, that it is far better cared for than our elegant relic." Messrs. Feasey and Curties refer to the same structure in *Our Lady of Walsingham* (1901), p. 18.

At first sight it appears remarkable that our Red Mount should be the replica of an oratory in the south of France. How comes it that two buildings practically alike are situated in different countries and so far apart? What constituted the bond of affinity between the people of Amboise and those of Lenne? It must, we think, be primarily attributed to the widespreading propaganda of the order of St. Benedict. For five or six centuries the growth

* For an excellent detailed account of this extraordinary building read *Our Lady's Hill and the Chapel thereon* (1884), by Mr. E. M. Beloe; also see Harrod's *Deeds and Records of Lynn*, pp. 49-53, and an account by the Rev. E. Edwards in *Britton's Architectural Antiquities* (1807).

and development of this brotherhood was most rapid. St. Augustine, whom Pope Gregory sent hither, was prior of the Benedictine monastery of St. Andrew at Rome, and was accompanied by several Benedictine monks (A.D. 596). In course of time, as the outcome of this important movement, many monasteries were founded in this country, and all our cathedral priories, with one solitary exception, belonged to this order.

Amboise, a small manufacturing town of about 5,000 inhabitants, is situated upon the left bank of the Loire, some 12 miles east of Tours. To the west of Amboise, however, is a far more important place, namely Angers. As our gleanings anent Amboise are lamentably scarce, let us consider a few facts, which go to prove that Angers was well known in this part of England, and then, by a sort of narrowing process, try to shew the connection, if any really existed, between our town and Amboise.

(1) In 1075 Ivo Taillebois derived great satisfaction from cruelly persecuting the inoffensive people of Crowland, and particularly the monks belonging to the abbey. Connected with this brotherhood was a cell at Spalding with a wooden chapel dedicated to St. Mary, which was at length abandoned because of the intolerable tyranny of this powerful Norman. Taking even greater advantage, Ivo wrote to Natalis, the lord abbot of St. Nicholas at Angers, entreating him to send brethren to take possession of the deserted place, promising to build and richly endow a convenient cell for the accommodation of a prior and five monks. "Accordingly the monks of Angers came and took possession of our cell," writes Ingulph, "and thus before our very eyes do foreigners devour our lands." Sixteen years later the abbot of Crowland appealed to the king respecting the ownership of the marsh of Crowland. Richard decided in favour of the abbot (1191), but Jocelyn, abbot of Angers, appealed during the next reign, when the scales were turned and the previous decision reversed, "to the no small detriment of the church of Crowland" (1206).

(2) For seven years (1177-1184) Henry II. held his court at Angers, when he built the magnificent Hospital, which forms an important link between the architecture of England and France. From the north flocked the nobles of Normandy, and from the south the prelates of Guienne, to the King's court, where they met multitudes of august visitors from England. There was, moreover, at this time an alarming famine in Anjou, and our King generously undertook to feed the starving people of that province for six months. No wonder the French and English were then friendly.

(3) Allen de Zouche founded a cell to the monastery of SS. Sergius and Baccus (Angers) at Swavesey, ten miles from Cambridge (*circa* 1075). There was a Benedictine nunnery, too, at Denny, near Waterbeach, in the same neighbourhood, to which belonged the presentation of the vicarage of Godeston (Gooderston in Norfolk).

(4) William Anger (or Aunger), the vicar of Godeston, exchanged livings with Henry de Basser (or Basset), the vicar of All Saints, South Lenne (1352). Anger was his paternal name, the family no doubt belonging originally to France, but he was oftener called William of Swavesey, "from the place of his birth." (Blomefield.)

(5) John Norris, vicar of All Saints, South Lenne, bequeathed 13s. 4d. to Dame Alice Spicer, "nunne of Denny," to pray for his soul, and 16s. 8d. to the nuns generally; also to the nuns of Blakeburgh (near Middleton) 6s. 8d. for the same purpose (7th March 1503).

(6) *Anger* (or in modern spelling *Ainger*) as a surname is common; for example, 1298, *Anger* de Lenne; 1271, *Anger* de Rysing; 1573, Edward *Aunger* (smith); 1685, John *Aunger* (baker); and John *Ainger* of Friars Street, who faithfully served his Queen and country during the Russian war (1855).

From the foregoing scraps of information it may be seen how closely Crowland, Spalding, Swavesey, Denny (Waterbeach), and indirectly perhaps Gooderston were connected with the Benedictine brotherhood at Angers, just in the same way as was the priory at Castleacre affiliated with the convent at Caen in Normandy. We learn besides how the vicar of All Saints' church, whose family no doubt migrated from Angers, was born at Swavesey, and how the nuns of Denny presented the youthful scholar—their "William of Swavesey" with the living of Gooderston, near Swaffham, and how he ultimately settled in Lenn. It seems feasible that the monks at our priory might have been introduced to the monks of Angers or Amboise through William Angers, the vicar of South Lenne.

What is still more convincing is the existence of a deed executed in 1390 and now in possession of our Corporation. By this remarkable instrument the abbot of the monastery of SS. Sergius and Baccus at Angers appointed John Tournedon prior of the cell at the priory at Swavesey in Cambridgeshire, which was an offshoot of the French monastery. The new prior belonged to an influential Lenne family; for Peter de Thurendine (or Tourenden) was mayor in 1288 and again in 1309. John de Thurendine was mayor in 1303, and moreover a certain John de Thoryndeyn witnessed a deed in 1316.

Enough has been said, without referring to the already-mentioned convention known as the *Treaty of Amboise*, which was ratified by the Lancastrian parliament (1470), to shew that the beautiful oratories at Bishop's Lenne and Amboise owe their origin to the friendly intimacy between the English in this part of the kingdom and the French living in Angers and the surrounding district.

(3) THE FIDDLER'S FATAL VENTURE.

Opinion is somewhat divided about the existence of a mysterious subterranean passage leading to the castle at Rising (!)

It is said that an adventurous bacchanalian fiddler once determined to explore the gloomy passage:—

A bottle of grog
He took, and his dog,
And fiddled right merrily ;
And a lantern, light,
With a cord tied tight
Around his waist, had he.*

—On entering the vault he struck up a lively tune, and those assembled to see the wager fairly won were positive they heard the fiddle distinctly enough to trace his underground course for a mile at least. Then, as they affirmed, the melody suddenly ceased. . . . How patiently they waited for the return of the intrepid explorer ! but from that day to this the heroic Curtius never emerged. The rescue party, who courageously attempted to follow, were, alas ! compelled to retrace their steps, or they, because of the overpowering effect of the foul air, must assuredly have succumbed to a like fate. Strange, however, to relate, the intelligent dog found his way back, seemingly none the worse.

We are reminded of the celebrated Dog's Grotto, not far from Naples. Here carbonic acid gas (carbon dioxide) is freely discharged, and being heavier than common air, a dense stratum settles upon the floor of the cavern. A person tall enough to breathe the air above may enter with impunity, whereas a dog is instantly affected. Asphyxia, however, quickly passes off if the dog be exposed to a current of pure air. In the story just related, things are crassly reversed ; there is, indeed, no accounting for the startling instances of topsy-turveydom encountered in the misty realm of romance. Similar underground passages are said to extend between the Gild Hall and the old Carmelite monastery near Blakeney church, and between Binham and Walsingham, where a bank called "the Fiddler's Hill" commemorates a like remarkable event. The climax—the eternal disappearance of the too venturesome musician—is the same as in the Lynn tradition.† The veracity of the incident in the second example is, however, proof against the assaults of those who would expunge from our memories the valiant deeds of bygone generations, because "Jimmy Griggs" and his canine friend "Trap" were characters well known to the great-grandfathers of many of the unimpeachable inhabitants of Binham.

Granted (protests the reader) that the narrative of the Lynn fiddler is far-fetched—fetched, it may be, all the way from Blakeney, but surely you will not presume to demolish the facts that Queen Isabella traversed the damp, gloomy passage (only four and a-half miles long!) when she came up to worship at the Red Mount, and that Edward IV., when put to flight by the Earl of Warwick, was constrained to "put up for the night" in this wayside chapel.

* A ballad by Charles Utting, entitled "The Fiddler among the Imps" (1885), treats this local tradition poetically.

† An underground passage at Bury St. Edmunds was similarly entered by a too presumptuous fiddler. See Gillingwater's *Hist. Account of St. Edmund's, Bury* (1804), p. 93.

By no means. We leave the iconoclastic process to other hands, merely adding that when the Queen came, she undoubtedly preferred the "low road" to the high road, but her visits must necessarily have been rarer than angels' footsteps, because she died 146 years before the building was erected; and that the King visited Lenne fifteen years prior to the laying of the foundation stone.

Recent excavations indisputably prove that the awful passage of our schoolboy days, the entrance of which is now bricked up, only led to a door on the west, through which the pilgrims were admitted to the lower chapel. This portal, once flanked with low walls, is beneath the embankment.*

THE ICELAND FISHERY.

When the nation at large was in a great measure dependent upon a supply of stock-fish, the fishery off the coast of Iceland was of incalculable importance. From time to time quarrels arose between the Icelanders and the fishermen of Lenne, who in their tiny open boats fearlessly sailed into latitudes which would now appal the most plucky Northender.

To avoid national complications, our Assembly decided, it would be wise to restrain these aggressive fellows from pursuing their calling in such dangerous parts. Whereupon the Assembly ordered them to desist, under pain of forfeiting their liberty as well as their goods. To strengthen their hands, the community sent a petition to the King's council, praying that, before anything more serious happened, "the navigation to Iceland" might be entirely prohibited (13th February 1426). Their suit was successful. A letter from Thomas Beaufort, the Duke of Exeter, was placed before the Corporation, authorising them to restrain any ships likely to sail (15th April 1426).

After a lapse of nearly sixty years, however, the animosity had not subsided; hence Richard issued a proclamation that none were to venture into troubled waters without a royal licence. Having obtained their *permits*, the fishermen of Norfolk and Suffolk, "wele harnysed and appareled for suretie," were to meet in the Humber, and proceed from thence under the protection of the King's ships. Thus the fishermen of Lenne set sail, and we trust the King's command was not forgotten:—

Remember that ye dessever not, without tempest of weder compelle you, but that ye keep you togeder, aswele going into the said parties as in your retourne unto this our realme, without any wilfull breche to the contrarie, upon payn of forfeiture of your shippes and goodes (1484).

* * * * *

Henry, Earl of Richmond, a lineal descendant of John of Gaunt, put out from Harfleur with forty ships, intending to dispute

* Prior to 1862 the west window of the upper chapel contained portions of stained glass, upon one of which was depicted in bold outlines a female head with a radiating nimbus (yellow and white); also, in one section of the quatrefoil was the merchant or trade mark of William de Bittering, mayor in 1352 and 1353. A similar design was in a window in the south aisle of St. Nicholas' chapel near his grave (*Cooper MS.*). During the middle ages, glass windows, constructed in wooden frames, were carried with the family when travelling as movable furniture. [Hallam's *Middle Ages*, 1853, Vol. III., p. 353.] The stained glass was probably brought from Bittering's House in Hopman's Way (Austin Street) and placed in the Red Mount after his decease.

Richard's right to the throne; he landed at Milford Haven, but the King, not knowing where his enemy might disembark, repaired to Nottingham because of its central position. The rival armies met at Bosworth, in Leicestershire (27th of August 1485). Richard III., in the midst of the fight, rushed forward to slay his antagonist, but he was himself overpowered and despatched. His remains were interred in the Grey Friars' monastery at Leicester.

CHAPTER XX.

The Building of the Temple.

THE accession of the Earl of Richmond to the throne, as Henry VII., brought to an end the long and sanguinary contest between the Houses of York and Lancaster (22nd August 1485). The following year the King wisely married the Princess Elizabeth, the daughter of Edward IV. and Elizabeth Woodville, thus founding a dynasty which for more than a hundred years guided the destinies of England with ability and success.

* * * * *

At the outbreak of the insurrection in 1487, when a youth named Lambert Simnel was induced to personate the Earl of Warwick, the son of the Duke of Clarence, then a prisoner in the Tower, Henry undertook a solemn pilgrimage into Norfolk, in order to implore the assistance and protection of "the Lady of Walsingham." The King's progress through East Anglia may be clearly traced by the writs issued during his journey. Accordingly, he is found at East Harling the 9th February, . . . Bury St. Edmunds the 4th, 5th, and 8th of April, Walsingham the 18th, Thetford the 19th, and at Cambridge on the 20th.

The next month Simnel was crowned at Dublin as Edward VI.; shortly afterwards he landed at Furness, upon the coast of Lancashire, the 4th of June, and on the 16th his rebel army was completely overthrown at Stoke in Nottinghamshire. Henry, attributing his success to the divine interposition of the Blessed Virgin, sent the royal banner as a votive offering to her shrine at Walsingham.

SANCTA CASA, WALSINGHAM.

A second impostor caused much trouble for five years. This was Perkin Warbeck, the son of respectable parents living in Tournay. With consummate effrontery he declared himself to be none other than Richard, Duke of York, whom most persons believed to have been murdered in the Tower. A glance at the history of our nation reveals a career of unbounded impudence:—Warbeck's unexpected landing at Cork, and his hasty retirement to France, where he met with encouraging assurances from Margaret, the dowager duchess of Burgundy, who insisted that he was indisputably *the* "White Rose of England" (1492); the summary execution of Lord Fitz-Walter, Sir Simon Mountford and other zealous adherents; the disastrous descent

upon the Kentish coast, coupled with the despatch of one hundred and sixty-nine rebels (1495); the indiscreet protection accorded by James IV. of Scotland (1497); the Pretender's visit to Ireland, and the siege of Exeter, so quickly terminating in a search for sanctuary in the New Forest; and—the final scene in the historic intermezzo—Perkin Warbeck's surrender, confession and the mock triumph which awaited him in London.

As the crisis slowly drew near, Henry became more and more mindful of how, endowed as it were with superhuman strength, he had vanquished Simnel. He therefore determined to revisit Walsingham. Let us patiently retrace his footsteps. This "progress" is of great importance because the royal itinerary included the burgh of Bishop's Lenne.

Henry instructed Richard Fox, the Bishop of Durham, to treat with the Scots for the surrender of Warbeck (5th July 1497); and a month later, when the impostor landed in Ireland, he addressed a letter to the mayor of the city of Waterford, commending the burgesses for their former loyalty in informing him when Simnel landed at Cork. The next day Henry and his suite arrived at Thetford, from whence they at once proceeded to Norwich and Walsingham. On the 11th the King entered Lenne, where he seemed to have stayed two nights. Besides 3s. 4d. given at the altar of "Our Lady of the Mount," other gifts amounting to 13s. 4d. were moreover bestowed. A letter dated the 12th, and most likely written in Lenne, was sent to Sir Gilbert Talbot, ordering him to repair at once to Woodstock "with six score tall men on horseback," as Perkin had landed in Cornwall. On the 14th the King was at Bury St. Edmunds, the 18th at Thetford, and the night of the 20th was spent with Edmund Knyvett (whose son Thomas was knighted in 1510), at the castle of Old Buckenham, from whence the King must have written the letter to Oliver King, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, respecting the siege of Exeter. A halt was made at Norwich on the 21st, and the next day the King was entertained at Blickling by Sir William Boleyn and his son (or son-in-law) Thomas, who had recently been fighting against the Cornish rebels. Thomas Thoresby (the second son of Thomas Thoresby, of Lenne, of whose good deeds notice must ere long be taken), who married Anne the doughty knight's fair daughter. The next day found his Majesty a humble suppliant before the transcendent shrine at Walsingham.

In the annals of Lenne, Saturday the 25th of August 1498, was destined to be evermore distinguished as

A RED-LETTER DAY.

The clatter of hurrying footsteps and the mumbling of suppressed voices roused many a drowsy sleeper, and those who could not appease their inquisitiveness sprang from their beds, threw open the casements, and Brabantio-like demanded: "What's the matter there?" The answer, curtly given, did not, however, allay the confusion. The news spread from street to street with the velocity of wildfire, and before the trailing curtains of the night were well tucked back, the

sergeant might have been seen fitfully rushing hither and thither summoning the somnolent members of the Assembly to an extraordinary meeting. His Majesty the King, on the way from Walsingham to Ely, graciously deigned breaking his journey at Bishop's Lenne; the Mayor therefore called his brethren in council together at an unusual hour to consider how they could most fittingly entertain the royal guest and his attendants.

The most cordial unanimity prevailed; hence, at noon, as pre-arranged, the civic fathers, accompanied by the more influential of the burgesses, set out from the Mercate of St. Margaret, just opposite the palatial residence of the late Walter Coney, to meet their lord and sovereign—by the grace of God and his own perseverance—the seventh Henry, “King of England, and of France, and Lord of Ireland.” Through the Mercers’ Row, over the Purfleet, along the Briggate, and then turning sharply to the right, a crowd of loyal burghers wended their way across the Grassmarket, and following the course of the Damgate, emerged from beneath the dilapidated arch at the East Gate into the sparsely peopled district beyond the walls of the town. Along the Mawdelyn Causeway the eager procession pursued its course, passing the bretask at Roude’s Hill, the Hermitage of St. Katherine and the Bordin Bridge* which, spanning the Gaywood rivulet, led to Goldsmith’s garden and the *salina* or salt-pans (Salters’ Road), on the left; and the Marble Cross (a landmark between the burgh and the township of Gaywood), prostrate before which was a group of Walsingham pilgrims, and the Hospital of St. Mary Magdalen, from the lattices of which the brethren and sisters stared with surprise, on the right. After awhile, the road bearing abruptly towards the north and leading to the Chase at Rising, was taken.

The richly appalled cavalcade halted at Witton Gap, where the bridle paths diverged, and then Thomas Trewe, the mayor, arranged his company, adhering strictly to the unwritten rules of precedence. First, that is, next to himself, came Thomas Thoresby, deputy-mayor by virtue of being alderman of the Gild of the Holy Trinity, then the members of the august Congregation—the four-and-twenty aldermen, and the seven-and-twenty councillors—next followed the four chamberlains, the burgh clerk John Tygo, and the other minor officers, with a score or more artisans and tradesmen, more or less disguised in robes of State, representing the various gilds.

It was a sombre autumnal day, yet the grey vista of trees, into which the crowd continued to peer, seemed sprinkled with gleams of scattered sunshine. It was, however, only a beautiful freak of the season—tiny patches of new and brighter foliage, which had burst forth since midsummer, and which still retained the brilliancy of spring, though embedded in yellow, withered leaves.

After a while the gorgeous pageant appeared, heralded by a blast of trumpets which startled the expectant throng. Slowly and

* *Bordin Brigge* (1629), *boarding brigs* (1631) and *board bridge* (1641) appear in the churchwardens books. Possibly this word comes from *board*, *board-en*; similarly *wood*, *wood-en*; there was, however, a Saxon Freeman named *Bordin*, from whom Hermerus de Ferrais grabbed 60 acres of land in Gayton.

with courtly grace the King saluted the Mayor and those who were with him. On one side was his mother, Margaret, Countess of Derby; on the other the queen, the beautiful Elizabeth of York. In the royal suite were John de Vere the Earl of Oxford, Edmund de la Pole the Earl of Suffolk (beheaded alas! in 1513), Henry Bouchier the Earl of Essex, Edward Courtenay the Earl of Devonshire, Henry Algernon Percy the Earl of Northumberland, Oliver King, formerly of Exeter, but now Bishop of Bath and Wells, Thomas Savage, the Bishop of London, lately translated from Rochester, Lord Daubeney, who succeeded the unfortunate Sir William Stanley as Chamberlain of England, Lord John St. John of Basing, Lord Zouche (whose forfeited honours had been but recently restored), and many other gallant knights, who not only swelled the number but added to the prestige of the royal escort.

After mutual congratulations the journey was resumed, but although the distance was short, progress was tediously slow, because the track through the undergrowth was almost lost in places. At length the joyous company entered the town by the East Gate. Can you not hear the voice of Thomas Trewe, proud man that he was, describing the points of interest as they passed along? . . . "To the right, your majesty, is the Hospital of St. Lawrence, and some of the brethren, you may observe, are visiting the lepers on the Lazar Hill; and here is the Mill Fleet which drives my lord the Bishop's mill, for we are in the Newland; and to the left, your majesty, is the Chapel of St. John the Baptist; and now we cross the bridge and turn from the Damgate into Hopman's Way. . . . Ah, here we are, your majesty, at last—the Convent of St. Augustine, and yonder stands the prior with the deacons, and the brethren, and the acolytes, their faces all aglow with welcome."

What a grand reception awaited the royal guests. For the Assembly determined with one voice to eclipse the generosity of their predecessors, if, indeed, it were possible. The bill of fare was varied and abundant, and included the following significant items:—"Ten great pikes, ten tenches, three couple of breams, twelve swans, two oxen, twenty sheep and thirty dozen bread," for the adequate cooking of which "two loads of wood" were provided. Moreover, "a tun of wine, two tuns of ale and two tuns of beer" were already broached. For the Mayor's friends a pipe of wine was specially voted by the Congregation.

How the King and Queen and courtiers spent the Sabbath we are left to surmise; perhaps they attended St. Margaret's church and were delighted with the service conducted by prior William Berdeney. On the Monday, his Majesty, accompanied by the Mayor and *élite* of Lenne, went hunting in the fields at Middleton and East Winch. No further time, however, could be given to pleasure, for Henry was well aware how Simnel and his adherents were diligently devising mischief. The royal guests, with their cortege, therefore departed the next day, Tuesday, the 28th, by the South Gate, *en route* for Ely and Cambridge, accompanied by the Mayor and throngs of loyal burgesses as far as Hardwick church, where, "with great laud and thanks of

the King and his astutes" the companies separated. Passing through Oxborough, the King arrived at Brandon Ferry on the 29th . . . and Exeter the 16th of October.

The King and Prince Henry visited Walsingham in 1505.

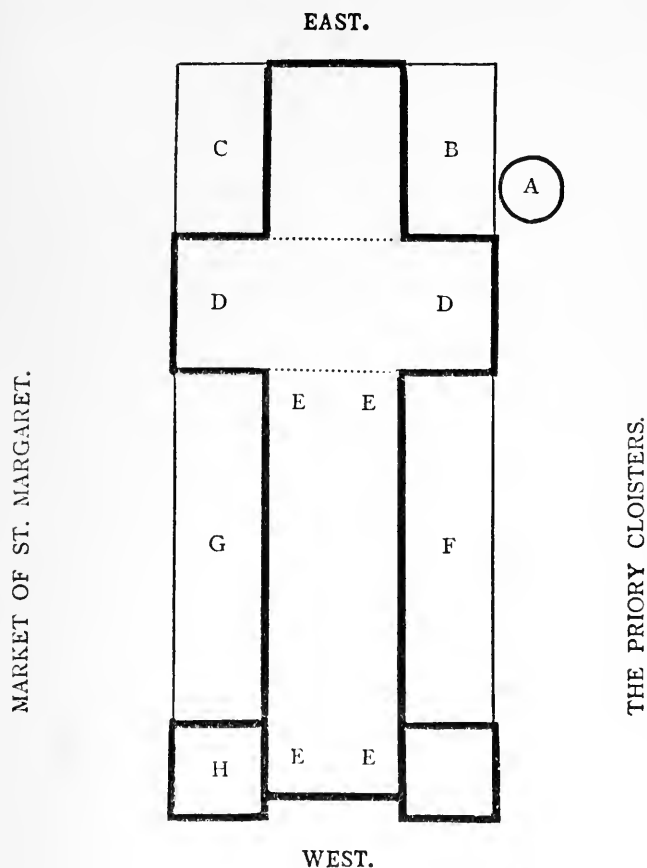
THE HOUSE OF GOD.

It is highly probable that the church built by Bishop Lozinga, and dedicated to St. Margaret, etc., occupied the site of one smaller in size, and of a much earlier date. From the Domesday Survey we learn that in the Hundred of Freebridge, which now comprises 36 parishes, there were only 8 churches, namely, *Acre* (Castleacre), *Apletuna* (Appleton), *Congeham* (Congham), *Pentelei* (Pentney), *Phlicham* (Flitcham), *Rynghetona* (North Rington), *Waltuna* (East Walton) and *Thorp* (Gayton Thorpe); whilst in the Freebridge Half-hundred, an area embracing 17 parishes, there was one solitary church at *Isingetuna* (Islington). No mention is made of any church in the Lin. It must not, however, be rashly concluded that it contained no place for religious worship, because it is now generally admitted that the number given in the Domesday record is far less than the number then actually existing. At the death of Edward the Confessor (1066) as much as one-third of the whole kingdom was devoted to religious purposes, yet only a few more than 1,700 churches are given in the Conqueror's survey. In the 13th century Sprott boldly maintained there were 45,011 parish churches when that survey was taken; and Higden, in his *Polychronicon*, a century later, estimated the number to be 45,002.

"The silence of the Domesday Book is not absolute proof of the nonexistence of a church" (Sir Henry Ellis), because William's sole object was to secure an accurate list of all the taxable property in his newly-acquired kingdom; hence churches to which no glebe lands were attached were, as a rule, ignored as being irrelevant. Some are indeed mentioned, but this seems to have been quite optional. In Norfolk, seven churches are casually referred to as *sine terra*—without land—whilst several are known to have existed, of which no notice whatever is taken, although the priests are incidentally mentioned.

The proof is overwhelmingly conclusive where a succession of churches has been found at the same place. For instance, under the central tower of the *Cluniac* Priory at Much Wenlock (Shropshire), the circular apse, with the square eastern wall on the east side (a unique feature of *Saxon* workmanship), was discovered. Further towards the east, the eastern wall of a *Norman* church was unearthed (1900).

The priory at Lenne and the adjacent church, of which few traces remain, were built about 1101. The two western towers are supposed to have been added between 1146 and 1174. In 1429 parts of the church were in bad repair, and £25 was urgently needed for its restoration. Instead of levying the customary rate, the inhabitants voluntarily subscribed more than was necessary. It was, however, during the 15th century that important structural alterations were effected through the generosity of four townsmen.



CHANCEL :—			
A	South Aisle	St. Stephen's chapel	? Henry Thoresby
B	" "	" South isle "	Thomas Thoresby
C	North "	Trinity Chapel	[Richard Scowle, 1494]
D	TRANSEPT :—	" Cross isle "	Walter Coney
E	NAVE :—	—	" "
F	North and South		
G	Clearstories		
H	South Aisle	" Pepyr's side "	[Thomas Thoresby]
	North "	—	Edmund Pepyr
	Proposed pinnacle	For the " Clocher	Thomas Thoresby
	or steeple	Stepill," or bell	Walter Coney
		tower	

Circa

—

1472

1472-6

1476

1480-1

1483

1502-10

1485 }

1494 }

Before introducing our readers to these local "worthies," a consideration of the accompanying plan and table may assist in a due appreciation of their noble work.

(1) WALTER CONEY,

the descendant of an ancient family seated at Walpole and Westacre, was a wealthy merchant; he was mayor four times, in 1453, 1460, 1469 and 1470, and as alderman of the Gild of the Holy Trinity (an office he held for 40 years) he acted as mayor on the death of Thomas Leighton (1476). With his friend Henry Thoresby he represented Bishop's Lenne in Parliament in 1455 and again in 1461. His residence was a timber-framed house of the period; it stood, facing east and west, at the corner of High Street, on the site now occupied by the publishing offices of the *Lynn Advertiser*. The house, which presented no regularity or uniformity of design, was taken down (1816); if still standing it would have compared favourably with the "Ancient House" at Ipswich and the Shodfriars' Hall at Boston. It was built about the middle of the 15th century.*

The gable-ends and windows were of different sizes, and did not range precisely over each other, or with the arches and brackets below. The joists and beams were of unequal bulk, and placed as chanced to be most convenient in the construction of the floors. In short, utility was the main object; a solid, useful structure the result proposed—not the fulfilment of a contract, not the imitation of an earlier style, not the masquerade of an external façade either superior to or unaccordant with the construction of which it formed part. The house itself was framed upon principles of utility and durability, and the portions admitting of ornament were at the same time adorned with no sparing hand; but no parts were incongruously clapt on or in pretended ornament where they did not actually and appropriately belong to its construction. How different is this system to that of the æra of false pediments and mock gables, empty niches and blank shields. [*Gentleman's Magazine*, March 1843, p. 268.]

About 1472 Walter Coney, as was then the custom with rich people, built for himself a tomb chapel on the north side of the chancel. The beautiful structure, which faced the house in which he dwelt, was dedicated to the Holy Trinity, though afterwards termed "Coney's chapel." This venerable burgess, who died the 29th of September 1479, and was interred according to his request before the altar in his own chapel, erected the cross-aisle or transept with a high roof (*circa* 1476). At the time of his decease the clearstories on both sides of the nave were being added at his cost. This important work, which included the glazing of the new windows, was successfully carried out by his executors,—Thomas Thoresby, the son of his old friend, generously supplying the necessary lead for the completion of the design (1481). The sum of £20 was, moreover, left to assist the parishioners in finishing the bell-tower.

The rebuilding of the towers connected with St. Margaret's church is a subject which encourages a diversity of opinions, but rather than

* Engravings of the house and the carved corner post now in Runciton Hall may be found in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1843), Vol. xix., p. 267; also the house, with various details, in Taylor's *Antiq. of Lynn*, pp. 150-1.

On the right-hand spandrel of the carved entrance to Hampton Court (Nelson Street) is a merchant's mark, greatly resembling that of Walter Coney.

mislead we frankly admit that what we advance might well be regarded as sincere speculation rather than indisputable fact. The towers erected during the 12th century are spoken of as "great" and "little," and as each contained bells they were both termed "belfries." This may help in interpreting the following extracts from the Corporation records:—

1419. "The little belfry is very weak, and its fall was to be feared." (E. M. B.)
 1432. February: It was decided either that the little belfry should be strengthened with "two arch buttants," or that a new bell-tower should be built. (F. L., H. and E. M. B.)
 1444. Feb. 14th: "Ordered yt ye *new* clock shall be made to strike against the great bell in the belfry of St. Margaret;" and the same year, Nov. 13th, "Ordered yt ye clock shall be removed from ye *new* belfry to the lantern where it was formerly placed." (F. L.)
 1485. George (or John) Burton, on behalf of Coney's executors, is willing to pay £20 "for a pinnacle to the great steeple," that is, "the Clocher Stepill or Bell Tower." (E. M. B.)
 1496. A silver gilt cross weighing 178 ounces and a banner were accepted in lieu of the £20 promised for the erection of the pinnacle. (F. L. and E. M. B.)
 1550. "The five little bells in the little steeple to be sold to buy ordnance and artillery for ye defence of ye town." (F. L.)

[References: F. L., the late Frederick Lane, town clerk, quoted by Taylor; H., the late Henry Harrod; and E. M. B., Mr. E. M. Beloe.]

It seems likely enough that, although "the little belfry"—the south-west tower—was in a ruinous state, yet the *north-west* tower was the first to be rebuilt. This happened certainly before 1444, and probably in 1432. At that period it was so far finished as to contain bells larger perhaps than those in the other tower, but it was apparently not in accordance with the original design; hence Walter Coney, to encourage the parishioners to complete the work, gave his executors power to pay £20 from the proceeds of his estate, as soon as the work was "onward" or progressing (1485). But the proposed pinnacle or spire was never erected; hence, after waiting about ten years, the executors offered in lieu of the £20 a beautiful silver-gilt cross and banner, weighing 178 ounces (Lane). This, worth £24, was accepted (1495-6). The little bells in the smaller steeple, which were probably not used, were subsequently sold (1550).

A spire on the south-tower is, however, shewn on a map of Lenne, the date of which Harrod fixes as 1589; it is, moreover, mentioned by the churchwardens in 1592:—"Ite(m) p'd ffor nayls for the west dore 2d. & an yron pynn ffor ye trenetye [bell] 2d. & apayer of gymers [hinges] for the mayor's stat(e) dore 6d. And a key for the *spiar steple* dore 4d. & for 2 newe loks and keys & stapls for the clock dore and the lantorne dore 18d."

Walter Coney's tomb-stone, of Purbeck marble, was beautifully inlaid, with a canopied figure and various chaste ornamental devices. It was removed from the chapel he had built to make room for the interment of George Hogge (1701), and was afterwards put down in the south aisle of the chancel, under the superintendence of Dr. Charles Bagge (vicar 1755-1777). At the restoration of the little that was left of the Trinity chapel, the stone, now unfortunately shorn of its elaborate brasses, was placed in the most suitable of all

positions—before the altar in the chapel made by the man whose memory it was intended to perpetuate.

(2) EDMUND PEPLYR.

Before the Reformation, and when fasts were rigidly observed not only in England but throughout Europe, fish constituted a most important article of diet. Being ignorant of refrigerators and of the method of preserving with ice, our forefathers kept the fish intended for their present use alive in artificial ponds or “stews,” which were neatly paved and divided into compartments. References to them may be found in the diaries of Samuel Pepys, John Evelyn, etc. Fish ponds are shewn on Bell’s *Ground Plat of King’s Lyn* (? 1561) and on Rastrick’s Plan of our borough (1725). According to scale they are about 154 yards long and 22 yards broad, and are divided into 10 equal compartments. Situated near the haven to the north of Fisher fleet, they were perhaps provided with a supply of running water, as was often the case.

Edmund Pepyr was the *piscenarius*, or the keeper of the local “stews”; dying in 1483, he was buried, as were his wives, in the nave of this church, which was partly built with £80 specially left by him for the purpose. As late as 1608 the south aisle was known as “Pepyr’s side.” Mackerell gives the inscription upon a brass plate attached to the wall; this, however, would hardly be the “monument” mentioned by the churchwardens:—“It(em): p’d him (the painter) for now [or new] wrightinge Edmund pepper his moneument in the church, 00: 13: 04. It(em): spent in Ryding to norwich to go to Cort about Edmund pepper’s moneument, 00: 06: 00 (1608).”

(3) THE THORESBY FAMILY

is supposed to have taken its name from Thoresby in Lincolnshire. The father, the son and the grandson claim notice, not because they were successful merchants, but because they were great benefactors to the town.

(a) *John Thoresby*, connected with Lenne, was one of the committee of eighteen to whom the turbulent townfolk were bound (1413); he was one of the scabins of the Trinity Gild (1406), and was chosen mayor (1425), and acted as deputy-mayor during the absence of Thomas Burgh, who went to Flanders as the King’s Ambassador to rectify the grievances between our traders and the aggressive merchants of the Hanse (1436).

(b) *Henry Thoresby* (probably the son of a). His place of business was apparently in the Damgate. He was mayor four times, in 1439, 1442, 1443 and 1453; with Thomas Burgh he was member for Lenne (1444-5 and 1450), also with Walter Coney (1455); he was, moreover, alderman of the Trinity Gild (1443 and 1448). About the year 1457 he (rather than his son) erected a magnificent tomb chapel. This, though afterwards known as Thoresby’s chapel, was dedicated to St. Stephen.

(c) *Thomas Thoresby* (son of b), owned land in West Lynn, Fincham, Dersingham, Gayton Thorpe, Congham, Roydon, Mintling,

etc. ; also in Northamptonshire. He lived in a house next that of his father, opposite the west entrance of St. Margaret's Church, "betwixt the common (way) of the north and the Stillyard on the south"; he also owned a mansion called *Harlewyns*, with 40 acres of pasture in South Lenne, West Winch and Hardwick. This building belonged to Matthew *Herlewyn* in the time of Edward III., but was then known as "The Hall Place," a name subsequently given to one of the manors of West Winch. Thomas Thoresby—a star of the first magnitude in the firmament of philanthropy—was mayor in 1477, 1482 and 1502. His testament and will, from which valuable information may be gleaned, were drawn up on the 3rd of May, sealed the 2nd of June, and duly proved on the 23rd of October 1510.

(d) *Thomas Thoresby* (son of *c*) lived at Haveless Hall, Mintlyn, inheriting a fair slice of the surrounding district. As a country gentleman, he did not trouble himself with municipal affairs; his attention seems to have been exclusively centred upon his own estate. He differed greatly from his father, yet it would be unfair to summarise his character by means of a few recorded facts. Many a praiseworthy action finds no place in the historic page, whilst deeds of evil are so tenacious of life that they survive the erring author. Thomas Thoresby's conduct respecting the free school founded by his father will be reviewed in another place. Here we must content ourselves with the brief mention of two incidents in his life. According to the annual accounts or *compotus* of our prior, Edmund Norwich, this wealthy landowner detained a payment of 30s., "the rent of Mintlyn," due to the church, although the poverty of the Lenne cell was almost proverbial. Through his inexcusable parsimony neither our prior nor his superior at Norwich received one penny of their yearly stipend (1535). The same year Adam Foster and others were constrained to forward a bill of complaint to the King because of his overbearing conduct. The said Thomas "came with about twenty armed men in a riotous manner and cut down forty-three loads of wood" on land belonging to Geoffrey Cobb (*Proceedings of the Star Chamber*, xv., pp. 197-205).* . . . And now, neighbour Thoresby, farewell! Notwithstanding the wayward peculiarities of thy disposition, let us not upraid thee, but, when next we wend our way through Mintlyn's sylvan retreat, pause awhile before the ruins of St. Michael's sacred fane and murmur, ere we tread over thy forgotten grave: "*Sit tibi terra levis*" (May the earth lie lightly on thy head).

(4) RICHARD SCOWLE.

Our knowledge of this benevolent burgess is saved from the impenetrable oblivion into which the memory of so many of our forefathers has drifted by a bequest of £40 towards the adding of a

* The estate was in the possession of the same family in 1634, for the Officers of the Navy, anxious to repair certain decayed ships at Portsmouth, informed the Lords of the Admiralty that there was to be a great sale of timber at Mr. Thursby's, within four miles of Lynn, the next year.—*Calendar of State (Domestic) Papers*, 1634-5 pp., 231 and 292.

1639-40. "Item p'd Mr. Thursby, Lord of the Mannor of Gaywood, for quitt rents of Gaywood Lands 00: 02 03." C.W.A., St. N. [Church Wardens' Accounts; St. Nicholas.]

south aisle to the chancel of the parish church. After his death, which happened in 1494, his executor, John Taillur, promptly came forward with the money demised. It was left for a specific purpose, for which, however, it could never be used. Hence the money was given to Thomas Thoresby, who had already carried out the proposed alteration.

ST. STEPHEN'S CHAPEL.

In the chancel of most churches were three altars, against the eastern wall—the High Altar in the middle, and altars dedicated to St. Mary and Jesus, one on each side. Emulating the example set by Walter Coney, who constructed the north aisle, Thomas Thoresby senior added one on the opposite side of the chancel, which was “over the I.H.S. altar” (Lane). Perhaps the altar to Jesus was moved a few feet southward into the new aisle. This was Thomas Thoresby's great work, and here he “caused an altar to be made” to our Lady, at the north end of which he wished to be buried, “adjoining to the place,” he says, “where my father lies buried in the church of St. Margaret.”* Now the place wherein Henry Thoresby was buried was most likely the chapel he probably erected, which was dedicated to St. Stephen. We use the word “probably,” having no direct evidence as to who actually was the builder of this interesting side-chapel.† It is described by subsequent churchwardens as the “Round Chapel,” although exteriorly, at least, it must have been hexagonal, and was seemingly erected on the site of the old Chapter House. With a beautifully arched ceiling and room above, it must have been a magnificent structure. This wealthy burgess, moreover, left an endowment for the maintenance of two secular priests, who were “to sing and do service divine perpetually and daily . . . within the church of St. Margaret at an altar there edified” (*built* by the testator) “in worship of our Lady,” for his soul, and for the souls of his wife, children and friends.

But the sacred edifice was by no means finished, hence Thomas Thoresby instructed his executors to spend £60 in purchasing a pardon from Rome, so that those who attended the church upon certain feasts might share in a general remission of sins. What a grand inducement to sinful man! Yet those who put in an appearance must be “confessed and contrite,” and they must “do their charity towards the church works and chancel works” (1510). Half

* The will of Thomas Thoresby, preserved in the Registry of the Prerogative Court, Canterbury, is given in *Eller's Memorials of West Winch* (1862), pp. 133-140. Thomas (the son of Henry) Thoresby married Elizabeth. Their children, as mentioned therein, were Thomas, Elizabeth, Elyn, Beatrice, and Margaret who married John Grindell and had a son named John. This upsets the pedigree in *Blomefield's Hist. of Norfolk* (1868), Vol. VIII., p. 421.

John de Thoresby received a present from the town in 1347-8. Robert Thoresby, perhaps brother to the testator, was member for Lynn in 1462-3, 1482-3 and 1487; he with a John Thorisby signed a deed of feoffment concerning 56 acres of land in Fincham (1489). See *Engravings from Ancient Seals . . . in Muniment Room at Stowe* *Bardolph* by (1847 and 1862) Sir Thomas Hare.

† A patent to found a chantry was granted in 1408, and Parkin seems to think it was built by one of the Thoresbys.

the money thus collected was to be handed to the "curate" for the reparation of the *chancel*, and the other half to the churchwardens towards the reparation of the *church*, that is the nave. The old division is strictly observed, the chancel being under the direct jurisdiction of the prior, whilst the nave is vested in the people. George Hyngham, the last of the priors, and one of the witnesses to the will from which these quotations are taken, is termed the *curate*. From 1472 each prior is described in the *Rolls* not as the prior, or *de prioratu*, but as *custos celli Lenne*, that is, the "curate," keeper or guardian of the cell at Lenne.

Thomas Thoresby seemed to have been apprehensive that his end was approaching, because a few months before his death he arranged minutely for the consummation of the praiseworthy schemes which were then being carried out. His testament and will reveal the incompletion of two grand designs, for which ample provision is made. First, we learn that a new aisle upon the north side of the nave was being built at the testator's expense. "I will," he says, "that the battlements . . . be finished up at my cost, according to my covenants with the workmen of the same." Secondly, he was building a home for the accommodation of the thirteen priests in whose hands the spiritual welfare of the community rests. "I will," he goes on, "that the college that I have began be finished up of my goods and chattels to the sum of 500 marks . . . or more."

"THE COLLEGE OF LENNE,"

though dedicated to the Holy Trinity, was subsequently known as Thoresby's College (Queen Street). It was built upon land which belonged to the Gild of Jesus, his executors being instructed to purchase land which might bring in 40s. a year "to recompense the fraternity," and thus effect an equitable exchange. But why did Thoresby select the site? Because of its central position? Certainly, but there was a more important motive. He owned the tenement opposite, adjoining the Trinity Hall to the west. This tenement he bequeathed to the master of the college to make "a garden place thereof." The house referred to was perhaps never wholly demolished, because the remains of an old building 66 feet long and 24 feet wide were at the beginning of the 19th century converted into the *Tailors' Arms*, a public house near the brewery established by the late Mr. John H. Knights. Hence the founder not only provided for the completion of the college, but he left them a garden in which to grow vegetables, besides ten acres of well-wooded land at East Winch from whence they might obtain an ample supply of fuel. He moreover, directed that certain other lands should be bought, bearing a nett income of 40s. a year, so that the master's stipend might be increased; and to his "gostfather" (priest) Peter Drayton he bequeathed £20 to assist him in taking degrees in divinity.

Priests, friars and anchorites are all remembered. New vestments are to be provided for the clergy in the neighbourhood; the bridge at Stoke Ferry is to be repaired; the church of St. Mary at

Feltwell is to have a rood-loft, and the religious houses at Blackborough, Marham and Crabhouse are to participate in his bounty. Friends, relatives, servants, shepherds are carefully enumerated, and every poor man, woman or child in the town is to receive something at the hands of his executors.

The educational endowments of Thomas Thoresby may be better considered in another place, but a few bequests are too interesting to be omitted :—

100 marks to the commons (community) towards the maintenance of the town and for a perpetual remembrance.

4 " to each of the four orders of friars for the repair of their churches.

100 shillings to the church works at St. Margaret's,

40 " " " St. James', and

£40 for a suit of white vestments with copes for the church of St. Margaret.

THE CHARNEL HOUSE,

a beautiful specimen of 14th century work, once stood at the north-west angle of St. Margaret's church, its site being now partly occupied by the Shambles. An engraving of the so-called "Charnel and Chapel of St. John," taken from a memory-sketch by the Rev. E. Edwards, is given in Taylor's *Antiquities of Lynn*.

(1) TO WHOM DEDICATED.

Writing in 1738, Mackerell observes : " There are three chapels of note in this (St. Margaret's) church, . . . the first is on the north side of the quire (chancel), dedicated to the Holy Trinity ; the second on the south side of the same, dedicated to St. John ; the third known only at present by the name of Thoresby's chapel, but to what saint, martyr or confessor dedicated I know not as yet." Later on, in speaking of the " very handsome fabric," the Charnel, he says : " I am apt to believe (it) was a chapel, and probably the very same St. John's chapel mentioned in the story of Sir William Sautre." Referring to the Charnel *Hall* (?) Blomefield (1808) cautiously reiterates Mackerell's suggestion : " Quere, if not St. John's chapel ? probably that mentioned in Sir William Sautre, the priest's case," and Richards (1812) enumerates these chapels thus :—" One dedicated to the Trinity, one to St. John, and one, if we are not mistaken, to St. Stephen, only one or two of which remain. That of the Trinity was taken down in the progress of our Paving-Act improvements." How pleasantly vague ! Either one or two was taken down, wherefore either two or one remains. What need is there for all this irritating speculation, when Foxe (1562) distinctly states that Sawtre's recantation was in " the church of the *Hospital* of St. John ;" not, mark you, in the church or chapel of the *Charnel* of St. John. A legacy, too, is left to St. John's *Hospital* by Adam de Geyton (1276), and another to the *Hospice* of St. John by Margaret Frenghe (1352).

There are no means of determining, as far as our investigation goes, to whom the Charnel was dedicated, because it is invariably the *Charnel* or the *Charnel house*.

On Saturday 14th February 1325, the brethren of the Trinity Gild ordained that their scabins or treasurers should pay the sum of £4 to the custodians of the *Charnel* for the fabric of the same; and when the Gild Hall was burnt down (23rd January 1420-1) the Assembly met in the *Charnel* the next day. The same year the Trinity chapel underwent a series of repairs, and there is this entry, to which attention will be directed after a while—"Item, 2s. (paid) for making a gutter at the *College*." As Thoresby's College was built *circa* 1510, Harrod, as a thoughtful student, asks where this pre-Reformation college could be.

Turning to the churchwardens' books, we find:—"Itm, to Robt. Hartt for makeing a dore into a little house vnder the schoole house to laye Lime and sand in to the vse of the Church, and for makeing a paire of gates, sette in the west wall in the churchyard, vj s. vij d. (1622). Itm paid for building the wall in the Schole Lane vnto Alexander Becroft, lvj s. v. d. (1632-3)."

Richards speaks of a writing school being established in the chamber over the butchers' shambles (1629); it is, however, doubtful whether the lower part of the old building was used for that purpose. The old meat market was held on a strip of land skirting what was the King's Way, north of the church and adjacent to the graveyard, from which it was separated by a wall. This piece of land, 68 feet by 9 feet, opposite the entrance to High Street, belonged to Sir Thomas Beaupré, of Outwell. In 1365 it changed hands and was conveyed successively to Richard Rede senior, to Robert Lightwise, and lastly to the Corporation. It now forms part of our Saturday market. The bye-laws prohibited the slaughter of animals in the highway beside the market during the summer months (1424-5).

(2) CHARNEL PRIESTS.

Though in close proximity to the church, the Charnel must be regarded as extra-parochial; the advowson rested not in the hands of the bishop or even the prior of Norwich, but with the Corporation of Lynn. Hence the priests were appointed by "the Mayor and Burgesses." The names of the following charnel-priests are preserved:—

1479 John Wells	1510 Robert Burgh (?)	1530 Thomas Person
1484 Thomas Gray, D.D.	1511 Thomas Rix	1534 William Leyton
1494 John Whiting, M.A.	1513 Thomas Poking	1539 Richard Hall
1509 Thomas Grant		

Apparently there were *two* priests in 1379. (John Burghard's bequest.)

The income attached to this chantry was derived from lands and tenements left by pious townsmen as a kind of *quid pro quo* for propitiatory prayers and masses for the health of their souls. The yearly salary of the officiating priest in 1479 and 1530 is given as £8 4s., and it probably remained the same during the whole intervening period. The duties were clearly set forth when Thomas Gray took office (1484); he was to make special intercession for certain persons whose names are given, and, moreover, to say prayers, perform requiems and masses, and to provide torches and wax candles for the

altar. The functions were greatly altered, as will be seen in 1510, and again when, to the inexpressible disgust of the monks, a friar named Thomas Person was made chancel priest (1530); he was, indeed, licensed to preach sixteen sermons during the year.

Coming now to the Inquisition of 1561, disappointment must be expressed at the strange report the commissioners presented. What little they knew is obscured by what "they knew not." It contains a remarkable paucity of information. There was a Chancel house, in fact, a school house, "but to what use it was founded they knew not;" it once possessed a bell, but the year in which the bell was abstracted from the turret "they knew not;" it was endowed with certain lands and tenements in King's Lynn, which were valued at £10 per annum, but the names of the various tenants, of course, "they knew not." They mention, moreover, Thomas Thursbye, Walter Coney and — Locke, whom they designate the founders. Walter Coney died, as we know, in 1479; John Lokk (or Locke) was a burgh chamberlain in 1385-6—William Lok, a descendant of his, being member in 1407. The first of these merchants augmented the priest's stipend by a will proved in 1510. The building could not be "Thoresby's chapel," as some writers contend, because, when Thomas Gray was chosen Chancel priest, there is no mention of Thomas Thoresby in the minutes of the Congregation, although Walter Coney, John Lok and his wife Margaret are specified as particular subjects for prayers and masses. Besides various sums to the four churches, Margaret Lok left £5 to the Chancel (4th January 1408).*

(3) COMMISSION OF INQUIRY.

At the beginning of the 16th century a commission was appointed to investigate the state of the possessions and to obtain information respecting the ornaments pertaining to this chantry. Sir Thomas Grant, the priest, produced a balance-sheet, covering three years (probably the terms of his office), and shewing the income and what had been expended upon the building (1509). The commissioners were apparently satisfied, but there were others who regarded his account suspiciously, and in that they were justified, as must be soon seen. The next year Thomas Thoresby executed the will already mentioned, in which was embodied a special bequest to the Chancel house. "Special" because the testator assumes that Thomas Grant is leaving, and "special," too, because he nominates Sir Robert Burgh as a successor. Thomas Thoresby died the same year, but whether the Corporation, considering his generosity, agreed to appoint Robert Burgh, cannot be determined. Perhaps, having too many ecclesiastical irons in the fire, the nominee of the testator declined the appointment. This is suggested by the fact that when Thomas Rix accepted the office, it was distinctly stipulated that he was to receive *no other office* (1511). Not yet, however, must Thomas Grant be dismissed from our minds, because some time after his departure it

* Cecilia, daughter of John Mageresson of Lenne, conveyed to Margery the widow of John Lok and William her son, an acre of land in Shouldham (1398). See Seals at Stow Bardolph.

was discovered he had removed a box from the Charnel containing important documents relating to the "livelihood" or endowment of the place. His conduct was most reprehensible, and prompts the uncharitable suggestion that they were abstracted to prevent defalcations being ascertained in the return made in 1509. These important "evidences" were afterwards "redeemed" from him by a Mr. White (12th July 1513).

(4) A FOURTEENTH CENTURY "COLLEGE."

The chapel or chantry, otherwise the Charnel, no matter to whom dedicated, was a construction in two storeys—a style generally affected in episcopal residences (as St. John's chapel, or the "Grammar school" near Norwich Cathedral and the chapel at Lambeth, where the lower floor is a crypt), or royal residences (as Saint Stephen's at Westminster and the Sainte Chapelle in Paris). To France, indeed, must we look for choice examples; as, for instance, the present archiepiscopal chapels at Laon and Rheims.

In our own almost forgotten Charnel there were, perhaps, originally two chapels—the upper and the lower,—the second being subsequently changed into an ossuary, a consecrated vault, wherein were reverently deposited the bones disturbed in digging new graves. The chapel of St. Peter, associated with the old manor house at Auckland, bears a striking likeness to the Charnel at Lenne. It contained two chapels, the high and the lower, also termed the *college* (middle of 15th century), a place where people assembled to *read together*. At the Reformation the "college" bells at Auckland were sold,—“and in the lower part of the same Colledge, where Divine service had been duly celebrated, he (Bishop Pilkington) made a bowling alley.” The word *Charnel* was applied to the building at Lenne as early as 1479, if not earlier, whilst the gutter of the *college* was repaired in 1420; hence, we may infer that service was conducted in the upper room rather than the lower. Our Mayor, too, sold the bell between the years 1547 and 1561.

(5) THE FREE GRAMMAR SCHOOL.

As early as the year 994, instructing the young was regarded as the special duty of the priesthood. “Mass priests,” says the canon, “ought always to have a school of learners in their houses, and if any good man will commit his little ones to them to be taught, they ought gladly to accept them, and to teach them at *free* cost. Ye should consider that it is written—‘they that are learned shall shine as the brightness of heaven, and they who persuade and instruct men to right as the stars for ever and ever’; yet they ought not to demand anything of their relations for their learning, but what they of their own accord are willing to give.”

The *free* education of the young had been seriously neglected in Lenne, hence Thomas Thoresby founded one of the many Grammar schools which sprung up during the period. This “noble impulse of Christian charity,” Dr. Samuel Knight regards as “one of the providential ways and means for bringing about the English Reformation.”

"Within 30 years before it (the Reformation) there were," he declares in his *Life of Colet*, "more Grammar schools erected and endowed than had been in 300 years preceding; and after the Reformation was established, the piety and charity of Protestants ran so fast in this channel that in the next age there wanted rather a regulation of Grammar schools than an increase of them."

The clause in Thoresby's will relating to the Free Grammar school reads thus:—

Item,—I will that when Sir Thomas Grante, now being charnel-priest in Lenne, do leave the same service, and Sir Robert Burgh, priest, come into the same service and the same Sir Robert do teach and learn six children freely at grammar [that is, Latin] and song, sufficiently to maintain the choir in St. Margaret's church in Lenne in divine service, then I will immediately that the same Robert Burgh shall enter into the said service that my lands [four pastures] lying in Gaywode besides Goldsmith's Garden, late Wynter's, which I bought of the executors of one Ade, shall remain in the Feoffees' hands to the use of the said Robert and his successors after that, being priests of the said charnel, upon condition that he or they that after that shall be chosen into the said service be an honest and learned priest in grammar and song sufficiently to maintain the said service in the said church as aforesaid and so to endure for ever. And for default of any of the said priests made in teaching of the said six children freely [that is gratuitously] as above written, contrary to this my last will, then I will that my right heir or heirs at the time being shall enter into the said lands to have them and to their heirs, this gift notwithstanding.

We learn, moreover, that the charnel priest, assisted by two secular priests (the anchorites of the Whitefriars' monastery and All Saints' church, for whom suitable quarters were to be reserved in the new college) were "to do service divine perpetually and daily," after the testator's decease, and those whom the charnel priest taught were to pray at his tomb and sing "for ever more as long as the world shall continue," and the gratuitous teaching of the young was also "to endure for ever." How little did this good man imagine what was to happen in the near future!

An attempt was certainly made to carry out the intention of the will, because the Corporation chose William Leyton as charnel priest, who was to hold office "from our Lady day next coming during his life natural, except causes reasonable, and he (was) to perform the testament of *old* Mr. Thoresby, and maintain a grammar school, and further, to keep his houses and tenements in sufficient reparation in all things so near as he *could* (can), according as it has been used" (1534). Again, Thomas Person was appointed at a salary of £8 4s. a year. He was licensed to preach four times every quarter, and was to teach six children gratuitously.

But the conditions being broken, the son and heir, Thomas Thoresby, of Haveless Hall, Mintlyn, seized the four pieces of pasture in Gaywood (1543). However, on the 1st of October an indenture was drawn up between the mayor and burgesses and the said Thomas Thoresby, whereby he covenanted to surrender the endowment upon the fulfilment of the provisions of his father's will. The Corporation on their part agreed to appoint a master of the Charnel, a priest of or above the degree of Master of Arts, and one, moreover, born

within the county of Norfolk or Suffolk, "who should instruct six *poor* children in grammar and song without any reward; which children should daily on their knees before the (testator's) tomb pray for the souls of the donor and other persons, and repeat certain Psalms."

Changes of a drastic nature were to follow. The time-honoured practice of praying for the dead was denounced in terms positive and unmistakable, and lands set aside by pious persons for such "superstitious uses" became thenceforth vested in the Crown. The building was, notwithstanding, used as a school-house until taken down (1779). For keeping the place in repair, the Corporation reserved the right of sending four children to be instructed in what Sir William Curtis termed the "three R's." The shambles were built on the site (1793), and the school continued to be held in the upper room until 1843, when the present Grammar School was erected.

REFERENCE TO SIDE CHAPELS.

If not otherwise stated, the following notes are from the churchwardens' books.

- (1) *The Trinity Chapel*, that is, Coney's Chapel, erected 1472-6.
 1603 p'd to Thomas Reade, carpenter, with the xxxs. before charged for Timber & workmanshapp done about *Trenitie Chappell*, v li.
 1608 (paid) for mending the Chappell called *Connyes Chappell* 01 : 15 : 06.
 1621 ltm (paid) to Edmond Eaton for work done about the Archt seeling in *both chappells* [the Trinity and St. Stephen's] li s. vjd.
 1673 The church books to be kept in a chest in a chappell called *Conie's Chapel*.
 There was, however, a "Trinity Chapel," which was repaired and refurnished (1439-40). It belonged unquestionably to the Trinity Gild (Harrod's *Deeds and Records*, pp. 30-31).

(2) *St. Stephen's*, that is Thoresby's Chapel, sometimes denominated the "South chapel."

- 1592 Ite(m) p'd ffor a lok & akeye and gymers (hinges) ffor a dore in the stayers by *saint stevens chappell*, 16d.
 1593 Ite(m) p'd to wyllm pylock for haynyng (raising) of the ffloore of the *south chappell* & pavyng of it again, and p'd to robert kelke for glasinge as appeare by his byll, 42s. 9d.
 1608 Ite(m) p'd Tho: Reade the Carpender for 6 daies work about the *Rouend chappell* [margin :—"or St. Stepen's chapel"] 00 : 09 : 00. Repairing rooffe of *rounde chappell* called *Steven's*, 03 : 15 : 00.
 1660 Paid to Buship for making clean *Thursbie's chappell*, 00 : 01 : 00.

Memorandum that in the year 1632 there was Two Drains made in the Church for avoyding of the water that did annoy itt. The one beginneth in the Middle Ally, Close to the stolls (stools) in the north syde thereof, leading to the west dore & be vnder the Alley in the Church yard and thorowgh Leaden Hall Lane into the Havn.

The other beginneth att the *Sowth Chappell* att the East end of the Church and Commeth vnder the South Alley, Close by the wall to the Sowth dore and from thence to the west dore unto the Draine aboue mentioned.

(3) *St. John's*—Generally located at the east end of the south chancel aisle, probably termed the "south-east chapel."

- 1592 Ite(m) p'd ffor . . . a lok for Saint John's chappell, 2s. 6d.
 1596 [Mention is made of the "south-east chapel."]
 1608 ltm, p'd to Ro: Kelke for ix foote glasse in ye little Chappell (?) ye 27 June, 2s. 3d.

(4) *St. Leonard's*—An inventory of the furniture belonging to the altar in this chapel is given in Taylor's *Antiquities of Lynn*, p. 120. The date is supposed to be between 1538 and 1550.

(5) *St. Peter's*—See Harrod (pp. 30-1) for a list of goods purchased for this chapel, including 9 pence for rushes to strew upon the floor and 7s. for garlands used at the Feast of the Trinity (1389).

(6) *St. Michael's*—Bartholomew de Belvaco (or Beauvais), a distinguished foreign merchant, who held the chief manor in West Winch, demised to his wife Richeman his donation or presentation to this chapel. He died in 1256 (Lane). His son James, left under the guardianship of his uncle Stephen Beauvais, was mayor in 1271 (Eller and Harrod).

(7) *Davy's Chapel*—Supposed to have been over the north porch, which, before the alteration, jutted into the market-place.

The Davy family was connected with Lynn. In 1608 William Davy, gentleman, was acting as attorney to the Corporation; he received his freedom on the understanding that he collected all post fines which might be escheated. James Davy, too, of Lynn, who as the assignee of Robert Gawsell, presented James Davy, A.M., with the living at Watlington (1670).

1608 It(em) p'd them for whiting davies chappell 00 : 17 : 00.

1617 Work done over Mr. (William) Leeds his studdye. ("North porch" in the margin.)

1632 The porch on the north (is) fitting to be a Library loft (for) ye p^rish : 09 : 14 : 08.

1648 Inquiry to be made for diuers (divers) bookes missing and lost out of the Library over the Church porch.

At this period the Corporation catered for the religious needs of the borough, appointing the churchwardens, paying the ministers and keeping the churches in a state of repair. The prior's disused "Chapel on the Mount" they converted into a study for Thomas Howes, the curate or vicar (1586), but during the ministry of William Leedes a room over the north porch of St. Margaret's church was set apart for this purpose (1617). The Red Mount chapel was afterwards used as a powder magazine (1638) and styled the "Mount Fortress" (1643), and the study in the church became a parochial library (1632).

NOTABILIA.

1486.—John Getyus appointed bailiff of Risyng with the part of the Tolbooth belonging to the Crown (4th February).

1486.—A letter from the King commanded the mayor to institute search for "vacabowndes and valiant beggers." Thomas Wodhous made comptroller of the great and little customs and of the subsidy of wool, leather and woofels; also of the subsidy of tonnage and poundage with the custody of the *cocket*—the official document wherein goods were entered (22nd October).

1487.—Letters patent of inspeximus, dated 10th May 1487 at Westminster were received, confirming letters patent of Richard II. (21st February 1484).

1488.—Letters patent of pardon and release were granted to the alderman, scabins (wardens) and brethren of the Gild of the Holy

Trinity (dated at Westminster, 6th August). Another sign indicative of the injustice exercised by the rich against the poor!

1493.—There is said to have been “a great fray” between the townsfolk and the under-sheriff acting for John Wyngfeld, the high-sheriff of the county.

1495.—Randolphus Thorsby appointed searcher for the port of Lenne.

1496.—The King’s letter (23rd March), addressed to the “maistre,” was laid before the Assembly. It related to the Diet about to be held at Antwerp, between the Easterlings, the Stedn and Henry’s ambassadors. A second letter to the mayor and brethren was also considered; its object was to establish a bond of amity and peace between certain aggrieved merchants. The Assembly unanimously decided that the proposed bond should be sealed with the common seal publicly at a stated hour in St. Margaret’s church. The bond was to be engrossed in John Assheburn’s book, which had been deposited in the town-box (*scrinium*) for safety, thirty-five years before.* William Off’ was deputed to convey the original deed to London.

1496.—Alderman John Gryndall and William Horwode (late members of the parliament summoned the 14th October 1495) attended at the Gild Hall and explained the new Acts placed upon the statute book. John Gryndall “read them openly afore all the congregation” (8th January).

1501.—The town wall was thoroughly repaired.

1504.—There was a parliamentary by-election, as the late elected burgess, Thomas Guybon, refused to serve. A committee of twelve therefore chose William Trewe and William Grebye (5th January).

1506.—Service was suspended in the nave of St. Margaret’s church and christenings were therefore performed in the “Charnel house,” because the parishioners ignored certain episcopal orders. Bishop Nix is invariably described not merely as an ordinary *bad* man, but as “a very vicious man.” A victim of his displeasure, one John Curatte, who expected every day to be publicly cursed, declared that he was “a devilish man.” Possibly George Hyngham, the prior of Lenne, was justified in the course he pursued.

* * * * *

Henry VII died of consumption in his palace at Shene, near Richmond, in his fifty-second year (21st April 1509). He was interred in the magnificent chapel at Westminster, intended as the resting-place for the remains of his uncle Henry VI. This noble monument of the architectural genius of the period, diverted from its original purpose, became his own chantry and tomb. In his will signed a fortnight before his death, Henry refers to “an ymage of silver,” which he had “caused to bee made to be off’red and sette before Our Lady at Walsingham.”

* William Assheburne was town-clerk (1419-25).

CHAPTER XXI.

Church and State.

HENRY VIII., the second son of Henry VII., ascended the throne on the 22nd of April 1509. "At his accession to the Crown he was in the prime of youth and manly beauty. Had he lived in a more poetic age and died before his divorce, he might, without any great stretch of the imagination, have stood for the hero of an epic poem. He possessed just those qualities which Englishmen admire in their rulers at all times—a fund of good temper, occasionally broken by sudden bursts of anger, vast muscular strength and unflinching courage. In stature he towered above all his contemporaries." (Brewer.)

* * * * *

The memory of the gorgeous pageants witnessed at that grand spectacular display, deservedly termed "The Field of Cloth of Gold," failed to extinguish the jealousy existing between the Kings of France and Spain (1520). Open hostilities broke out between them, and after an unsuccessful attempt at mediation Henry espoused the cause of his nephew, Charles I., and declared war against the French King, Francis I. Subsidies, loans and benevolences were now in frequent demand. A survey of the whole kingdom for a systematic extortion of money was ordered, and it was proposed to assess the movable goods and rents of the laity to one-tenth and those of the clergy to one-fourth of their value, as a voluntary aid or benevolence. To lull the storm of opposition, the project was, however, abandoned,—to be succeeded by persuasive influence and milder measures.

To the loan of 1522 Bishop Nix contributed £1,000, the Prior of Norwich £500, and the Prior of Walsingham £336 6s. 8d. The subsidy granted in 1523 was for four years, and the mayor, Thomas Miller, William Conysby, Thomas Gybbon, John Grindell and Richard Bewshere were selected to collect the money in Lenne. In 1524 Norfolk raised £11,579, of which £3,733 (including £1,000 from "My Lady of Norfolk" and £500 from the bishop) was the loan of the spirituality.

RAISING AN ASSESSMENT.

In the mean time "the King's commissioners" received instruction to fortify the town, in order to resist the landing of a hostile foe, should such an attempt be made. The payments due to the burgesses who sat in Parliament being in arrear, an assessment was fixed to cover the deficiency. Before, however, the first instalment had been collected, the Congregation determined upon the issue of fresh demand notes, "so that every man that was (as)sessed by the first bylles at ij d. shall paye nowe at this second gatheryng of every of them iiij d." In other words, the rate of assessment was doubled. Further, all those inadvertently omitted and the new settlers whose names were not yet enrolled were entreated to bear a part of the burden, according to reason and good conscience. The

crisis was urgent, because the money had to be forthcoming within eight days. Lucky, in sooth, was it, that the new gate, defending the road from London, the southern entrance to the burgh, was completed and provided with drawbridge and portcullis (1520), but much still remained to be done. The town must be made thoroughly "fensaybyll (defensible) with gunstones, gunpowder, bulwarks and other artillery." Everything was undertaken "in all haste." The services, too, of trustworthy John Maltby and his long-winded horse were secured. Ever on the alert, he was to scour the neighbourhood to glean intelligence, or spread an alarm at a moment's notice. Upon "the post" depended the safety of the town, therefore should this responsible officer be well remunerated; for the maintenance of the steed the Congregation voted eighteen pence per week, and for the rider one shilling per day—when on active service! (5th November 1523). The East Gate, defending the Walsingham or Norwich entrance, was subsequently repaired, and the King's arms appropriately placed above the arch, so that all might perceive they were about to enter a *royal* burgh (1541).

EPISCOPAL PERQUISITES.

Henry graciously issued letters patent of a private character to Richard Nix, the Bishop of Norwich (dated Westminster, the 24th of November 1512, and preserved in our muniment room), acknowledging the examination and confirmation of a long and tedious series of episcopal charters and letters patent previously granted to the various bishops of the diocese. From the last to the first they run together like threaded beads, so that their recital soon becomes monotonous and uninteresting. Skipping many links in this chain of augmented privileges, we may determine its course by noting three points. The culmination, the letters patent dated Westminster the 9th of May 1488, confirms the letters patent of Edward IV., dated Westminster the 8th of December 1461, which confirms,—which confirms—(*ad nauseam*), and which finally confirms the charter granted by William II. to Herbert de Lozinga and the monks of Norwich.

What a magical effect there is in well-sustained circumlocution! How forcefully it reminds one of the subtle association of ideas so aptly illustrated in that sublime jingle—"The House that Jack built," which we reverently refrain from quoting, but which is indeed a variant of the parable of the past and future preserved in the Jewish ceremony of the Passover—

Then came the Holy One; blessed be He!
 Who killed the Angel of Death—
 That killed the butcher,
 That slew the ox,
 That drank the water,
 That quenched the fire,
 That burned the staff,
 That beat the dog,
 That bit the cat,
 That ate the kid,
 That my father bought
 For two pieces of money,

The present letters patent (1512), stripped of wearying verbiage and superabundant iteration, amounted merely to this: What your predecessors have enjoyed in the past you shall assuredly enjoy now and hereafter. An impressive illustration of "much ado about nothing!"

Once more, however, the King found it necessary to issue letters patent setting forth in unmistakable terms the ancient tolls and customs of the port which pertained to my lord the bishop. The end of the tether was, however, nearly reached, because these lucrative privileges were soon destined to fall into the municipal coffer.

OIL UPON TROUBLED WATER.

A dispute of a serious nature was fermenting between the prior of Christ Church (as the Cathedral, although dedicated under the *avow*e of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, was often called), and the Corporation of Norwich. To appease this unseemly contention Cardinal Wolsey visited the city (1517); as, however, the friction continued, he returned in order to administer potent and effective measures (1520). On this memorable occasion he came to Lenne, where he remained two nights.

"The Reverend Father in God, Thomas Lord Cardinal, Legate à Latere, Archbishop of York, Primate and Chancellor of England," attended by Nicholas West the Bishop of Ely, a bishop from Ireland and many well-equipped knights and esquires, was met just beyond the Gaywood bridge by the mayor, Robert Gerves, the Corporation and the minstrels of Lenne on Monday the 20th of August 1520. The princely retinue was entertained at Huly'n's Place,* the burghesses providing a tempting and substantial bill of fare, which absorbed £22 os. 6d. It comprised 20 dozen of bread, 6 soys of ale, 15 barrels of beer, 1 tun 12 gallons of wine, 2 oxen, 20 sheep, 2 cygnets, 12 capons, 3 botores (bustards), 3 shovellers (ducks), 13 plovers, 8 pike, 3 tench, etc.

Well pleased with the reception, the Cardinal and his suite departed "with gret laud and thanks" by the road to London, the mayor and many of the inhabitants joining the company as far as the church at Hardwick (22nd August 1520).† In after years the haughty prelate did not forget the kindness received on this occasion, because through his diplomacy a permanent reconciliation was effected between an aggressive bishop and an obstinate burgh. Through him the old feud was successfully healed, and the town rather than their episcopal lord, as will be seen, reaped the advantage.

The effete subject relating to the proper carrying of the Sword was again brought forward when Thomas Miller was chosen mayor for the first time (1520). In him Bishop Nix discovered a firm and intrepid opponent. Influenced by their mayor's advice, the Corporation launched a suit at law to establish the legality of mayoral precedence, and apparently gained their cause. As expressive of their

* Place is often used as an abode or residence, as Bokenham's Place (1381) and Mr. Coe's place (1527-8). May not Huly'n be a variant of Harlewyn? Thomas Thoresby mentions in his will "my place at Harlewyns" (1510).

† This church is supposed to have stood near the "Hardwick farm;" many pieces of worked building stone, some probably of the Decorated period, may be seen in the garden.

gratitude, the community elected their champion to the mayoral chair six times—in 1520, 1521, 1522, 1523, 1529 and 1546—four times, you will observe, in succession.

Notwithstanding all the burgesses had done and suffered to maintain their rights, the bishop was not disposed to submit, but opposed them inch by inch. The manner in which he retaliated is not explained. It was the old see-saw game—bishop up, mayor down, and *vice versâ*—of which, reader, thou art almost as weary as were thy forefathers. With the commendable object of healing the rankling grievances and stopping this puerile “tit-ma-torter,” Cardinal Wolsey concocted an Indenture of Agreement, the *give-and-take* nature of which must be explained.

It proposed that the bishop on the one hand should relinquish to the burgh the yearly Court Leet, with all the perquisites thereto belonging, and the right to hold the Steward’s Hall Court as well as the Tolbooth; besides “such fairs and markets, waifs and strays as the bishop had or ought to have in the burgh and also his liberty and franchise of return of all the King’s writs.” Whilst the town, the other party to the agreement, should pay a yearly rent of one hundred and four shillings to the bishop and accept the terms on lease for thirty years.

Through the persuasive mediation of the Cardinal this compromise was ratified (20th of November 1527). For nine years, the adjustment proved satisfactory. Friction ceased; everything worked smoothly and, but for the interference of “the sceptred sway,” Wolsey’s scheme might have continued in operation to this day.

THE RECONSTITUTION.

Henry was not slow in recognising that the old social system was being completely revolutionised by the new democracy. The leaven of equality was slowly permeating the whole community, and the hard and fast lines prescribed by intolerable class distinctions were being gradually obliterated. Hence, instead of tinkering with a series of almost useless charters and letters patent, he determined upon a course of action which differed from that adopted by his predecessors. His charter embodied the entire reconstitution of the burgh. The dark days of confirmation and inspeximus and patching were happily at an end, and the bright, dawning rays of hope, contentment and social equality were playing fitfully along the threshold of the future. To this, by far the most important of our so-called “governing charters,” attention must now be directed. Avoiding the wearisome, yet necessary, tautology which abounds throughout this document, we purpose placing before our readers a few condensed notes, rather than a series of long and perplexing extracts.

C. 15. Dated at Westminster the 27th June, in the 16th year of his reign (1524).

Under the scheme of reconstitution, Thomas Miller was appointed the first mayor, and he was to continue in office for one year. The election of succeeding mayors was vested in the Common Council. Every year at the Feast of the Decollation of St. John the Baptist (30th

August), the common councilmen were to select an alderman (who had not filled the mayoral chair for five years), from the body of the twelve then existing aldermen to be mayor from the Feast of St. Michael (29th of September) until the Michaelmas next following.

The first batch of aldermen was also settled by the charter; each, if he behaved with decorum and ran not into debt, was to retain his elevated position for life. The component parts in the *crème de la crème* of Lenne society were:

John Grindell,	Richard Brice,
John Burd,	Cristofer Brodbank,
Richard Bewshere,	John Water,
Robert Amfles,	Edward Newton,
Thomas Leighton,	Richard Pepper,
William Castell,	Robert Parmonter.

At the death or the removal from office of any alderman the common councilmen elected another burgess to fill the vacancy, and, what is more, to fill it for life, provided he were not in the mean time morally "dead in trespasses and sins." Power was given Thomas Miller and his aldermanic coadjutors (or their successors) to meet at the Gild Hall, whensoever and as often as they pleased, to choose eighteen burgesses of the burgh to form a common council. These, members of a lower house, were also chosen for life, yet might be removed at the discretion of the Mayor and aldermen. In case of a removal, avoidable and otherwise, the Mayor and aldermen elected a burgess to fill the vacancy. Provision was also made for the election and "swearing in" of the recorder, the town clerk, the nine constables, the two coroners, the four sergeants-at-mace, the clerk of the market, and officers for the conservation of the sea and river from St. Edmunds Ness to Staple Weere. The Mayor was graciously permitted to have a *sheathed* sword borne before him whenever he took his walks abroad. Never, however, was the awful symbol of distinction to be carried beyond the boundaries of the town. The choice of the sword-bearing functionary rested with the Mayor and aldermen.

All the liberties within the burgh were for the exclusive enjoyment of the accredited burgesses. The right of "making burgesses" belonged to the Mayor, aldermen and common councilmen, and every man foreign to or outside the pale of freedom was strictly prohibited from buying or selling "in gross" to any like stranger, except during fair-time, under pain of forfeiture to the King of the goods thus bought or sold. Full power was accorded the Mayor, aldermen and common councilmen to devise and levy taxes upon the inhabitants for the defence of the town against enemies, the protection of property against floods and inundations, and for any other necessary purposes; and to punish at their discretion every person resisting the collection of such needful money. No taxes, however, "to the prejudice or charge or in derogation of the Bishop of Norwich or his successors," were ever to be laid. Exemption from service was granted to every member of the "body corporate," so that none against their wills might be put upon assizes, juries, attainments, recognizances or inquisitions outside the confines of the town; neither could any-one be

made to serve as sheriff, justice, coroner, escheator, assessor, crier, surveyor, constable, bailiff, comptroller, collector of tenths or fifteenths or other subsidies, or indeed any taxes.

Largely emancipated from episcopal thralldom the importance of Lenne as a borough was at last recognised as in similar towns. New duties and greater power were vested in the Corporation. Its mayor held office for one year, and his successor was determined by a majority of the aldermen, who constituted at this juncture an elective committee. The aldermen and common councilmen were nominally appointed for life, but the power of displacing was reciprocal, because possessed by each. A majority of aldermen could expel a councillor and fill the vacancy as easily as a majority of councilmen could supplant an obnoxious alderman with a more agreeable or useful burgess. Even then, as now, effective pretexts were easily engendered by biassed minds, and the supply generally exceeded the demand. Another point deserves emphasis. The new Corporation was endowed with certain admiralty powers to which special attention will be devoted at a later period. They were constituted surveyors of the water and inspectors of the fishermen from Staple Weere (a sewer about 8 miles above the town) to St. Edmunds Ness (Hunstanton).

(1) AN UNPROFITABLE SERVANT.

This was only the beginning; the complete reconstitution of the burgh was yet to follow, and we find it embodied in a second charter granted some 13 years after the first (C. 15). For many valuable privileges therein contained our town is indebted to Henry VIII. Indebted?—but scarcely so, because, as must be patent further on, it was, forsooth, the ratification of what had been brought about primarily for his own personal aggrandisement rather than anything devised expressly for the benefit or enfranchisement of the people of Bishop's Lenne.

Before examining the sequel to the charter of 1524, it may be profitable to inquire into the causes which prompted the King to so remarkable an exhibition of royal liberality. Notorious among our bishops was Richard Nix, or Nykke, who was consecrated to that office the 18th of April 1501. His overbearing arrogance and priestly despotism caused him to be cordially disliked, yet when blind and decrepit he grasped the crozier more firmly than ever, and never ceased to crush those who inadvertently incurred his displeasure. The last act in the life-drama of this hateful prelate was connected with Thetford. The authorities there made a presentment upon oath that, according to the ancient liberties of that burgh, none of the burgesses ought to be cited to appear either at Norwich or any other spiritual consistory other than the one under the jurisdiction of the Dean of Thetford. The Bishop was indignant; he instantly summoned Richard Cockerell, the mayor of Thetford, and other townsmen, to appear at his court at Norwich, and threatened them under pain of excommunication to immediately cancel their insulting presentment. But the brave Thetfordians were not to be coerced into obedience like affrighted children. A prosecution in the King's Bench was the result, and the

haughty prelate was declared in the end to have incurred the penalties of *præmunire*. His estates were seized, and he was imprisoned. Owing to the painful infirmities of old age he was mercifully liberated some time afterwards upon paying a fine of 10,000 marks, which is said to have been spent in adorning the King's College, Cambridge, with new windows. It seems, moreover, feasible that Bishop Nix was constrained to acquiesce in the appointment of suffragans, in order that he might be pardoned and spared the indignity of appearing before a Parliamentary tribunal, because he certainly nominated four, from whom the King selected two, namely, John Salisbury, the prior of Horsham St. Faiths, near Norwich, and Thomas Manning, the prior of Butley, who were created suffragan bishops of Thetford and Ipswich. The release of Bishop Nix was brought about by a private Act of Parliament (25th Henry VIII.).

During the incarceration of the Bishop the King took into his own hands the management of the see, which he retained until the appointment of a successor. In 1535-6 the Parliament sanctioned a measure to place the bishopric upon a new foundation. It set forth "that his Majesty minding to advance to the same see one such person, who, both for his knowledge of Scripture and honest conversation in history, shall by setting forth of the true, plain and sincere doctrine of Christ, and good examples of life concordant to the same, much edify his loving subjects of the diocese." Now the King had in mind the existence of William Rugg (or Repps), the humble and subservient Abbot of St. Benet-at-Holme. He was a fellow of Gonville Hall, and whilst at Cambridge had played a prominent part in persuading the University to pronounce in favour of the divorce between Henry and Queen Catherine. Hence the grateful King, "having plain and perfect knowledge and experience of William, now Abbot of Benet" (to quote the Act) was anxious to bestow upon so deserving a cleric the dignity of a bishopric (1536). Tempted by the glittering bait, William Rugg clutched at the episcopal *dignity*, ere long, however, to discover "empty praise" rather than "solid pudding," for the cruel Act insisted that the King and his successors should have the Lordships and Manors of Lenne, Gaywood, Thornham, Langham, Thornage, North Elmham, Bristow, Beetley, Hevingham, Marsham, Thorpe, Blofield, Beighton, Rollesby and Eccles, in Norfolk; and the manors of Hoxne, South Elmham, Becton, Batesford and Wyke, in Suffolk; and the manors of Terling and Lyghes, in Essex—which belonged to the bishopric. Besides which his Majesty was to enjoy—

All those Meases, Landes, Tenements, Rentes, Rev'cions, Meadows, Leasues, Pastures, Woodes, Waters, Com'ons, Fyssshings, Poolys, Lib'ties, Franchises, Wayfuss, Strayes, Viewes of Frank pleges, Courtes p'fights (profits) of Courtes Haryetts, Relafs, Eschets, Patronages, Advowsons of Churches, Chapelles, Chaunt'es, Hospitalles, Knyghtes' Fees, and singular other temporall possessions and hereditaments with their appurtenaunces in Lynne Epi., Gaywood and [as aforesaid] which belonge or in any wyse apperteayne to the said bisshoprick.

The greedy sovereign found no difficulty whatever in assimilating these things, for, like the Moor's revenge, his avaricious extravagance "had stomach for them all." But what was the newly-installed

bishop to have? For the proper maintenance and sustentation of the episcopal "dignity" there was allotted to Bishop Rugg the Palace at Norwich, the Benedictine Monastery of St. Benet-at-Holme, about nine miles from the city (valued at £677 10s. 8½d.), of which he and his successors were to retain the Abbacy, and the Priory of the Austin Canons at Hickling (valued at £100 18s. 7½d.), with all the lands thereto belonging, at a yearly rent of £33 6s. 8d.; besides the patronage of four Archdeaconries, with all presentations to benefices, and after the death of the then occupant, the house reserved to the Archdeacon of Westminster in Canon Row, Westminster.

The necessary Act was passed (4th of February), and William Rugg was consecrated Bishop of Norwich and Abbot of St. Benet-at-Holme (11th of June 1536). "From him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath." Bishop Rugg was, in sooth, an unprofitable servant. "By his improvident leases he had so reduced its available revenue that it was insufficient to maintain the episcopal office with that state which his predecessors had maintained, and his attempt involved him in debt and difficulties, and consequent unpopularity, to such an extent that he had to make a second bargain with the King, upon the remonstrance of the county, which resulted in his resignation on a pension of £200 a year" (Mason).*

The ecclesiastical yoke under which the burgesses had groaned so many years was cast aside, and having deposed the episcopal patron Henry took the patronage into his own hands. Henceforth, indeed, was Lenne—*The Royal Borough*.

(2) THE DOWNFALL OF THE SUZERAIN.

Mindful of his *own*, Henry pressed upon the Corporation the rights and privileges he filched from the bishop; these, embodied in letters patent, may be regarded either as supplementary to, or a second edition of, the charter of 1524.

C. 16. Dated at Westminster the 7th of July in the 29th year of his reign (1537).

The preamble briefly recites and confirms (a) the letters patent of Henry's first charter, and (b) the Act of Parliament vesting the temporalities of the Bishop of Norwich in the Crown. "And whereas afterwards by a certain Statute, late in our Parliament in London, holden on the 1st day of November in the 21st year of our reign (1529), and from thence adjourned to Westminster and there holden, and from that time continued by prorogations until the 4th day of February in the 27th year of our reign" (1536).

Forthwith the charter ordained:

(1) That the town be no longer called Bishop's Lenne (*Lenne Episcopi*), but KING'S LENNE (*Lenne Regis*).

(2) That two courts be held every week in the Gild Hall, presided over by the Mayor and Recorder or their deputies, for hearing

* As Bishop of Norwich and Abbot of St. Benet-at-Holme (for the abbacy is still annexed to the bishopric) the prelate is exceptional, in that the bishop has a *double claim* to a seat in the House of Lords. Twenty-six abbots and two priors were thus honoured. (Coke.)

and determining pleas and plaints "in as ample manner and form as the same late bishop in his courts of the same town." They were invested with power to adjudicate upon "all manner of Pleas, or Plaints of fresh force, and other Plaints, as well real as personal and mixed, without our (the King's) writ, as well for Messuages, Lands and Tenements, being within the same burgh, as of and for sums of Debts, for what person soever to what soever sum or sums they do extend; and also of all Trespasses, Ditenues, Accounts, Covenants, Contracts, Causes and Demands whatsoever . . . according to the Law and Custom of our Realm of England."

(3) That the Tolbooth Court be held by the same or either of them or their deputies within the burgh or the limits of St. Edmunds Ness and Staple Weere for hearing and determining plaints and pleas done and debts arising by water. "And we have granted to the Mayor and Burgesses . . . all and singular Issues, Profits, Fines, Amercements, Customs, Tolls, Tronage, Warfage, Groundage, Stallage, Piccage, Anchorage, Tonnage, Poundage and Lastage (Lovecop) and other Emoluments whatsoever arising, due, or forfeited, or to be forfeited by reason of the aforesaid Court and the Bailiwick of the waters within the limits aforesaid." Power was also given for appointing one or two persons to act as bailiffs.

(4) That a Court Leet be held yearly within the burgh for view of frankpledge, with power to amend the assize of bread, beer and other victuals exposed for sale, and to punish offenders. The profits arising from this Court were to belong to the mayor and burgesses, as, for example, fines, pains, redemptions, forfeitures, ameracements and other perquisites. Also "waifs and strays"—the goods and chattels of felons, "*felons de se*," fugitives, outlaws, and those convicted, attainted and condemned.

(5) That the Justices of the Peace consist of the mayor, the recorder and those of the aldermen who have served in the office of mayor, thus excluding county justices from interference within the burgh, and prohibiting the Sheriff of Norfolk or his officers from executing writs in Lenne.

(6) That two six-days' fairs, or marts, be held yearly; the first to begin on the day after the Feast of the Assumption (15th August), and the second on the day after the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary (2nd February).

(7) That two weekly markets be held on Tuesday and Saturday "in the place there accustomed, with stalls and shops there for the same fairs and markets framed and built (unless the fairs or marts aforesaid be to the damage of the neighbouring markets and neighbouring fairs), with all Tolls, Profits, Emoluments whatever due and arising" from them.

(8) That a Court of Pie Powdre be held in the time of the fairs and markets so that rogues and vagabonds from other places might be summarily punished.*

* Pedlars and hawkers were once called "dusty feet," or *pied poudreux*, the French term for vagabonds, from whence this useful but now obsolete court received its quaint appellation. In Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* (1678), Christian and Faithful were summarily dealt with by a court of *Pie Powdre*.

(9) That the town may have a prison or gaol for the special accommodation of "all and singular Felons or Thieves, or other Malefactors whatsoever," and have cognisance of all pleas in the courts of common plea and exchequer upon paying into the Exchequer 20 marks (£13 6s. 8d.) yearly.

(10) "And further of our more abundant grace," the document ends, "we have granted to the aforesaid Mayor and Burgesses that these our present letters, when and as they be sealed under the great seal, be delivered to the said Mayor and Burgesses or to their certain Attorney, without fine or fee, great or small, in the Hamper (hanaper) of our Chancery or elsewhere to our use for the same paying or doing."

It is to be regretted that Henry's reconstituting charters contain no provisions for the regulation of the Parliamentary elections. The old "committee of twelve" chose Thomas Guybon and Francis Mondeford when two members wished to retire—William Gerves because of "extreme perell of sykenes," and Thomas Wyth through service of James Stanley, the Bishop of Ely (7th January 1510). The election, too, of 1512 was conducted on the same lines, when Francis Mondeford and Thomas Wyth (being free from ecclesiastical service and having already accepted the mayoralty) were chosen (28th January).

An alteration in the mode of procedure is recorded in 1523, when the election did not depend on the votes of twelve persons. The minutes of the 31st of March begin with a list of those present. Out of a possible 52—"the twenty-four" (aldermen) and "the twenty-seven" (common councillors)—only 31 (including the mayor) put in an appearance. As, however, the mayor, Thomas Miller, and his colleague, Robert Bewshere, were nominees, the voting strength was reduced to 29. Who the other candidates were we are not told. The result of the election was disappointing.

Majority *one*: (15 + 14) = 29, the total number of votes. As the election was ultimately determined by the votes of 22 persons, whose names are carefully recorded, we suggest that a dispute arose because of the narrowness of the majority and that in this dilemma others were induced to attend in order to record their votes. The second trial yielded this result:

Majority *eight*: (22 + 14) = 36, total number of votes. The second list of the twenty-two for Messrs. Miller and Bewshere contains the fifteen who voted in the first instance and seven not included in the minority.

Here, then, a committee of 12 is superseded by 36 voters, who to a man belong to either the twenty-four or the twenty-seven, and we feel justified in concluding that the election was entirely in the hands of the Town Council. In the protracted struggle for municipal emancipation, the democracy was slowly, yet inevitably, gaining ground.

THE DISSOLUTION OF THE MONASTERIES.

The monastic orders, and especially the mendicant fraternities, which almost to this period had been regarded as centres of virtue and

learning, began to exhibit unmistakable signs of declension. This social deterioration was owing to the pitiable calamities through which the kingdom had passed, the gradual relaxation of their rules and an ever-increasing dearth of eminent men. The depleted ranks were indeed filled, but filled, unfortunately, by a promiscuous multitude of young men who had no sympathy with the ascetic strictness of former days. This was deplorable, but besides there was the struggle waged between the regulars and the seculars.* As holders of extensive properties in trust for the poor, the friars had in many instances become the makers of the towns in which their orders were located; they not only reclaimed waste lands, but unconsciously created and maintained a monopoly of the trade upon which the prosperity of the whole community depended. Whether the friars or secular clergy should be preëminent was now the crucial question. After many futile attempts had been made to solve this important problem, bluff King Hal stepped forward and did it effectually by sweeping away the lesser and then the greater monasteries. To the utilitarian the cure was as bad as the disease—the operation was a perfect success, but the patient died! The land was filled with beggars, and for the *Domus Dei* was substituted something akin to the Union Workhouse. There followed, too, that infinite loss to learning and literature which attended the wholesale destruction of those rare tomes and rarer manuscripts, so tenderly treasured in the monastic libraries.

Bale, writing in 1549, observes:—

A number of persons, who bought the monasteries, reserved of the libraries books thereof, some to serve their jakes, some to scour their candlesticks and some to rub their boots; some they sent over-sea to the bookbinders, not in small numbers, but at times whole ships full. Even the universities of the realm were not all clear of the detestable fact. I know a merchant man who bought the contents of two noble libraries for forty shillings a-piece. The stuff thereof he hath occupied instead of grey paper by the space of more than these ten years, and yet hath store enough for as many years to come. Our posterity may well curse this wicked fall of our age, this unreasonable spoil of England's most noble antiquities.

The King, before resorting to extreme measures, appealed to his council. Some honestly acknowledged that monasteries were scarcely other than receptacles for lazy, worthless persons; they advocated measures likely to bring about a thorough reformation in the management and organisation of religious houses; whilst others, admitting that the monks and friars enjoyed one-fourth of the revenue of the kingdom, suggested a great reduction in their number, so that there might not be more than two or three establishments in every county. Secretary Cromwell was in favour of universal suppression. After a lengthy consultation, commissioners were appointed to visit all the religious houses. The result of an unfavourable report was a measure entitled, “An Acte whereby Relygious Houses of Monkes, Chanons and Nonnes whiche may dyspend Manors, Landes, Tenements and

A Regular (Latin *regularis*, from *regula* a rule) was a member of a monastic order or a congregation; a *Secular* (Latin *secularis*, from *seculum* a generation, the world) was not bound by monastic vows or rules. The first, isolated from the world, was *living in religion*; the second was—of the world, worldly.

Heredytaments below the cleare yearly value of ij c li. (£200) are given to the Kynges Highnes his heires and successours for ever." [27 Henry VIII.]

By this Act all monasteries with incomes below £200 per annum were suppressed, and their revenues, with their goods and chattels, including, of course, the valuable plate so many possessed, were granted to the King (1536). As many as 376 suffered confiscation at "one fell swoop," whilst a "conscientious" sovereign became the recipient of a lump sum estimated at £100,000 and a yearly income of £32,000. Hodgson, however, believes "the King and the cardinal (Wolsey) went *snacks* and divided the money betwixt themselves, the cardinal having first deducted his expenses." At the dissolution of the lesser monasteries ten thousand homeless friars were turned adrift. (Holinshed.) The greater monasteries were dissolved in 1539, when their vast revenues fell into the King's hands.

Norfolk was particularly rich in religious houses; at the time of the dissolution there were 256 monastic institutions—nearly one-eighth of the entire number in England and Wales. Covering an area equal to about one-twentieth of England and Wales, the diocese of Norwich contained one-sixteenth of the whole, or one-eightieth more than it ought proportionately to have done. Of the 79 houses seized in Norfolk, the following 10 were in Lenne:—

Benedictine Priory	Priory of de Sacco
Priory of Blackfriars	College of Secular Canons
" Greyfriars	St. John Baptist's Hospital
" Whitefriars	St. Mary Magdalen's Hospital (Gaywood)
" Austinfriars	Lazar House in Cowgate.

South Lenne (Setchy Parva), Hospital and chapel.

West " Leper House.

Hardwick, Hospital.

Gaywood, " (*Valor Ecclesiasticus*.)

The accompanying table shews at a glance when the surrender of each house was effected, the value of their emoluments, the number of brethren (including the respective priors), and into what hands the building in the first instance passed:—

Institution.	When.	Value.	Brethren	To Whom.	
Benedictine Priory ...	1539			Granted to the Dean & Chapter of Norwich.	
Priory of Greyfriars ...	10. Oct.		10	Sold by the King to John Eyre—one of his receivers or auditors (1544).	Purchased afterward by:— Corporation
Priory of Whitefriars ..	30. Sept.	35/8	11		"
Priory of Blackfriars ...	"	18/1½	12		Private persons
Priory of Austin Friars *	"	24/6	5		"

* Ninety years prior to this, there were connected with this monastery 30 priests besides 16 subordinate officers.

The presentation of the Priors of Lenne was in the hands of the Prior of the Benedictine Convent, Norwich, and the last of the order ceased when William Castleton was made the first Dean of Norwich (2nd May 1538). As the Priory at Lenne had been granted to him and his successors, the presentation connected with the Perpetual Curacy of "St. Margaret with the Chapels of St. Nicholas and St. James" has always continued in the hands of the Dean and Chapter of Norwich, notwithstanding that the Corporation subsequently purchased the impropriation and thus acquired the parochial revenues. The "curate" (vicar) was entitled to receive for his services the surplice fees for christenings, marriages and burials, and a few insignificant perquisites as herbage and dole-fish, etc. The "lecturers," or preachers, were, until the passing of the Municipal Corporation Act in 1835, chosen and appointed by the Corporation; they received £100 a year from the town treasury, and were permitted to hold other livings.

Attention will elsewhere be given to the Priory and the Four Great Orders of Friars in Lenne, hence a few words concerning the other houses which succumbed may not here be out of place.

(1) *The Priory de Sacco* (Sackfriars), whose patron was St. Anthony. To this stern brotherhood other terms were applied, as Friars de Pœnitentia (Friars of Repentance or Penance), Friars of the Penance of Jesus Christ (or of God), and because their dress was formless like a bag of coarse sackcloth, they were also called the *Fraties de Sacco*, or Friars of the *Sack*. They first appeared in London, and at one time had nine houses. Their spread is indicated by the establishment of various offshoots—London (1257), Cambridge and Norwich (1258), Oxford (1262), Newcastle (before 1272), Leicester (1284), Lincoln and York (querry date).

The houses in England were affected by an Act passed by the Council at Lyons which suppressed all except the greater orders (1274). Some of the buildings and sites were either granted to other religious houses, as at Norwich and York, or passed into private hands. The prior at Lenne at this juncture was Roger de Flegg,—an important person in that he was also Vicar-general of the whole order of Sack Friars in England.

The position of this priory has been determined. It was the 12th tenement north of St. Nicholas' chapel on the east side of the way, and it bore the following inscription:—"The brethren of the Sack hold an area in which their church and habitation are constructed, of the gift of Lord John de Vaux, R— de Westacre, and Richard, son of Adam de Wigenhale, and the heirs of Alexander Fitz-Parson acquitted them of their rent to the Bishop" (Survey, Edw. I.).

(2) *The College of Secular Canons* was Thoresby's gift to the town. It was quadrangular in shape, with the principal entrance in Queen Street. The beautifully-carved door (1510) and quaint dormer windows are objects of interest. The first originally bore the legend—*Orate pro anima Magistri Thome Thoresby fundatoris hujus loci*, that

is, "Pray for the soul of Master Thomas Thoresby, the founder of this place." The inexcusable fanaticism of the times prompted some enthusiastic iconoclast to mutilate the inscription by nearly cutting away the first three words.* This building came into the possession of the Corporation, who sold it to a person named Houghton; this was prior to 1561, when the Commissioners reported that to what use it was established they "knew not." "Thoresby's College" was subsequently converted into "a brew-house." Part of the building is now occupied by Mr. J. Oliver as a private dwelling, and the rest is utilised as a young ladies' seminary, conducted by Mrs. and Miss M. Powley (1906).

(3) *The Hospital of St. John the Baptist* has already been mentioned in connection with the recantation of Sir W. Sawtre (1399). It is supposed to have stood on the site of the present "Blue Lion"—formerly the *Hanging Chains*—Inn. As described in the 13th century, it consisted of a church, a hospital, a hall, chambers, a court, and various houses with their appurtenances, and was the gift of Richard de Brecham to the master and brethren—and we will presume to add *sisters*, who are subsequently mentioned. A ground rent of 5s. a year was charged by the bishop.

In 1234 the prior strenuously objected to the celebration of mass in their church.† Margaret Frenghe bequeathed xij pence to the poor people of the Hospice of "St. John of Lenn" (1352). Robert Newman was presented to the rectory at Bawsey, which was thus united to the mastership of this hospital, by William Stratwhayt (1532). At the surrender in 1536, the Hospital of St. John the Baptist was valued at £7 6s. 11d.

(4) *The Hospital of St. Mary Magdalen*.—As early as 1141 a priory dedicated to the above saint existed at Gaywood. This, however, gave place to a more pretentious building, erected by Petrus Capellanus (1174). The new edifice was designed to accommodate the presiding prior or chaplain and twelve brethren and sisters—three of whom were to be leprous. Interesting particulars about "the 'spital on the causey" may be gathered from other writers.‡

The founder, without doubt, was a very rich and influential person. He was known as Peter Capellanus, or Peter the Chaplain, but whether he was actually a chaplain or the son of a chaplain (surname) it is impossible to say. Notwithstanding the adage, *multi clerici sunt laici*, or as Fuller renders it, "many clerks by name are no clerks by profession," it may be safely assumed that Peter was intensely interested in the religious discipline of the little community, even if the duties of the chaplaincy were relegated to another. Conscious,

* Possibly William Dowsing, or some iconoclastic agent of the Earl of Manchester, was guilty of this and other needless desecrations.

† Lowestoft. In the same year (1644), also on the 12th of June, there came one Jessop, with a commission from the Earl of Manchester to take away from all gravestones (and) all (brass) inscriptions on which he found *Orate pro anima*—a wretched commissioner not able to read or find out that which his commission enjoined him to remove" (Cole's MSS.).

‡ See Beloe's *Our Churches* (1899), pp. 74-5.

§ See Mackerell's *Hist. Lynn*, pp. 194 and 244-9; Richards' *Hist. Lynn*, Vol. I., pp. 530-552 Blomefield's (Parkin) *Hist. Norfolk*, Vol. VIII., p. 146; *Report (11th) Hist. MSS. Com.*, part 3, pp. 235-8 and Aikin's *Charities of Lynn* (1843), p. 8.

perhaps, that his end was approaching, he may have hurried on the work to its completion, because he died on St. Paul's day (25th of January), the same year that the episcopal acknowledgment was executed (1174).

The foundation deed of the Hospital of St. Mary Magdalen was granted by Bishop Turbus. It bore, of course, the new seal of the fraternity, but because this seal was not well known, the seal of the dean of Lenne was also affixed thereto.*

From this document we learn how the hospital was granted *cum ecclesia et sepultura*, that is, "with the church and burial ground." Near the building was the grave-yard, where the inmates were interred, not in wooden cases—a comparatively modern device—but wrapped merely in their winding sheets. Coffins were then exclusively reserved to the rich. Solid blocks of stone, often brought from places many miles distant, were hollowed out to receive the body—a small circular cavity being cut at the broad end for the head. In the bottom were generally one or two holes to drain off the moisture. These coffins, never deep in the ground, were often so near the surface that the stone lids were visible. They belong to the 11th and 12th centuries, but very few are found earlier than the 12th century.

For four centuries this beneficent institution flourished, and even after the statute passed expressly for the suppression of hospitals, colleges, chantries, etc., the fraternity at Gaywood was not dispersed neither were its lands seized, though nominally belonging to the Crown. At the present time its possessions are vested in the Charity Commissioners.

While excavating for the foundation of the new (King Edward VII.) Grammar School, generously presented to our borough by W. J. Lancaster, Esq., several skeletons were unearthed, awaiting, with their feet towards the east, the "Dayspring" and the "Resurrection." The workmen came upon a stone coffin about 3 feet beneath the surface, 30 feet from the road and 30 feet from the wall of the present alms-houses. Cut out of a solid block, it measured $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length, the breadth at the head being 2 feet and the foot 18 inches; it was, moreover, 14 inches high and 12 inches in depth. The cavity for the head was elliptical, 15 inches by 10 inches (18th January 1904). The stone greatly resembles "Clips-ham," and was perhaps brought by water from the Clipsham quarries, about 10 miles from Oakham, in Rutlandshire, through Market Deeping, Crowland and Spalding, and on to the mouth of the Well-land, at Fossdyke Wash, from whence it was shipped to Lynn. Mackerell mentions three similar stone coffins in connection with St. Margaret's church.

After remaining in the ground seven hundred and thirty years (as we believe) the stone is very friable. The stone lid had given way, and the osseous remains of others buried above had fallen in. With the skeleton of a tall person, about six feet in height, was another skull and many bones.

* The dean assisted the prior, as the archdeacon assisted the bishop.

Describing the coffins washed away by the sea from the church-yard at West Lynn the author of *Lennæ Rediviva* (circa Edward IV.) observes :—

Such coffins as this age affords none such,
But com'on were for conquerors in every church,
They made out of freestone, engraved as deepe
As to containe the body, and it to keepe.
A hollow place for th' head cut in a round,
Narrow for necke, broader for shoulders round,
In one word they are shaped to the full
Proportion of a body with its skull. (Ben Adam.)

In conclusion, we accentuate certain points :—

(1) The coffin belongs to the 12th century, rather than the 11th; it contains the remains of a wealthy, rather than a poor person, who was in some way connected with this ancient hospital, or the interment would have been elsewhere.

(2) Peter Capellanus was unquestionably wealthy; he founded the Hospital of St. Mary Magdalen, died during the 12th century (1174), and would be buried, according to the custom of the period, either in the chapel or graveyard belonging to this beneficent foundation.

Thus far we go, but no farther; yet, if thou, courageous reader, wilt venture to assert that the stone coffin, deposited in our museum, contains the crumbling remains of good Peter Chaplain, we will contentedly refrain from uttering any protest.

(5) *The Cowgate Lazar House*.—The dreadful scourge of leprosy, now happily almost unknown in this country, is said to have been introduced by the Crusaders on their return from the Holy Land. Those afflicted with this and similar loathsome cutaneous diseases were isolated from their fellows and compelled to dwell in *lazar houses* (so-called from Lazarus, the beggar mentioned by St. Luke, who being “full of sores” was probably a leper), which were built and supported by the benevolent. The unfortunate inmates were not permitted to go abroad without ringing a bell to announce their approach or shaking the lid of their wooden clap-dish to shew it was empty. Generally, however, an accredited *foregoer*, whose duty it was to beg for the support of these incurable outcasts, was appointed at each house.

It was customary in Lennæ to report to the council those who were suspected of being thus afflicted, so that their infirmity might be confirmed or denied by “discreet persons, having knowledge in this respect.” For example, John Selander, T. Taylour and Edmund Mundy having been duly “nominated,” were cited to appear before the mayor and his brethren (17th of March 1429), to be minutely examined in their presence. The judges, however, were uncertain about John Selander, because the next year, when the council met to levy fines or contributions upon the aliens who had not yet accepted the burden of citizenship, the Dutchman’s name appears upon the list. From John Selander, however, nothing was demanded, but now being unquestionably leprous, he was ordered to quit the borough within a fortnight under the heavy penalty of forty shillings (1st April 1430).

Margaret Frenghe bequeathed twelve pence to the lepers of the Cowgate, and a like amount to those of Herdwyk or Hardwick (1352); John de Grantham, of Lenne, left "3s. 4d. to each of the seven leper houses about Lenne" (1384); and Stephen Guybon, of North Lenne, demised twelve pence "to every leper house about Lenne," namely, Cowgate, Herdwyk, Seche Hithe, Mawdelyn, West Lenne and Gaywood (1434). Hence there were seven infectious hospitals in 1384, but fifty years later there were but six.

It will be noted that these retreats were some distance from the town. The one at Hardwick is supposed to have stood on the south side of the road, at the foot of and just beyond the "Hardwick bridge." It was burnt down in 1477, when Edmund Bedingfeld, the lord of the manor of Hall Place or Seche Parva, a hamlet of South Lenne, granted the site of the Hospital of St. Lawrence, as it was called, to John Norris, the vicar of All Saints' church. There was a corresponding settlement of the brotherhood of St. Lawrence in the Newland, their house being affiliated with the monastery of St. Lazarus of Jerusalem, at Burton Lazars (Leicestershire). This hospital was in the Damgate, nearly opposite the chapel of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist. The brethren owned a row of messuages extending from the Bishop's Mill Fleet to the Drawbridge (East Gates). The site of the Kettle Mills Water-works, known in the 13th century as "Lazar Hill," belonged to this fraternity.

Of the leper house in West Lenne, and the leper hospital in South Lenne, nothing is known.

ANCHORITES AND HERMITS.

An *anchorite* was a being who lived a solitary life, secluded from the world, and who practised the severest austerities, never leaving his cell, and depending for his living upon the thoughtful benevolence of others; whereas a *hermit*, though more or less a recluse, was permitted to wander at large. Cells or *destinæ* were provided for these pious persons in monasteries, churches, churchyards, over church porches or town gates, and in lonely and almost inaccessible places. Many burgesses of Lenne left money for the support of these religious devotees.

Anchorites are mentioned in connection with South Lenne (1367), All Saints' church (1385 and 1510), Whitefriars' monastery ("John with the Broken Back" in 1367 and William Clays in 1510); there were "recluses" of All Saints' (1276 and 1408); Lady Alice Belle, a member of the Gild of SS. Fabian and Sebastian, may also be included. To the "anchorite recluse" of All Saints', Margaret the widow of John Lok left twenty shillings (1408).

Hermits, too, were plentiful. Dwelling in or near the church of St. Margaret were John (1406) and Thomas (1428); the chapel of St. Nicholas, John (1367 and 1428); the South Gate, Thomas (1386), all of whom were accordingly surnamed "Hermit"; and Anne Whyote, of the East Gate (1385).

In 1349 the town, through the medium of the mayor, John de Couteshale, presented a petition to William Bateman, the Bishop of Norwich, begging that John Puttock might be accepted as a hermit.

He lived at that time in a cave on the western side of the haven at a desolate spot particularly dangerous to our early mariners, and here at his own cost the good man erected a "remarkable cross," 110 feet in height. This land-mark, subsequently known as the *Lenne Crutch* or *Cross* (a name retained in the 17th century), was of great service to our sailors. John Puttock seems to have been a wealthy man, because he proposed building himself "a proper mansion," and looked upon the cave as a temporary dwelling. Here, then, he desired to spend the remnant of his days in the service of God and for the good of his fellows. Hence the townsfolk to further his commendable conduct applied to the Bishop for permission and licence.

The *Hermitage of St. Catherine* was beyond the East Gates on the north side of the common way against Roudes Hill (*Spread Eagle Estate*). The abutments are mentioned in a deed, 8th of Henry VIII. (Harrod p. 36). The building apparently belonged to the Corporation in 1514, when Sir William Knight, a priest, presented "to the commons" a pair of double gilt silver chalices which were to be used in the Hermitage. The subjoined quotation from the chapelwardens' cash book helps to decide the position of this forgotten building:—"It'm: for somuch rec'd viij small Shrub trees growing on the dike sides upon an Acre of Grownd in Gaywood [a part of St. Nicholas' Chapel Estate] next the hermitage called St. Katherine's £1 11s. (1616)." In other words—eight shrubs growing upon the Chapel Estate were sold for £1 11s.

St. Catherine's Chapel, defaced before 1560, we are inclined to regard as none other than St. Katherine's Hermitage, because John Consolif desired "there to live a solitary life upon the alms of the good people." Bishop Spencer wrote to Roger Paxman, the mayor and burgesses, on his behalf, asking that for the love they bore him,—which was truly a negative quantity—they would surrender their part in the house to accommodate dear brother Consolif, who was none other than his brother's worn-out servant (1382).

The Greenland Fishery, a public house in Bridge Street, is said to have been built on the site of a nunnery, but the nuns of Lenne (if there ever were any) were removed to Thetford in 1176 (W. P. Burnet). Gasquet says the Benedictine nuns were removed to Thetford from *Lyng*, about 7 miles from East Dereham (*English Monastic Life*: 1904, p. 288). The present building is of the timber-frame order, the spaces being filled with herring-bone brick work. It is reputed to have been the residence of a merchant named Atkins. John Atkins was mayor in 1607 and 1615, and William Atkins in 1619. The date 1605 is visible on the north gable, and 1674 was at one time to be seen upon a corbel on the south. Some rude mural paintings, encrusted with whitewash, were discovered in an upper room (1834); they represented Faith, Hope and Charity, and the parable of Dives and Lazarus. The following poetic inscriptions were deciphered:—

Thou in thy life thy pleasure had, but Lazarus he felt pain,

Now therefore he comforted is, with heavenly food above,

Which when he begged but crumbs of thee, did'st him disdain,

Wherefore thou now tormented art, and from thence cannot move,

Alas ! how short the pleasure is, and vaine
 Woe and alas ! that such delights which haste
 Should men repaye with everlasting paine
 In chaines restrained from out the blissful place.
 On the east wall were these lines :—
 As nothing is so absolutely blest
 But chance may crosse and make it seeming ill ;
 So nothing can a man so much molest
 But God can change and—(seeming good)—He will.

And over the window, Psalm xvi. 2 :—

Thou wilt shew me the path of life ; in thy presence is fullness of joy ; at thy right hand there are pleasures for ever more.

NO ADMITTANCE.

There was a fresh outbreak in 1516 of the " sweating sickness," which had never really quitted the country. It became so prevalent at last that it was almost disregarded, except when its virulence decimated large areas. About this period the scourge was severely felt in London and other of the larger centres of population, and the civic authorities, alarmed at the mortality around them, tried their utmost to mitigate the evil. Among other measures, they inaugurated the wholesale expulsion of beggars and vagabonds. Driven beyond the boundary of the city, they might go where they chose, but were not permitted to return ; hence they sought an abiding place in the smaller burghs, which were soon completely overrun with unwelcome refugees, who were by no means averse to living upon the industry of others. The influx here was so alarming that the Assembly were constrained to examine the roll of burgesses, and, in their wisdom, it was decided that all the unemployed and questionable inhabitants of Lenne were to present themselves for hire every morning at the usual time of going to work, at the corner of Chequer Street (now King Street), either near the King's or the Common Staith, where labourers were usually in demand. Here these unfortunate loafers were to remain one hour, if the piteous cry " We've got no work to do " were not in the mean time silenced, or be punished as hypocritical vagabonds who preferred idleness to industry (1520).

The closing of the monastery doors, a scheme devised by Wolsey, greatly aggravated the mischief, not only here, but elsewhere. Hordes of infuriated beggars, turned adrift from these temporary shelters, tramped from one part of the kingdom to another, committing crimes of every description. To guard against a further ingress from neighbouring places the town gates were closed punctually every evening at six o'clock, and thus they remained until six the next morning. The keys of the locked-up burgh were delivered to the mayor, whilst a strong corps of armed men guarded every entrance. The peace, within the municipal pale, was secured by means of a night watch, consisting of the ward constables and twenty stalwart men, who were under the command of one of the aldermen. Their duty it was to parade the streets and to lock up after ten o'clock every disreputable person they met. To assist the guardians of the peace in these nocturnal expeditions every householder, having received notice from the bellman, was bound to suspend a light in front of his dwelling, or forfeit fourpence whenever he neglected to do so (1536).

An abortive attempt was made to revive the suppressed orders at Walsingham. The inhabitants, influenced by homeless friars, considered that the dissolution of their priory, with the cessation of pilgrimages to the Virgin, would in a great measure ruin the town. A tumultuous mob therefore assembled to oppose the King's officers; their dispersion, however, was inevitable. Fifteen are said to have been condemned for high treason, of whom five were executed. William Gisborough, a friar, of Lenne, and his father, who belonged to Walsingham, were hanged in the Lenne, as was also a Carmelite friar named Peacock (1st June 1537).

There can be little doubt that the people suffered greatly, for some few years at least, after the suppression. In four statutes passed between 1535 and 1544 there appears a list of decayed towns; Lenne, Yarmouth and Ipswich are conspicuous in that of 1541, but as at that period there was scarcely a prosperous town in the Kingdom, it would be unfair to attribute the alteration to one source. Besides, a local Act was passed in 1535 for the rebuilding of houses in Lenne (26th Henry VIII., c. 9), and similar Acts affected Norwich and other towns, for "there hath been in times past many beautiful houses which are now falling into ruin."

For the brutal and shameful methods employed to sweep away the religious houses—much that they stood for and all that they were—it is impossible to offer any excuse. But it is not a little noticeable that, in much less than a century after all were gone, they were hardly missed; very few men, wise or simple, seriously regretted their suppression, and very much fewer wished them back (Dr. A. Jessopp).

THE CLERGY SUSTENTATION FUND.

The following interesting items occur in the accounts rendered by John Ffornesete (1438) and George Hyngham (1509), priors of Lenne, to John Hewrynglonde and R—— Latton, the respective priors of Norwich:—

	1348	1509
Personal tithes for the whole burgh	£60 12 3	£21 8 0
Offerings:—		
(1). On feast days for requiems, churchings, wedding and holy bread :		
	1438	1509
St. Margaret's	44 0 0	24 10 0
St. Nicholas'	10 10 8	6 4 0
St. James'	13 9 6	2 6 9
(2). In the boxes before the images of the saints in all the churches and chapels the account for 1509 includes that of St. Mary on the (Lady) Bridge.)	£3 2 0	£0 6 8
(3). For annual masses, including the stipend of the Trinity Gild	£6 7 1	£2 0 0
(4). For mortuaries	0 5 2	£0 18 0
(5). At the cross in the church-yard of St. Margaret.	—	£3 0 4
(6). At the chapel of Our Lady at the Mount ...	—	£16 10 0
	£138 6 8	£77 3 9

A positive statement as to the fixing of the amount of personal tithes and feast-day offerings, in contradistinction to the voluntary payments, cannot be given; yet it seems likely that the plan adopted in London was widespread and was probably in vogue here. From "time out of mind," according to the curates' book of articles, the occupiers of houses in the metropolis were assessed upon their rents. Each householder was bound to contribute one farthing upon every ten shillings (and in like proportion) upon every saint's day. Now, as there were exactly one hundred days in the year set apart for the collecting of this parochial house-tax, it will be patent to the observing arithmetician that the rate amounted to 4s. 2d. in the pound upon the gross rental. Inasmuch as this form of payment was felt to be inconvenient, the parishioners and the curates, or "vicars" as we should say, entered into a mutual arrangement whereby the rate was fixed at 1s. 2d. upon every noble or 6s. 8d. paid as rent, that is, 3s. 6d. in the pound, thus constituting, as it did, an abatement of 8 pence in the pound. This, however, was regarded as a "dowry" or gift to the parish church, hence the curates demanded according to law, that all merchants, artificers and as many well-to-do burgesses as possible, should also pay personal tithes upon their "lucre and encrece" or yearly income, as every "well conseyned" burgess had been in the habit of doing in times past.

But in 1528 the Court of Aldermen decided that the assessment based upon the noble should give place to the older form—that based upon the half sovereign as set forth in the Bull of Pope Nicholas. Instead, however, of calculating upon one hundred saints' days, the householder might in future ignore eighteen saints altogether and pay upon eighty-two. This works out at 3s. 5d. in the pound gross rental, and shews a decrease of one penny per pound. Six years afterwards the King's Council insisted that every occupier should pay "without grudge or murmur" at the rate of 2s. 9d. in the pound, and, moreover, that every man's wife, servant, child and apprentice, receiving the Holy Sacrament, should contribute two pence on each occasion (1534).

An examination of the above statistics shews how the prosperity of Lenne was waning; and that commercially the town was starting upon the down grade. Not more than a century was to elapse ere it was to be deliberately styled a "decayed burgh."

In seventy years (between 1438 and 1509) the personal tithes, or "income tax," and the annual payments for masses, had both decreased to one-third, the "inhabited house-duty" to one-half, whilst the contributions voluntarily slipped into the boxes had dwindled down to one-ninth. Only one item shews an increase, and it amounts only to 12s. 10d. There is, however, a slight redeeming feature in what in all conscience is depressing enough—the offertories at the Chapel on the Mount and the churchyard cross; the first was built in 1485 and the second, no doubt, between the years under discussion. Omitting these sources of income, the total for 1438, £138 6s. 8d., is represented in 1509 by £57 13s. 5d., or by less than one-half. If a comparison be made between the payments of the householders, say,

at 4s. 2d. in the pound (gross rental), the aggregate rent-rolls stand roughly at £326 and £158 respectively!

THE DEEP SEA FISHERY

in which several Lenne vessels were engaged, was still the cause of vexatious trouble. In 1507 Tycho Vincent interviewed Henry VII. at Abingdon, touching certain depredations attributed to the English. The result of this conference was faithfully reported to James IV. of Scotland. Coming to 1522-6, the residents along the coast of Norfolk and Suffolk were in a state of nervous apprehension lest the Scotch and French marauders should enter their creeks and havens and decamp with their vessels. Every man from the age of 16 to 60 was expected to hold himself in readiness either to repel an attack or to prepare inflammable beacons, so that distant places might at any moment read disaster in the face of the sky. The fishermen of Norfolk and Suffolk offered to equip a ship of war for their own protection if the King would assist them in the emergency, for it was widely rumoured that the Scots intended intercepting the Iceland fleet on its return. Hence, Thomas Howard, the Duke of Norfolk, following a precedent to which we have before adverted, placed the ships from the North Sea at their disposal.

The mercantile importance of Lenne at this period may be judged from the subjoined returns :—

	1528.	Iceland. Ships.	North Sea. Crases.	Scotland. Crases.
Yarmouth	30	20	8
Cley, Blakeney and Cromer	30	10	3
Lenne	10	4	6
Wells	6	—	—

The "sluggish crare," to which Shakespeare also refers (*Cymbeline*, Act IV., scene 2), was a slow unwieldy trading vessel.

SO NEAR, AND YET SO FAR.

The King's precipitate marriage with Anne Boleyn, a fascinating Norfolk beauty (25th January 1533), might be considered of local interest. As doubts are entertained about Blickling being the queen's birthplace, and as she seldom favoured her Norfolk relatives with her presence, the romantic life and tragic death of Henry's second wife would find a far more fitting place in the general history of the nation.

Although Henry was at first a sincere patron of "Our Lady of Walsingham," yet he never, as far as is ascertainable, visited Lenne *en route*. He contributed liberally towards the support of the shrine, paying in 1509, and for several years, £5 every six months for the wages of a priest "to sing before Our Lady," besides 46s. 8d., a half-yearly donation for the "King's candles" burnt at the altar. In 1511, if we credit the story given by Sir Henry Spelman,* the King

* Sir Henry Spelman, of Congham, (1564?—1641) purchased the leases of the abbeys of Blackborough and Worningay in 1504. Through this transaction he became involved in proceedings in the Court of Chancery, which lasted many years. Unpleasant recollections of this trouble prompted him to compile his *History and Fate of Sacrilege*, in which he declares himself to have been "a great loser and not beholden to fortune, yet happy in this, that he is out of the briars, and especially that he hereby discerned the infelicity of meddling with consecrated places."

walked with bare feet from Barsham, a distance of two miles (as was the custom of pilgrims, who removed their footgear at a wayside "shoe house"), prostrated himself at the shrine, and left a rich offering, including a necklace of "balas rubies" (19th January). On his visit to return thanks for the birth of an heir, the exultant father gave, in two instalments, £43 11s. 4d. towards the glazing of the chapel, and £1 13s. 4d. as an offering (1537). A few years later (4th of August 1538) he "disestablished and disendowed" the monastery, appropriated to himself all its movable treasures, gave or sold to his courtiers the extensive estates and revenues, and caused the famous image of Our Lady of Walsingham to be burnt at Chelsea barracks.

Queen Catherine was at Walsingham in 1512. There is, moreover, a letter in the Record Office, by Charles Brandon, the Duke of Suffolk, to Cardinal Wolsey. It is dated at Rising, March 17th 1517. The writer says he met the Queen (Catherine), his mistress, on Friday last (13th) at Pykenham Wade (near Swaffham), and conducted her to Walsingham. He was accompanied by his wife, Mary, the sister of the King (the dowager-queen of France), who also met the royal pilgrim and bade her good cheer. Mary died at the manor house of Westhorpe, and was buried in the church of St. Mary, Bury St. Edmunds. In 1731 her body "wrapped in lead" and bearing the inscription, "Mary Queen of France, 1533," was discovered. (Gillingwater.)

BURGH ANNUITANTS.

Following the King's example, municipal bodies laid hands upon everything which they deemed superfluous. We have two gentle reminders in the annual issue of the borough accounts of what was done more than 250 years ago, in the shape of two small annuities.

Imbued with sacred devotion, the Corporation made an order that the greater portion of the plate belonging to the chapel of St. Nicholas should be sold, and the money arising therefrom used to the general advancement of the commonweal of the town. The silver, sold at about 3s. 3½d., an ounce, realised £73 (2nd September 1543). A good excuse was found the next year for the appropriation of all the unnecessary plate belonging to the chapel of St. James. The town had recently suffered considerable damage through "the raging of the sea," hence the plate was sacrificed in order to repair the broken sea-walls (17th December 1544). The Corporation, who honestly thought this within their province, although the charter merely gave them permission to tax the inhabitants for that purpose, pledged themselves to pay £1 6s. 8d. in each case as an annuity. The money is still paid; the amount to St. Nicholas being subsequently increased to £2, whilst the sum due to St. James' chapel is now paid to the church-wardens of St. Margaret's church. In their accounts we read:—"The mayor & burgesses paye twooe severall Anewities, the one of fowertie shyllyngs ayere for Saint Margret's church [on behalf of St. Nicholas' chapel] And ye other xxvj s. viiij d. for the late church of St. James & now payd to the church of saint margrets (1592)."

KISSING THE BOOK.

Though blissfully ignorant of the pernicious effects caused by too familiar an acquaintance with microbes, our forbears preferred when taking an oath to place their right hands upon the sacred writings. An innovation, however, happened about this period, as is evident from the erratic conduct of Thomas Palmer. Whether he, as a scrupulously veracious man, had conscientious objections to oath-taking in anywise, who can say? When, however, he was requested to make the usual declaration as a member of the Common Council, he obstinately refused, observing "he had as lyff be drawn abought the towne with horses in a cart as to blowe on a book here" (28th January 1519).

FRAUDULENT TRADESMEN.

It was necessary during this reign to enforce certain ordinances or *assizes*, regulating the price and quality of various articles publicly offered for sale within the burgh.* This was merely the survival of an old custom, which originated in the reign of John. Bread, beer, wine, cloth, etc., were at times subject to assize. The quality of the bread, for instance, was supposed to be stated; if then an inferior article were substituted the seller was liable. Among the delinquents were those selling *sine signo*, that is "unmarked" bread, and others whose bread "weighed less than assize." Bakers were prohibited at this time from exposing manchets for sale; they might, indeed, make them, but they were only to be made to order (1546).†

RAISE OR RAZE.

In 1534 many edifices, particularly those near the haven, were in a ruinous state, and no protection against "the fludde and rage of the see." Hence the mayor and commonalty appealed to the King, asking that the owners of those buildings "a longe tyme in greate decaye and desolacion" should be compelled to amend the same. Parliament quickly responded to the prayer of Henry's "obedyent subjects." The negligent owners were allowed a year in which either to repair these "dyvers and many messuages and tenymentes of olde tyme buylded," or to enclose the ground "wythe walles of morter and stone." In default "the Chief Lordes" might re-enter on the fee and do the work. After the lapse of a year, if nothing were done, the Corporation might undertake the same; they were, however, granted two years' grace. If both failed to comply with the Act (26th Henry VIII. c. 9), the first owner, subject to no forfeiture, might inherit his own again. Thus was "ruyne and desolacion" checked.

THE TUG OF WAR.

In 1542 Henry issued a manifesto insisting upon his "true right and title" to the sovereignty of Scotland, when Thomas Waters, of

* "May 20th 1646. Levied more vpon the said Richard Paule, alehouse-keeper, for breaking the assize of beere for six quarts, six pounds (f6), convicted by oathes of Jno. Gibson woollecomber, 06 : 00 : 00. And vpon Katharin, the wife of the sd Rich. paule, for swearing ten oathes, 00 : 10 : 00." C.M.A. St. M.

† *Manchet*, probably from the French *manager* to eat, was a small loaf of fine bread.

"Of bread made of wheat we have sundrie sorts dailie brought to the table thereof the first and most excellent is the *mainchet*, which we comunlie call white bread." Holinshed's *Description of England*. II., c. 6 (died about 1580).

Lynn, was commissioned to supply the garrisons in the north with 1,000 quarters of wheat and 4,000 quarters of malt (29th January), and, besides, to victual the two ships of war furnished by the borough, and to pay the captains, soldiers and mariners their wages from time to time (4th March). During the war which ensued, William Overend captured eight vessels, supposed to belong to the enemy. The Privy Council instructed Robert Soome, the mayor, Mr. Derham and Mr. Beningfilde to investigate the circumstances (7th June 1545). Another prize was taken by the ships of Lynn, but the mayor, Edward Baker, Thomas Waters, John Beningfilde and Mr. Kenete, upon application from Peter Meyres, were ordered to release the same (21st July 1545). William Overend, who was more zealous than discreet, captured a vessel belonging to Stralsund, which he alleged "contained Scots and the goods of Scots, the King's enemies." The Privy Council, after receiving a letter from Christian III. the King of Denmark, decided that Overend should pay £20 and the incidental costs (26th October 1545). The goods of Frauncis Clays, of Bruges, and Nicholas Berte, of Antwerp, were spoiled upon the high sea by William Robyns, of Lynn. The mayor, Jeffrey Stele, was ordered to forward a surety for the pirate (11th April 1546).

Charles of Spain and the King of England formed an alliance against France. Henry crossed the Channel with thirty thousand men (July 1544), captured several frontier towns and invested Boulogne. Shortly afterwards liberty was accorded to our customers to provide grain for Boulogne, whilst, at the same time, Sir Roger Townshend and Sir William Paston were to inquire into the deceit practised by the Lynn maltsters (18th September 1545).

OLLA PODRIDA.

1510. A law-suit between the Corporation of Bishop's Lenne and Cambridge respecting the tolls at Stirbitch (Stourbridge) Fair.

1523-4. An Act passed concerning the worsted weavers of Lynn and Yarmouth.

1535-6. An Act passed concerning the insurances of all the Temporalities belonging to the Bishopric of Norwich unto the King and his heirs.

1540. The mart was not permitted because the town was greatly affected with "hot burning agues and fluxes"; three years later the "sweating sickness" was raging in London.

1540-1. An Act passed for reëdifying decayed houses in sundry towns. Lynn was included in the list.

1540-1. Bishop Rugg was chargeable with the collection of the King's tenths (32nd Henry VIII., c. 47).

1542. The weavers of Lynn and other places were restricted to buy worsted yarn at Norwich (33rd Henry VIII., c. 16).

1547. The town clerk, the sword-bearer and the four sergeants-at-mace were arrayed in fashionable liveries, as were also the waits or town musicians and the borough porters, the cloth costing 5/ and 4/4 per yard respectively.

* * * * *

During the latter days of his life Henry VIII. required to be moved from chamber to chamber by mechanical means; this kingly Falstaff succumbed to disease and obesity (28th of January 1547), "at hys most pryncely howse at Westminster. comenly called Yorke

place or Whytehall," the palace Cardinal Wolsey built for himself, and which Henry coolly appropriated. He was interred at Windsor, the rites of sepulture being in strict accordance with the practice of the Roman Catholic Church.

CHAPTER XXII.

The Hand of the Spoiler,

HENRY VIII. was succeeded by his only son, Edward, a fragile yet phenomenally precocious lad of nine years (28th January 1547). During Edward the Sixth's nonage a Council of Regency, "a gang of greedy and shameless self-seekers," superintended the administration of Government affecting both Church and State.

* * * * *

"To him that hath shall be given," said the King, and gifts amazing in value were accordingly bestowed. The recipients, indeed, had "more abundantly"; at the same time, however, there were those who already having less had *less* "more abundantly," which was, it will be admitted, superfluous. This flagrant tendency to augment the wealth of the land-owners at the expense of the rest of the community caused great dissatisfaction, because whilst the rich grew richer the poor waxed poorer. How changed, alas, the times! The monasteries—sold; the monks and friars, those lenient and indulgent landlords—outcast wanderers; and not only the monastic lands, but the valuable common rights pertaining to hundreds of manors were filched from the struggling populace. Farms grew larger by the absorption of the adjacent holdings, from which many an unlucky tenant had been summarily ejected. The system of encroachment or enclosure was highly repugnant to the masses, who held, as they thought, an inalienable right to free pasturage over the vast stretches of waste land which then abounded, and which for generations had been enjoyed by their forefathers. To the unskilled labourer the prospect was incredibly alarming, because the area of arable land, now so largely converted into pasturage, had enormously decreased. The amount of necessary employment diminished also, and fierce competition changed a *bad* condition into one a hundred times *worse*, so that those who worked at all were glad to accept the barest remuneration; yet, whilst wages dwindled towards invisibility, rents swelled apace.

INSURRECTION AGAINST THE GENTRY.

The spirit of democratic freedom engendered in the breasts of the East Anglian peasantry in 1381 was other than lifeless; true, it was quiescent, dormant, unseen and its existence unsuspected, but there it abided nevertheless, and, like a smouldering fire, was ready

at any favourable moment to burst once more into flame. Those immediately associated in the ensuing revolt, which was purely social and not religious in its nature, were earnest, hard-working men, goaded to desperation through dear provisions, slackness of work and insufficient wages. In an ever-increasing destitution, they failed to see any prospect of making the proverbially refractory "ends" meet. To preserve their own lives and the lives of their children, they were spending far more than they earned and the day of reckoning must come sooner or later.

(1) THE CAMP ON MOUSEHOLD.

On the 20th of June 1549, serious riots occurred at Attleborough, Eccles, Hethersett and other places in Norfolk. Two brothers essayed to lead the disaffected people of Wymondham. Robert and William Kett were respectable, well-to-do burgesses—the one a tanner and the other a butcher. Those who sought "redress by constitutional agitation" were neither "infamous rebels" nor "cursed caitiffs," as some writers would induce us to believe. Despite this, it must be admitted that the ranks of the honest, down-trodden poor were fringed with "a rabblement of rude rascals"—the loafing, unsolicited promoters of every social movement, who, then even as now, had everything to gain and nothing to lose. Throngs of lawless and defiant yokels tramped to Norwich, which became the centre of commotion, committing terrible depredations on their way. The newly-erected fences surrounding "enclosures" were thrown down; flocks of sheep and herds of cattle were coolly requisitioned; and, converting the Earl of Surrey's mansion, on the site of St. Leonard's Priory, into a prison, they confined therein many of "the gentlemen" with whom they came in contact. As every village through which the procession passed contributed a quota of recruits, it is quite possible that the encampment, on the heath overlooking the city, numbered twenty thousand.

The discontented, the desolate and oppressed, *those for whom no man had cared*, had now their camp; and hearing this, great numbers from Norfolk, Suffolk and other parts joined them daily; blazing beacons and pealing bells spread the tidings that the men of Norfolk had raised a standard round which all might gather, and far and wide was the rumour sent, and thronging multitudes came pouring in from quiet villages and market towns,—the peaceful abodes of humble rustics and simple-minded farmers, *hitherto content with complaining*, and now roused to action, as the distant beacon sent the glare across the landscape, or the village bells, hitherto associated only with days of holy rest and happy times forgotten now in the wild storm of social excitement in which they were living, summoned them away to join the bold spirits on Mousehold Heath. (F. W. Russell.)*

The innocent, unlettered plebeians placed implicit faith in the power of numbers and what to them was the irrefragable justice of their cause; never for a moment suspecting, when starting upon this mad enterprise, that indisputable *Right* could be of no avail, except supported by invincible *Might*.

* Read *Kett's Rebellion in Norfolk*, by Rev. F. W. Russell (1859), also Mason's *Hist. Norfolk* (1884), pp. 132-140.

(2) ENCAMPMENTS NEAR LYNN.

Besides the great camp at Norwich, there was a minor one at Rising Chase; to this rendezvous flocked many from Lynn and the neighbouring villages. The insurgents were here stimulated into action by four aggrieved tenants of the lord of the manor of Burnham. Plans were devised to surprise and capture King's Lynn, but their march was intercepted, and the safety of the borough secured through the wisdom and tact of the governor, Sir William Willoughby—the first Lord Willoughby of Parham. By the prompt and spirited exertion of the county gentry, "the rebels" at Rising were dispersed; they, however, reassembled at Watton and employed their leisure in blocking the passage of the river at Thetford and Brandon Ferry. After loitering in this neighbourhood about a fortnight, they received orders to join the main body at Mousehold.

Thomas Fermer, of East Barsham, was slain, and Geoffrey Comber, John Water, Robert Palmer and Walter Buckham, the ringleaders, were in the mean time captured by our governor and lodged in the Lynn gaol, where they remained for 15 months. At the trial, they were charged with unlawfully having in their possession swords, clubs, arquebuses, arrows, coats of mail and other weapons, and with supporting the King's enemies by force of arms.

After the breaking up of the camp at Rising, Lord Willoughby, at the head of 1,100 men from Lincolnshire, 400 from Lynn, Marshland and Cambridgeshire, and 120 light horse, marched to Walsingham, in order to join John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, the Lord Lieutenant of the county (19th September 1549).

There was a camp, too, at Ryston, near Downham. About 300 yards from the "Hall" stands "Kett's Oak" (1904), where Coniers, the rector of the church of St. Martin-at-Palace, Norwich, and the chaplain of the insurgents, read prayers and preached. Here an improvised court sat to administer justice and regulate disorders. That some of the intractable were hanged upon a convenient "Reformation Oak" seems likely, if reliance be placed on the rhyme:—

Surely the tree that nine men did twist on
Must be the old oak now at Ryston.

(3) THE BATTLE OF DUSSIN DALE.

In the mean time deputies, "governors," as they were absurdly styled, arrived at Mousehold from at least twenty out of the three-and-thirty hundreds, where a hastily organised court dispensed corrective doses of everyday justice beneath an umbrageous canopy formed by the outspread arms of "the Oak of Reformation." William Heydon and Thomas Jacker represented the peasantry of Freebridge.

The list of grievances formulated by Kett and his adherents assumed the guise of a petition to the King. It consisted of twenty-nine distinct clauses, and was signed by Robert Kett, the leader of the alienated democracy, Thomas Cod, the mayor of Norwich, and Thomas Aldryche, an alderman of the city. The document,

which is far too long for insertion in these pages, is preserved in the British Museum. The manner in which historians have ignored what every fair-minded person must admit were reasonable demands, is as reprehensible as inexcusable.

Edward, in a conciliatory humour, pledged his word to bring about a reduction in rents, the cessation of plurality in benefices and farms, and the extinction of landowners who, as farmers and clothiers, were other than landowners pure and simple. As the people were mistrustful and obstinate, the Privy Council despatched a herald to proclaim his Majesty's gracious forgiveness to "all that wolde humbly submit themselves and depart every man to his howse to enjoy the benefit thereof"; the offer was, however, scornfully disregarded. In this dilemma the Council instructed William Parr, Marquis of Northampton (brother of the sixth wife of Henry VIII.), to collect an army as best he could to suppress the widespread outbreak. Accompanied by Lord John Sheffield, Sir Richard Southwell, Sir Thomas Gates, Sir Thomas Paston and Sir Henry Bedingfeld, he led the men of Cambridgeshire, Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire, Northamptonshire and the loyalists of Norfolk against the peasantry (10th August). The King's troops investing the city were hard pressed during the night. Inspired by desperation, the "Norfolk Furies" refused to yield even when severely wounded, "but half dead, drowned in their own blood," according to a contemporary writer, "even to the last gasp furiously withstood our men" [the royal army], "when they could scarce hold their weapons. Yea, many also strooken thorow the brests with swords and the synews of their legs cut asunder yet creeping on their knees were mooved with such furie as they wounded our souldiers lying amongst the slaine almost without life." Remembering the unjust and iniquitous abridgment of their rights, the suffering cottars retaliated with frenzied impetuosity. Denying the imputation of being "rebels," and bravely maintaining that, as loyal subjects, they were fighting in the King's cause as well as their own, the despised, poverty-stricken peasants of Norfolk were indeed faithful unto death.

After this reverse, in which Lord John Sheffield was slain, John Dudley, the Earl of Warwick, was summoned from an expedition into the North; he arrived at Intwood Hall with an army of eight thousand men, largely composed of Swiss mercenaries (23rd August). Four days later the royal army gained a decisive victory in Dussin Dale. The insurgents were foolishly induced to vacate a strong position on Mousehold, through a superstitious belief in what was regarded as an old prophecy—

The country gnoffes, Hob, Dick and Hick,
With clubbes and clouted shoon,
Shall fill the vale of Dussin's Dale
With slaughtered bodies soon.

Possibly they were, as some writers contend, misdirected to what they supposed to be Dussin's Dale or Ossian's Vale. No such places, however, are marked on the large plan of Mousehold dated 1586, which is preserved in the Record Office. Now, had the

impressible peasants been studiously cautious, they would have discovered in the same metrical concoction other lines which might reasonably have been interpreted as favourable encouragement—

The heedless men within the dale,
Shall there be slain, both great and small!

The effect of Warwick's cleverly directed assault was as unexpected as disastrous. Three thousand five hundred were slain, for the soldiers, imbued with the revengeful spirit of their commander, felt their mission was not merely to subdue, but to exterminate. Though Kett escaped, considering their cause to be hopeless, a few continued fighting most desperately. Sheltered by carts and wagons, they stood doggedly to their guns, determined to sacrifice their lives at the utmost cost; but when Warwick came to them in person and promised to spare all who survived, they reluctantly yielded, crying, "God save king Edward" (27th August 1549). Robert Kett was taken the next day at Swanington, ten miles north-west of Norwich, and sent to London, from whence, after an imprisonment of about three months, he was brought to Norwich and hanged at the Castle (29th November). His brother William was also hanged, and his body afterwards suspended on one of the pinnacles of Wymondham church.

Thus the revolt terminated, yet, notwithstanding Warwick's fair promises, three hundred are said to have been executed (5th September). In April 1555 the body of Robert Kett fell from the iron frame-work in which it was publicly exposed. As this circumstance gave rise to other prophetic rumours, the ghastly relic was ordered "to be hanged up again, if it was not wasted," whilst the authors of the inciting tales were to be forthwith imprisoned.

(4) THE KING'S JOURNAL,

—a manuscript in the Cottonian collection, British Museum, furnishes this account:—

The people suddenly gathered together in Norfolk, and increased to a great number, against whom the lord marquess of Northampton was sent with the number of one thousand and sixty horsemen, who, winning the town of Norwich, kept it one day and one night; and the next day in the morning, with the loss of one hundred men, departed out of the town, among whom the lord Sheffield was slain. There were taken divers gentlemen and serving men to the number of thirty; with which victory the rebels were very glad; but afterwards hearing that the earl of Warwick came against them, they began to stay upon a strong plot of ground upon a hill near to the town of Norwich, having the town confederates with them. The Earl of Warwick came with the number of six thousand foot and fifteen hundred horsemen, and entered into the town of Norwich; which having won it, was so weak that he could scarcely defend it; and oftentimes the rebels came into the streets, killing divers of his men, and were repulsed again; yea, and the townsmen were given to mischief themselves; so, having endured their assaults three days and stopped their victuals, the rebels were constrained for lack of meat to remove, whom the earl of Warwick followed with one thousand Almains [German hirelings] and his horsemen, leaving the English footmen in the town, and overcame them in plain battel, killing two thousand of them and taking Ket their captain, who in January (?) following was hanged at Norwich, and his head hanged out; Ket's brother was taken also and punished alike.

(5) A DOUGHTY NEIGHBOUR.

Although the county gentry were loyal in doing their utmost to quell this extensive rising, yet Sir Nicholas Le Strange, of Hunstanton, who had also a residence in Lynn, was suspected of secretly encouraging the insurgents. He vehemently denied the aspersion, yet he undoubtedly sent "ordenaunce" to Norwich, though for what purpose may not be clear, besides several of his retainers were recognised at Norwich after the final suppression. In his *Household Accounts* we read:—"Ite(m): p'd the same day [15th July] to Mr. Powte that brought to Dounam campe . . . iiij d." Something was sent to the "rebels" at Ryston, but what the writer carefully omits. Desirous of securing the friendship of the King's attorney, Sir Nicholas addresses a letter to "Master Cycell"—Sir William Cecil—in which he says:—

Butt as I gather theye seeke to make me the begynnare of the Commocions in Norff, whyche as you know was begonne before my comyng owght of Hamshyre in two severall placys [Norwich and Rising] and yf I had benne a manne meanyng the commocyon I neyther nedyd to have putt my selfe into a cocke boot to have passyd the sea into Lyncolnshyre nor yett to have cravyd the lord Wyllowbye nor the subtyll glorious Husseye to make their repayre unto Lynne for the defence bothe of the town and allso of the jentylemen, whyche taking the town for reskewe [sought protection in the town] were dryven owght ageyne and from thense as you know I came to London sekynge meanyes at the counceills handes to quyett the rebells of whome I recevyd letters to declar unto theme, whyche once declaryd they therwith nott beyng contentyd to dessevare them selevys I came my way to Lynne and waytyd upon my lord Wyllowbye ther with fiftye menne, untill the end atte Norwyche and for the manner of my servyce I wyll refer ytt to the judgement of all menne that were there . . . Thys cravyng your erneste frendshype att thys my neede whereof my poor Ancestors for thys thre hundred yeres hath nott towchyd with eny suche charge but the heppe of papystys [heap of papists] were lefte behynd att Lynne to kepe the towne who never cowld fynd eyther leyser [leisure] or tyme to inquire of eny of their own faccyon [faction] nor yett of eny of eyther the cheff constables or under constables whereof some never seassed untill the laste daye. Wrytten in parte att Lynne this xvth of September, a^o 1549.

Yours who cravythe your friendship,

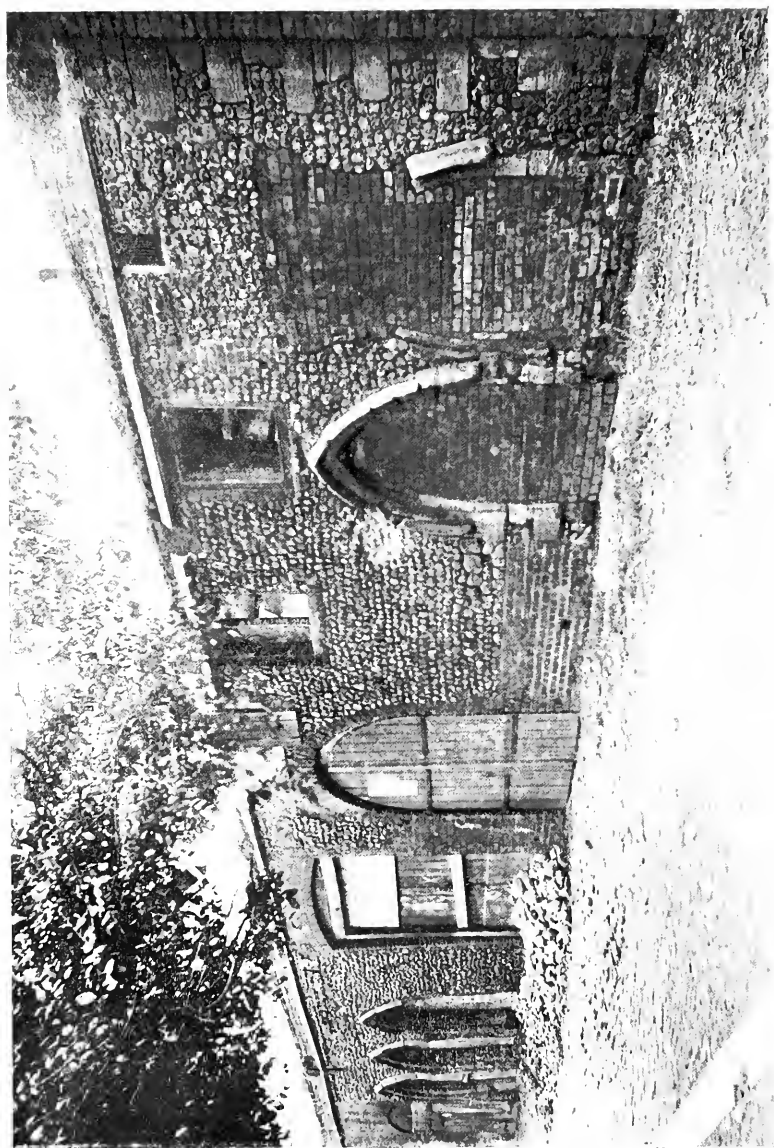
NICHOLAS LESTRAUNGE.

WHOLESALE SPOILIATION.

The degeneracy of the monastic system, so painfully apparent to an ordinary 15th century observer, was generally acknowledged. It was quite effete and as unnecessary as a prodigious parasite, which absorbed the life of the tree upon which it clung, but yielded no fruit in return. Not to the honour and glory of God, but to appease his own insatiable extravagance, did Henry sweep away the monasteries. Shortly before his death, a Bill was placed before the Commons for a like dissolution of—

(1) THE GILDS OR CHARITABLE CORPORATIONS,

the chantries, or side chapels, endowed by pious individuals, the hospitals or homes for the aged and infirm and the colleges,—those small fraternities of clergy, who were bound to conduct religious worship in extra-parochial churches, and in many cases, moreover, to instruct the children of the poor. By the reënactment of this



VIEW OF THE "TRIPLE ARCADE" FROM THE NORTH-WEST, BANK LANE (1907).

deplorable measure (November 1547), which a dutiful, though ill-advised, youth carried into effect, these inestimably useful institutions were doomed, and their vast possessions (for in such towns as Norwich, Yarmouth and Lynn they represented not only social influence but enormous wealth) were to be given to the King.

The burgesses, through their members, Thomas Gawdy, esquire, and William Overend, merchant, violently opposed this measure, as did also the representatives of Coventry. "None were stiffer," affirms the minute of the Privy Council, "nor more busily went about to impugn the said article than the Burgeois of Lynne . . . alleging that the Gild lands, belonging to the said town, were given for so good a purpose (that is to say for the maintenance and keeping-up of the pier and sea-banks there, which, being untended to, would be the loss of a great deal of low country adjoining), as it were (a) great pity the same should be alienated from them as long as they employed it to so necessary a use."

At a meeting of the Privy Council at Westminster on Sunday the 6th May 1548 it was resolved that certain of the King's Councillors belonging to the Lower Houses should persuade the burgesses of Lynn to "desist from further speaking or labouring against the said article, upon promise to them that, if they meddled no further against it, his Majesty, once having the gild-able lands granted upon him by the Act, as it was penned unto him, should make them over a new grant of the lands pertaining then unto their gild-able lands, etc., to be used to them as afore." Having submitted to this compromise, the mayor, William Overend, and the burgesses besought Edward Seymour, the Lord Protector, that the promise might be performed.

It was therefore ordeined that letteres patentes shuld be made in due form under the Kinges Majestes Great Seale of England whereby the landes perteyning to the Guyld of Lynne also graunted unto that towne for ever to be used to sicke like purpose and intent as afore tymes by force of their grauntes they were limited to do accordingly. (Minute of the Privy Council.)

Perhaps wishing to conciliate the good folk of Lynn who clung so tenaciously to their gilds, and dreading, for aught we know to the contrary, a fresh outburst of popular indignation when the statute should be put into force, Edward had already tried to soothe them into mild submission by ostentatiously acknowledging the reconstitution of the borough as brought about by his father twenty-three years before. Letters patent to this effect were formally issued at Westminster (6th of December 1547). Six months did not elapse before the lands, tenements, rents and chattels of the two important gilds were partially restored. The Trinity Gild was a most opulent fraternity, whose resources for centuries had been at the service of the Assembly; it supported 13 chaplains, assisted in every public enterprise; and many a time had granted enormous loans when the burgh was unexpectedly confronted with otherwise insurmountable difficulties. It seems reasonable to suppose that the possessions carefully enumerated and granted in fee-farm to the town by letters patent, dated at Westminster the 21st of May 1548, constituted an insignificant part only of its real estate. The King's promise, "as was

easily foreseen, was very ill-performed; many of these revenues were seized under the plea of them being free chapels or chantry endowments." [Taylor's *Index Monasticus*.]

The grants were—

(a) *Holy Trinity*—lands, tenements, etc.,—chattels (including a stock of mill-stones) valued at £40.

(b) *St. George the Martyr*—lands, the yearly rent of which was estimated at £13 16s.; chattels valued at £30.*

(2) THE COMMON STAITH.

By virtue of the charter of the 21st of May 1548, the Corporation acquired possession of the lands and tenements belonging to the Trinity Gild, including the Common Staith and the various buildings adjoining, to wit, "seven houses called warehouses with six chambers over them on the north side of the port called the Common Staith, and nine houses called warehouses with chambers over them on the south side of the Common Staith."

The nine houses on the south of the lane, south of "Gurney's Bank," would unquestionably contain the interesting fragment of 14th century flint work which is still preserved (1906). This rubble wall, 63 feet 8 inches long and 12½ feet high, faced with worked black flints, runs from east to west; the western end terminating with stone quoins. It evidently extended farther in the direction of the marketplace, because the original string-course is continued along the front of the modern brick buildings subsequently added thereto.

In the flint wall are three Gothic doorways—5 feet, 5 feet and 5 feet 10 inches wide, and each 8 feet 10 inches high. At the finished western end is a perfect Gothic arch and traces of the moulding of another; they are side by side, each being 5 feet 4 inches in width. Possibly there were two corresponding doors at the eastern end. Between these groups of doorways are two openings (10½ feet and 7 feet wide), which were cut through the flint wall at a much later period. Each has red brick dressings. There are, besides, two square windows with mullions at the western end. Towards the east is a modern door leading to a bonding vault, once in the occupation of Messrs. Nelson and Collier, and the office of the late Mr. I. O. Smetham.

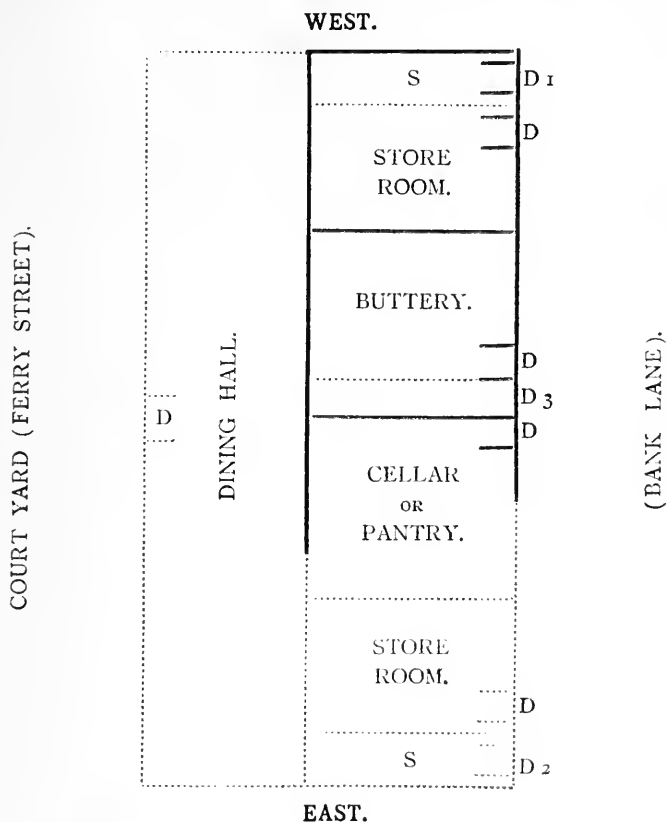
It has been erroneously hinted that these ruins were part of the Lazar House in the Cowgate, an important thoroughfare, which led in a straight line from the forgotten fodder or grass-market (Norfolk Street) to the old ferry at the Common Staith, but after mature consideration we must regard this precious relic of a fast-vanishing past as the back exterior of a substantial private dwelling.

The three arched doorways, side by side, constitute in themselves a remarkable criterion, styled by Professor Willis "the triple arcade." Purely domestic and in no wise ecclesiastical, it denotes the normal arrangement of a mediæval manor house, and was reproduced in most of the older colleges in Cambridge.†

* For a complete list of lands and tenements granted to the town, see Blomefield's (Parkin) *Hist. Norfolk*, Vol. VIII., pp. 506-510, or Richards' *Hist. Lynn*, Vol. I., pp. 467-472.

† See *Historical Essays* by Dr. J. B. Lightfoot (1896), pp. 201-2.

Examine the accompanying roughly sketched ground plan. Descending the steps which led from the long dining-hall (upon a higher level), we pass along the passage and through the *middle* of the



D = Door ; S = Stairs.

D 1 } Stairs up to the minstrels' gallery.
D 2 }

D 3 Passage to the dining hall.

The remains now standing are in heavy lines (1904). The kitchen or out-houses, to the right, are not shewn.

three doors, and on, if so disposed, to the kitchen or out-houses beyond. Of the other members of "the triple arcade," one door leads to the buttery and the other to the cellar or pantry.

Allowing for the usual, though inexplicable, expansion and contraction to which walls are subject, we conclude that the three arched doors were in the middle of a wall originally about 118 feet in length. This is borne out, not only by the ancient string-course already mentioned, but by measurements from the middle of the central door, namely, 59 feet on one side and $60\frac{1}{2}$ feet on the other, the last reaching, as does the string-course, to a line of demarcation between two existing buildings. In reconstructing the original block, we venture to suggest 118 feet as the length of the dwelling, whilst the breadth might be about 45 feet, for from the plan and elevation of the buildings on the western side of the market-place in 1626, the buildings at this corner had then that frontage. It has, however, since then contracted to 35 feet, hence the Cowgate (Ferry Street) was further south, and more in the *straight* line leading from the Grassmarket to the ferry. There was, besides, to the south and in front of the flint-built dwelling, the usual quadrangle or court, with buildings on each side. The *soler*, the room where the host and hostess slept, or in larger mansions the minstrels' gallery, extended over the cellar, buttery, etc., and overlooking the spacious dining hall, was approached by stairs at either end at the back of the house.

A new warehouse was built in the Common Staith yard to the *southward* in 1582 (Mackerell); it was then possibly that the old flint-faced building was converted into the present warehouse. At the beginning of the 19th century the building was rented by the Corporation, as a wool warehouse to John Catlin, the uncle of the late Daniel Catlin Burlingham. At the back, in Ferry Street, was the house in which the eccentric historian of the Fens, William Hall, *alias* "Antiquarian Hall, Will-Will-be-so, and Low-Fen Bill" (1748-1815?) conducted his business.

It would be impossible to identify this building. In the north of the town was Boyland Hall, the baronial residence of Sir Richard de Boyland, a famous itinerant judge, who flourished about 1173. There was, moreover, a tenement called "Bunchesham," in the Cowgate, which belonged originally to Thomas de Acre, who, with his wife Muriel, founded a chantry at West Lenne. As he left the patronage in the hands of the parishioners, the priest Sir Adam Outlawe bequeathed it to "the bell town," of that place (1501). Besides, he demised to the parish clerk of Lenne three acres of land, minus the agrarian cow, "so that he do ring in pele on the vigil" of Sir Adam's year day. Outlawry was prevalent and outlaws plentiful, if surnames be trustworthy tokens. Possibly the priest was a descendant of Thomas Outlawe (the son of an *outlaw*) who purchased the right of a little ferry boat for 13s. 4d. from the Gild of Corpus Christi (1399). No one would doubt the respectability of the priest, nor ought they that of John Outlawe, the son of Richard Outlawe, upon whom was conferred the freedom of our burgh (1456).

These buildings belonged respectively to the 12th and 15th centuries.

(3) THE CHURCH GOODS.

Our parish churches, now to so great an extent convenient places for congregational worship, were at one period the religious treasury of the people, the aggregate value of the furniture alone being almost incalculable. Glass resplendent in colour, depicting the legends of the saints or the triumphant death of the martyrs, filled the Gothic windows; choice canvases, or beautiful tapestry, representing scenes in the lives of the apostles and evangelists, covered the grey walls; delicately carved sculptures, portraying the Blessed Mary with the infant Christ, or our Saviour upon the cross, found suitable abiding-places in the various niches; whilst altars laden with artistic ornaments in gold and silver and precious stones reflected the dazzling splendour of the western sun. Alas, the glories of our churches were soon to pass away; the gilds and chantries were already gone, and the privileges the parliament conferred upon a spendthrift father were handed to an inexperienced child, who, too easily influenced, quickly exercised the right of ecclesiastical desecration.

After appointing commissioners in 1552, the King declares that—

Whereas We have at sondry tymes heretofore by our speciall Commyssion and otherwyse commaunded that ther shuld be takyn and be made a just veu, survey and inventory of all manner (of) goodes, plate, juells, vestyments, bells, and other ornaments within every paryshe belongyng or in any wyse apperteynyng to any Church, Chapell, Brothered (Brotherhood), Gylde, or Fraternyty within this our Realme of Englonde, and upon the same Inventory, so taken, had, or made, our commaundement was and hathe ben that all the same goodes, plate, juells, vestments, bells and other ornaments shuld be safely kept and appoynted to the charge of such persons as shuld kepe the same safely and be ready to aunswere to the same at all times, accordyng to our Commysyons and sundry Commaundements.

The commissioners for Norfolk were Henry Ratcliffe the Earl of Sussex, Lord Robert Dudley, Sir William Fermour, Sir John Robsart, Sir Christopher Heydon, Osbert Mountford, Robetr Barney and John Calybotte.

In the third commission the King proceeded to extremities. The new commissioners were enjoined to take possession of all the articles, before directed only to be kept in safe custody.

The ready money, plate and jewels are to be given to the Master of the King's Jewel-house, with the reservation of two chalice for the service of the Holy Communion in every cathedral or collegiate church or great parish, and of a single one in every small church. Of the linen, a sufficiency is to be left for the "honest and comly furnytüre of coveryngs for the comunyon-table and surplices for the mynysters;" the rest is directed to be distributed among the poor "in suche order and sort as may be most to Gode's glory and our honor." The copes, vestments, altar-cloths and other ornaments whatsoever, are to be sold to the use of the King, excepting only such articles as the Commissioners may appoint to be left or distributed to the poor; and the same course is to be followed with all "parcells or peces of metall, save the great bells and the saunse bell," which are to remain till the royal pleasure shall be farther made known respecting them. (Dawson Turner.)

The Commissioners who visited Lenne, as will be seen, carried out their instructions minutely. Without wishing to aggravate the reader's forbearance, we venture to give an exact typographic

representation of the "return" of the goods pertaining to the church of St. Margaret (a):—

Lenne Reg. } This inventory indented made the 17th day of September
Saynt Margaret's } in the vjth yeare of King Edward the Sext witnessed that
P'isshe } ther remayneth in the custodie of John Stokes, clark, parson
 there, and Tho: Bowsey, Robert Palmer, John Hall and Will'm Judy the
 following church goodes of the said parissche:—

First, ij chailes wyth ij patents of syluer, all gilt weyng xxxv. ounces di [<i>demi</i> that is a half] at iiij s. iiij d. ye ounce: Sum'a	...	...	...	vij	xj	viii
It'm, ij coopes of tyssue, colo'ed red, p'ce [price] iiij li. vj s. viij d. [$\frac{3}{6}$ / $\frac{8}{8}$] & a vestim't of red tyssue wt' ij tunycles iiij li. vj s. viij d.:	Sum'a	...	...	vj	xiiij	iii j
It'm, a vestim't of silke, wt' oke leues, decon and subdecon to ye same	...	...	...	—	x	—
It'm, a vestim't of blak vellett embrothered wt' flowers, decon and subdecon to ye same.	...	...	...	—	xl	—
It'm, a vestim't of whyte damaske, wt' one decon to ye same	...	...	...	—	x	—
It'm, iiij old vestim'ts of whyte and blak bustyan wyth an old vestim't of grene	...	...	...	—	x	—
It'm, an old vestim't of clothe of sylu' [silver], deacon and subdecon to the same	...	...	...	—	vj	viii
It'm, a vestim't of purple silke with decon and subdecon	...	...	...	—	vj	viii
It'm, vj other vestim'ts	...	...	...	—	iiij	iii j
It'm, an old vestim't of blak vellett, wt' decon and subdecon embrothered with gold floweus	...	...	...	—	x	—
It'm, ij coopes of blue damaske	...	...	...	—	xiiij	iii j
It'm, iiij coopes of whyte damaske	...	...	...	—	xx	—
It'm, ij coopes of red sylke embrothered wyth girdells of gold	...	...	...	—	xl	—
It'm, j cope of red sylke wt' camells	...	...	...	—	xv	—
It'm, ij coopes of red sylke embrothered wyth swannes of gold	...	...	...	—	xiiij	iii j
It'm, ij coopes of red sylke wyth spotts of vellett	...	...	...	—	xiiij	iii j
It'm, j coope of blue vellett embrothered wt' steers	...	...	...	—	vj	viii
It'm, j coope of grene silke embrothered wyth whyte birds	...	...	...	—	vj	viii
It'm, j coope of red damaske	...	...	...	—	x	—
It'm, a vestim't & ij decons of red silke embrothered wt' girdells and birds of gold	...	...	...	—	xxx	—
It'm, a crosse clothe of (red) silke embrothered with th'ymage of Mary Magdalen	...	...	...	—	iiij	iii j
It'm, fyve steple bells weyng (by estimac'on) iiij xx x C [that is 90 cwts.], whereof the first x C ye ijde xiiij C, ye iijde xvij C, ye iiijth xxij C and the vth xxviij C at xv the hundred [weight]:	Sum'a [query: 90 cwts]	...	...	lxvij	x	—
It'm v clapps to the same bells, weyng by estimac'on C C weyght (2 cwts.), price	...	...	...	—	xv	—

Whereof assigned to be occupied and vsed in th' administrac'on of Divine suyce (service) ther, the sayd ij chailes and bells of x C and xvij C.

In wytness therof the sayd Commiss'on's and others the sayd psons have to thes psents alternately the day and yeare aboue wreten.

Thomas Bossey

¶ me Joh'em Stokys.

John Hall

¶ me Will'm Judy.

Of the valuation, which amounted to £92/3/4, £28/10 (?) was allowed.

Before proceeding further it will be advantageous to divest these interesting manuscripts of their antique attire, in order to present them in a more appreciable, though, it may be, less imposing costume.

(b) The Inventory of the goods belonging to the *Chapel of St. Nicholas*, taken on the 6th of September 1552, was signed by the following Commissioners:—John Dynpdayall, John Lovell, Thomas Taylor and Robert Bewchard and by four parishioners, namely, John Dynsdale, Thomas Daye, Robert Vessye and John Bovell, two of whom were perhaps chapel-reeves. Therein were faithfully enumerated, in a style similar to that with which the reader ought to be acquainted, these articles:—

- 2 Silver gilt Chalices with their patens, used in celebrating the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper; weighing $24\frac{1}{2}$ ozs. (double gilt) at $4/4$ per ounce, and 10 ozs. ("p'cell gilt") at $3/4$ per ounce.
- 29 Copes, semicircular cloaks worn over surplices and used for processions, festivals, &c.; they were of divers colours, for example "purple velvet with bells," "black silk velvet" also the same with "white swans."
- 5 Vestments, the eucharistic robes of the sub-deacons; one was embroidered with red and green flowers.
- 10 Tunicles—a kind of narrow scarf worn on the left arm, over the alb or surplice, and hanging down about 18 inches; described as of black satin, blue and white damask, changeable (or shot) silk embroidered with swans.
- 2 Altar-cloths, one of baudekin—a fabric of silk and gold thread,—and the other of white damask.
- 1 Altar-cross (*antependium*) of "red and blue satin cloth."
- 2 Curtains—hangings of tapestry or other rich material, behind the altar, or depending from the canopy, here described as being of red *sarcenet* (the finest silk, first woven by the *Saracens*).
- 2 Bells, namely the steeple bell, 16 cwts. at $15/$ per cwt., and the sance or sacring bell valued at 2/*.
- 1 Bell-clapper, 40 lb at 1d. per lb.
- 1 Lectern of latten for the Gospel, $1\frac{1}{2}$ cwt. at 2d. per lb.

The whole were valued at £49 13s. 10d. The two chalices and the bell weighing 16 cwts (query, valued at £19 2s. 10d.) for the administration of Divine service, were not taken away.

(c) The Inventory relating to *St. James' Chapel* was compiled on the 6th of September 1552. The signatories were Thos. Waters, mayor. John Stokes (clerk) "parson," John Hyll, churchwarden and John Kynge; another parishioner Xpofer Creche was also present but did not sign the document.

- 2 Chalices with patens, ("p'cell gilt"); 24 ozs. and $21\frac{1}{2}$ ozs. at $3/8$ per oz.
- 15 Copes of blue velvet, white damask, white damask embroidered with gold, blue silk embroidered with shells, silk with white and blue worsted, coloured changeable silk and dorneck.
- 14 Vestments of red baudekin, red and blue velvet, diaper silk, red silk, blue silk with shells, "braunched" silk, black, red and white damask, "douned" fustian, fustian in napes, red satin and blue linen cloth wrought with silk.
- 20 Tunicles of blue velvet, red also blue silk with shells, white damask, red baudekin and "douned" (? with down) fustian.
- 1 Altar-cross of satin embroidered with gold.
- 1 Bell; 20 cwts. at $15/$ per cwt.

Miscellaneous latten articles—A Stoup for Holy Water,† two cross staves, perhaps, for the precentors, two thuribles or censers, two large and two small candlesticks, weighing in all 125 lb. appraised at 2d. per lb.

* The little bell, rung to give notice that the "Host" was approaching, was called the *Sanctus* bell from the words "*Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth*," pronounced by the priest. *Sacring* comes from the French *sacrer*, Old English *sacre* to consecrate.

† The ringing of this bell during Divine service, except before the sermon, was prohibited by the Injunctions of 1547.

The use of the *stoup* was optional and lawful, though no longer compulsory, by the Proclamation of the 16th of February 1547. It was abolished in 1549.

The total value amounted to £49 1s. 8d., of which the bell and the two chalices, representing £25 15s. 2d. (?), were allowed.

(d) Lastly, the "*Church of All Seynts, Sought Lynne*" (1552). The Commissioners were Wm. Fermor, John Robsart and Chr. Heydon, all full-fledged knights, besides Osbert Mondeford, Robert Barney and John Calybut, who were humble esquires. The parish was represented by the churchwardens—John Knap and Thomas Spryngale, also by John Clark, *Henry* (?) Baker and *Herry Blesbye* (?).

2 Chalices with one paten, silver gilt, weighing 15½ ozs. at 4/4 per oz.

1 Pyx, a box-shaped vessel for holding the altar bread; silver gilt, weighing 8½ ozs. at 4/4 per oz.

8 Copes of white damask, red, crimson, tawny and blue velvet, and silk with gold heads (beads).

5 Vestments of red, crimson and tawny velvet.

3 Tunicles of white damask and red velvet.

3 Altar-cloths.

1 Carpet.

5 Bells, in the steeple the "great" bell, 36 cwts., the third, 10 cwts., the second, 8 cwts., and the "lyttel" bell, 6 cwts. The sance bell weighed ¼ cwt.

4 Bell-clappers—208 lbs.

4 Candlesticks—2 pair "great" and "lyttel" of latten, weighing 1½ cwts.

From the valuation, amounting to £53 6s. 8d., the sum of £6 was returned as "Church Stock." To this parish there were assigned the chalices with the paten, one little bell—[query: which?]—and one clapper; also the aforesaid altar-cloths, the carpet and actually the two towels omitted in the inventory. What unexampled generosity! But in this instance, the wardens were compelled to account for the money in their custody, hence this remarkable memorandum:—

Church Stock

£1	}	remaining in the hands of	{	<i>John</i> (?) Baker.
£5				

The document ends thus:—

In witness whereof the said Commissioners and others the said persons alternately have put their hands the date and year above written.

P Joh. Clerke (S. Lynne)

P me Henr. Baker, Kt.

The appropriation of the church plate by the municipal authorities was thorough (1543-4). As being absolutely necessary only two chalices and patens were left. The only piece of plate discovered by the commissioners was the pyx in All Saints church. It was of silver gilt; weighed 8½ ounces, and was scheduled at £1 16s. 10d.

SHARP PRACTICE.

A remarkable incident happened one year and eight months after Edward's accession. The King's officers demanded the sum of £19 13s. from the mayor and burgesses. The members of the Congregation, naturally struck with consternation, promptly inquired "why" and "wherefore." The claim, it appeared, consisted of two distinct items, both of which were fee-farm rents, for the two years ending Michaelmas 1548. The first, £13 6s. 8d. was for tronage, measurage

and "lowcope" (otherwise *lovecop* or lastage) arising from the tolls of the port of Lynn. The second item in the amount was £6 6s. 4d., an acknowledgment rent for the right of farming the waters of Wiggshall. These ancient privileges connected with the Tolbooth went with the Barony of Rising.

The town wisely refused to respond to so unjust an exaction. Hence, on the 8th of December the mayor, John Marcanter, "supported" by a few valiant champions of the liberties of our burgh, appeared at the Court of Augmentation and Revenue to defend the position taken. Standing as they did in the august presence of William St. John, the Lord Chancellor and General Surveyor, how could they refrain from exchanging significant glances, being, as they were, confident in the grand *coup de grâce*, which, despite all that might be said, must assuredly disarm the proud dignitaries before them. At length the time comes, and after a few introductory formalities the Mayor of Lynn nervously indicates, in brief, jerky sentences, the line of defence. Can you not see Robert Houghton, the town clerk, like a well-seasoned limb of the law, slowly raising the lid of the hanaper beside him, and from a bundle of documents selecting what was wanted? How methodically he runs his eyes over the parchment, and with imperturbable grace does he hand the charter to the excited Mayor, placing a finger upon a certain pertinent clause. . . . A moment later the clerk of the court is pouring forth a droning recitative:—"And we have granted, and by these presents do grant, for us and for our heirs, to the aforesaid Mayor and burgesses and their successors"—John Marcanter and the other members of the deputation bow politely—"all and singular issues, profits, fines, amercements, customs, tolls, tronage, wharfage, groundage, stallage, pickage, anchorage, tonnage, poundage and lastage, and other emoluments whatsoever arising, due or forfeited, or to be forfeited by reason of the aforesaid Court of Tolbooth, and—the Bailiwick of Waters within the bounds and limits aforesaid." . . . "And you are quoting?" interrogates the president. . . . "The letters patent, 7th July, 29th year Henry the Eighth of famous memory, late King of England, my Lord." . . . "Permit me." . . . The Lord Chancellor scans the priceless document with trained eyes. A benign smile acknowledges his defeat, and, finally, he orders the arrears standing against the burgh of King's Lynn in the Court Book to be forthwith cancelled (September 1548).

The first of the letters patent (1524) of Henry VIII. was confirmed the 6th of December 1547, and the above incident led to the inrollment, if not the confirmation, of the second letters patent (1537) for the charter in question is endorsed thus:—"Inrolled in the Office of Thomas Mildemay, Auditor for the Fee Farms within written among the Inrollments of the same office of the Second year of King Edward the Sixth." To this charter (C. 16) is attached a paper signed *Thomas Mild(e)may*, which contains the gist of the previous paragraphs, besides a memorandum which deserves quoting:—

It appears by a Bill exhibited by the Mayor and burgesses of Lynn (incerti temporis), but at a considerable distance of time against Webb and Forster in the

Court of Exchequer for not paying the custom of one penny per quarter upon corn exported by unfree men, that the mayor and burgesses alleged to the said court that for all the time whereof the memory of man is not to the contrary the tenants and proprietors of the Port of King's Lynn, among other tolls and customs for and towards the sustenance and repairing the said port have had and received, and of ancient right ought to have, take and receive a certain toll, duty or payment called by the name of *Lovescoppe*, alias *Lastage*, that is to say, of every quarter of corn and grain exported out of the said port by any merchant stranger not being freeman of the said borough, in any ship or vessel by water, the sum of one penny as to the said port of ancient right appertaining and belonging.

This circumstance conduced to the reënrollment of the second charter of Henry VIII., because upon it is the endorsement:—

Inrolled in the office of Thomas Mildemay, Auditors for the Fee Farms within written, among the Inrollments of the same office of the second year of King Edward the Sixth [1547-8].

ALL SORTS AND CONDITIONS.

The early subsidy rolls often yield very valuable information. The following particulars are culled from the Return of a Fourth Payment of a Subsidy in 1551. It contains a list of the 79 burgesses who contributed, with their assessments, the payment being one-twentieth of the amount, or at the rate of one shilling in the pound. The assessments range from £80 to £20.

Examples:—

Thomas Wayters (Waters) maiore...	...	^{xx} iiij li.	iiij li.	—
Thoma : Guybon, armig : (? excused)	...	—	—	—
Wm. Lovering, m'rc'r	...	lxxvj li.	iiij li.	xvj s.
Vincent Johnson, Ducheman	...	ij li.	—	ij s.

QUALITY AND QUANTITY.

1 Mayor	2 Brewers
1 Esquire	2 Mariners
6 Merchants	1 Roper
22 Mercers	1 Currier
3 Drapers	1 Farmer
1 Fishmonger	5 Widows
2 Bakers	13 Dutchmen
6 Gentlemen	3 Frenchmen
2 Yeomen	1 Fleming
1 Innkeeper	2 Scots
1 Shoemaker	
1 Butcher	1 Undescribed

Mr. Thomas Waters and Sir Richard Corbett were elected burgesses in Parliament (20th January 1553).

LICENSED MENDICANTS.

To counteract the inconveniences caused by a wandering mendicancy, numerous statutes were devised between the years 1349 and 1547. The laws of Henry VIII. were particularly severe. If an able-bodied man, one neither aged nor infirm, were caught soliciting alms, he was vigorously whipped at the cart's tail ; if caught a second

time, his ear was unmercifully slit or bored with a hot iron; if this failed to produce the desired effect, he suffered death as a felon, unless peradventure some sympathetic person, having £10 in goods and 40s. in land, or some kind-hearted householder, approved by the justices, would take the incorrigible loafer into his service and enter into an agreement to forfeit £10 if he went astray during the probationary period. Notwithstanding the harshness of these laws, vagrancy appears to have greatly increased, hence the statutes remained unrepealed. In Elizabeth's reign they formally received the sanction of the two legislative Houses, the members expressing their conviction that it was far better for a man not to live at all, than to live the life of a wandering loafer.

The closing of the monastery doors was a severe blow to the indigent, many of whom were respectable burgesses, who, through unfortunate circumstances, were compelled to beg rather than starve. The Assembly at Lynn were sorely perplexed when the knowledge of the appalling destitution in their midst suddenly dawned upon them. They were armed with a rough-and-ready method for exterminating, if necessary, the prowling idlers, but how were they to succour the infirm and aged poor? The cure of this social plague spot was a problem demanding the closest attention; it taxed their superior ingenuity. But why not do as did the civic authorities in London when the epidemic was raging fearfully some 40 years since? Did they not, with due regard to "the first law of nature," first rid themselves of alien beggars and vagabonds, and then, having but their own poor to consider, did they not distribute hundreds of "beedes" (Anglo-Saxon *bead*, a prayer) or little plaques of tin stamped with the city arms, for the poor to wear upon their shoulders? Armed with similar credentials, why should not the poor of Lynn wander from door to door in order to solicit assistance? Happy thought! Forthwith the Assembly unanimously agreed that leaden badges should be struck bearing the letters E and R (Edvardus Rex), separated by a full-blown Tudor rose. These licences were distributed by the Mayor and the alderman and constables of the respective wards, to the blind and impotent townsfolk who were unable to labour for their living, so that, as *bedesmen*, they might solicit alms in the ward to which they each belonged.* To preserve their heads, let the loafers henceforth take care of their ears!

CHARTERS.

- C. 17. Dated at Westminster, 6th December, the 1st year of his reign (1547). In the form of letters patent of insepimus confirming C. 15, letters patent of the 27th June 1524 (Henry VIII.) for reconstituting the borough.
- C. 18. Dated at Wanstead, 21st May, the 2nd year of the reign (1548). Letters patent of a grant in fee farm to the Mayor and Burgesses of the lands and tenements belonging to the Gild of the Holy Trinity and St. George the Martyr, also the goods and chattels of those gilds for the maintenance of bridges and the general benefit of the borough.

* "Till the breaking out of the civill warres Tom o' Bedlams did travell about the country. They had been poore distracted men that had been putt into Bedlam, where recovering to some sobernesse they were licentiated to goe abegging if they had on their left arm an armilla of tinn, printed in some workes about four inches long; they could not gett it off . . . Since the warres I do not remember to have seen anyone of them."—*Remaines of Gentilisme*.

Letters patent 1552, granting the Corporation leave to invest £100 a year in purchasing land and tenements. The income therefrom was to be spent in protecting the town against the inroads of the sea.

A local Act regulating the making of hats, dornecks and coverlets in Norwich and Norfolk (5th and 6th Edward VI., c. 24) affected the inhabitants of Lynn (1552-3).

ACTS OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

Thomas Waters was summoned before the Privy Council to answer Osbert Mountford's letter, complaining that contrary to orders he had sent grain from the port (5th March 1550).

The mayor, Thomas Waters, received a letter authorising him to commit Joan Smith to ward (23rd March 1552).

William Overend was summoned before the Privy Council (25th March 1552).

Henry Kirby (Kyrbie) was ordered either "to fall to some honest composition" with the agent of Christian III., the King of Denmark, or else appear before the Court of Admiralty to answer according to law such things as were laid to his charge by the agent (14th May 1552).

Sir Thomas Wodehouse of Kimberley, the High Sheriff of Norfolk, was instructed to cause a writ to be served upon *Saunderson*, of Lynne, at the suit of Andrew Anoryetin, a Frenchman, to whom *Andreson* (query, *Saunderson*) owed money (23rd May 1553).

These persons were appointed Commissioners of Lieutenancy for the county :—Henry Ratcliffe, Earl of Sussex, Lord Robert Dudley, Sir William Fermour and Sir John Robsart (24th March 1553).

INSTRUCTIONS TO THE OFFICERS OF CUSTOMS.

(1) To prevent :

The sending of cloth away from the port, until notified of the King's pleasure, and to say how many "clothes" were shipped since the last July (11th October 1552).

(2) To permit :

The men of Harwich to have 180 quarters of malt for the use of their town and those ships about to join the expedition to Ireland (26th February 1550). Ralph Downes, the mayor, also received instructions.

The merchants of the staple to transport 200 qrs. of wheat to Calais, the officers taking bond and surety of them not to carry any more, nor to land their cargo at any other place (10th December 1551).

Mr. Phillips, of the Privy Chamber, to carry away 10 foddors of lead, after paying the usual duty (25th January 1552).

The transportation of victuals from Lynn and Burnham to Calais (24th April 1552).

Acelyne to carry from the port 40 foddors of lead (2nd December 1552).

(3) To pay :

Thomas Graver for malt delivered at Berwick, £90 (20th June 1550), Thomas Waters for providing grain for Lynn £500 (4th June

1551), and Richard Duke, the Master of the *Marie Jermyn*, £6 4s. 4d. for service rendered at Holy Island (5th June 1551).

* * * * *

Edward VI. succumbed to pulmonary disease at Greenwich the 6th of July 1553, and was buried at Westminster.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Her Ladyship "The Queen."

MARY, the eldest daughter of Henry VIII., by his first wife Catherine of Arragon, succeeded her brother Edward VI. on the 6th of July 1553. She espoused Philip, the eldest son of her cousin Charles V., who became King Philip II. of Spain at the abdication of his father in 1556. From the date of their marriage, the 25th of July 1554, they reigned as King and Queen of England.

* * * * *

By the will of Henry VIII., which was sanctioned by Parliament, Mary was excluded from the succession. This induced John Dudley, the Earl of Warwick, recently created Duke of Northumberland, to persuade King Edward that it was his duty to insure the progress of the true faith by making a new settlement of the crown; not that Northumberland cared aught about religion, but he was convinced that if Mary ascended the throne, his authority would be abruptly terminated, if in the mean time he did not lose his head upon the scaffold.

NORTHUMBERLAND'S CONSPIRACY.

Arguing that if Mary were set aside her sister Elizabeth could not justly inherit the kingdom, because she had already been stigmatised as illegitimate, he naively suggested how the young King ought to ignore his bigoted sister, and how he would be justified in giving the crown to the heirs of Henry's youngest sister, Mary Duchess of Suffolk, a family strongly averse to Catholicism. In compliance with Northumberland's wishes, Edward resolved to name her granddaughter the Lady Jane Grey, as heir to the throne. The judges, however, refused to draw up letters patent embodying the King's request, because by thus invalidating an Act of Parliament they rendered themselves liable to the penalty of treason; but Chief Justice Montague, intimidated by a threatening baron and influenced by an importunate Sovereign who faithfully promised to obtain a parliamentary ratification of the proposed scheme, at length consented. Whereupon 15 lords of the council, 9 judges and other civil officers pledged themselves in writing "to observe every article contained in his Majesty's own device respecting the succession." In May, Northumberland brought about the marriage of his fourth son, Lord Guildford Dudley, with Lady Jane Grey; the King's will was signed the 21st June, about a fortnight before his death, 6th July 1553.

Northumberland endeavoured to withhold the news of the King's death from the nation until he should succeed in getting the Princess

Mary into his power ; but she, having been privately apprised of the event, for which she was not wholly unprepared, hastened with her faithful retainers into Norfolk. From Cambridge she hurried to Sawston, where for one night she accepted the hospitality of Mr. Huddleston, but she had barely set out the next morning ere an infuriated mob set fire to his mansion ; from Sawston she rushed to Bury St. Edmunds, where she partook of a hasty meal, attributing her unceremonious departure to a sudden outbreak of plague, for tidings of Edward's death had not yet reached the eastern counties ; and then from Bury to Kenninghall, near Eccles, which she entered on Sunday night the 9th of July.

The disconsolate Princess was, however, no stranger in this part of Norfolk, because on the attainder of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk (1546) her father had given her the manor of Kenninghall ;* here, too, expecting every day to be her last, Mary had slowly recovered from a painful illness (1549). By hiding she thought to gain time and thus afford her friends an opportunity to assemble ; and if the worst came, could she not easily escape by sea from Yarmouth ? Immediately on her arrival, Mary addressed a letter to the Privy Council, asserting her right and title to the throne, and calling upon them as liege subjects to proclaim her Queen of England. The Council, notwithstanding, forwarded a reply denying her right, which was signed by Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Goodrich, Bishop of Ely, then Lord Chancellor, Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk, John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, and seventeen other influential persons.

As Kenninghall Palace was quite unprotected, Mary, accepting the advice of Sir Henry Bedingfeld, Sir John Shelton and Sir Henry Jerningham, removed to Framlingham Castle, a moated fortress nineteen miles north-east of Ipswich. Hearing that Northumberland had despatched six vessels to intercept her escape into France, Sir Henry Jerningham proceeded to Yarmouth to rally friends. His mission was crowned with success, for he prevailed upon the captains and the mariners to join his cause. The Royal Standard was hoisted upon the ramparts of the stronghold at Framlingham, where a force of 30,000 volunteers, who refused to take payment for their services, soon gathered, under the auspices of Lord Thomas Howard, grandson of the Duke of Norfolk, Sir William Drury, Sir Thomas Cornwallis and Sir John Tyrrel.

(1) THE PROCLAMATION AT LYNN.

A well-known person in Norfolk was Lord Robert Dudley, the fifth son of the Duke of Northumberland. Having married a Norfolk lady, Amy the daughter of Sir John Robsart of Syderstone (1550), he became joint steward of the manor of Rising (1551), joint commissioner of lieutenancy (1552), and lastly knight of the shire, that is, member for the county (1552-3). On the death of the King, Lord Robert used his influence in aiding his father and brothers in their attempt to place his sister-in-law upon the throne.

* Kenninghall, seven miles north-east of Diss, is supposed to have been the seat of the heroic Boadicea and the East Anglian Kings. Ancient mounds are believed to mark the site of the royal castle.

Lord Robert, whose head quarters were at Wisbech, rode over to Lynn on Tuesday the 11th of July, and tried to win over George Reveley (otherwise Rewley), the mayor, but seemed to have failed, because at night he went back to Wisbech; returning the next day, he expressed a desire to lodge in the borough, but the townsfolk were not disposed to afford him shelter. Before, however, he set out once more for Wisbech, he met Thomas Karrylls, who had been sent into Marshland to purchase grain and provision for Mary's forces. The purveyor wrote from Wiggenshall St. Mary to his father-in-law, Sir Henry Bedingfeld, at Oxborough, deploring that "there never was less store in Marshland," and stating, moreover, how Lord Robert had promised him he would be in Kenninghall by Thursday night "to do his duty," in other words, to render homage to the Princess by taking the oath of allegiance, acknowledging *her* his sovereign. The writer, nevertheless, placed little faith in these assurances, because he knew how Lord Robert was secretly inquiring about the strength of the town watches, and whether the drawbridges were raised during the night. The purveyor hinted that under excuse of visiting the castle at Rising, of which Lord Robert was constable, he might soon be in Lynn again.

At the same time Mary was trying to secure the allegiance of the people of Norwich. On the 11th she sent asking the mayor and Corporation to proclaim her queen; this they refrained from doing, because they were not yet convinced of Edward's death. However, the next day they not only complied with her request, but sent men and weapons to assist her. Hence to Norwich belongs the honour of *first* proclaiming Mary Queen of England (July 12th).

How often Lord Robert found it necessary to visit Lynn is not clear, but, from the indictment which ultimately crowned his ill-judged efforts, we learn that on Tuesday the 18th he took forcible possession of the town in the manner of war, that he audaciously proclaimed Lady Jane Grey Queen of England, * and endeavoured to persuade the mayor and other of Mary's liege subjects to transfer their allegiance and join the Duke of Northumberland and the conspirators. The Privy Council were, however, fully cognisant of what was likely to happen in Lynn. On the 16th they sent a warning to Sir William Drury, and four days later a post was hurriedly despatched to inform the burgesses how Mary was yesterday proclaimed Queen in London, and to require them to apprehend Lord Robert at once and to lie in wait for the Duke of Northumberland, who would certainly flee to Lynn as soon as he heard the news (20th July).

In the mean time Lady Jane Grey, an intelligent girl of sixteen summers, prevailed upon by the entreaties of her ambitious relatives, reluctantly agreed to assume the perilous rôle, although she had no great desire to supersede those whom she believed to have precedence of herself. Conducted from Richmond to London, she was on the 10th proclaimed Queen. Orders were immediately issued to the lords lieutenants, despatches were sent to foreign countries, and a proclamation announcing the accession was publicly exhibited, each bearing the signature—"Jane, the Queen." So obnoxious, however, was

* At Berwick a similar public proclamation was made

Northumberland to the people, that even Protestants stubbornly refused to encourage any-one introduced through his instrumentality. Signs of undisguised coldness were everywhere to be seen, and the would-be queen passed through the city amidst a dead silence.

Aware of the danger of the approaching crisis, Northumberland led what troops he could muster against the princess, but so unpopular was he, rather than his *protégée*, that the soldiers under his command actually shouted "Long live Queen Mary." Learning how the princess was in turn proclaimed in London (19th July), he decided to make a virtue of necessity by causing her to be proclaimed in Cambridge, where he then happened to be quartered. Simulating enthusiastic devotion, he loyally threw up his cap, but his duplicity was beyond disguise, and orders were accordingly given for his apprehension.

A despatch had already been sent to the inhabitants of Lynn, detailing the turn of affairs and commanding them to aid in suppressing the rebellion. The following batch of conspirators was accordingly arrested:—Lord John Russell, Anthony Brown, of Essex, John Lucas, John Cocke, Nicholas Gyrlyngton, Christopher Holforth, Denys Thymelbye, Thomas Spenser, John Crygtoste, Edmund Gore, Davye Apeel, Richard Hoorde, Richard Fynne, Renarde de Labor, Robert Walpole, Roger Broome, Edward Pegge, Edmund Nell, John Graye, a groom of the stables, Tyrrey Walpole (son of Edward Walpole, of Houghton), and William and George Wodhouse (29th July). Edward Manners, Earl of Rutland, was in the custody of Sir Henry Bedingfeld, whilst Clement and John, the sons of Sir William Paston, were ordered to "depart to their father's howse and there to remayne" during the Queen's pleasure. The Rev. Richard Gatefield, the rector of West Lynn, was, moreover, lodged in gaol, the bill of his accusation being delivered to Anthony Gybbon, of Hanelose, * who was to give evidence against him (31st July).

The prisoners were not all secured at the same time, because on the 25th our Mayor was urged to bring up "the reste of the prysoners remaynyng ther apprehended," including Thomas Waters and William Overend, two townsmen. At the same time Osbert Mountford received instructions concerning his stay in Lynn and the promotion of better order in the borough.

The seeds of discord sown by Lord Robert were apparently taking root, for George Beaupré, of Outwell, was constrained as a loyal gentleman to indite a letter, dated the 1st of August and addressed to "my singular good lords the Earl of Sussex, the Earl of Bath and the Lords of the Queen's Highnesses most hon'ble Privy Council," wherein he informed them of his having heard of a projected disturbance in which 5,000 persons intended to encamp at "Gylney Smithe," near Wisbech, and how they meant to "take all gentlemen into their rule and custody until redress were had of their wrongs done at the Queen's Majestys hands." This movement was occasioned through the issue of an order from the council, instructing

* Hanelose, Hagelose, Haclose, was subsequently known as Haveless (Mintlyn).

Thomas Karrylls, Edmund Beaupré and John Dethicke to take possession of the castle at Wisbech in the name of the Queen. As nothing further is heard of the conspiracy, we may assume that it collapsed prematurely.

(2) A ROYAL COMMISSION AT NORWICH.

was appointed to inquire into the doings of the conspirators in Norfolk (January 1554). It comprised the following local magnates:—Richard Southwell, Christopher Heydon and Edmund Wyndham (knights); Thomas Gawdy, serjeant-at-law; and four justices of Oyer and Terminer, namely, Robert Holdich, Henry Hubberde, Osbert Mountford and Nicholas Rookwood. At a meeting in the Shire Hall, Norwich, on the 9th of January, an indictment was found against John Dudley Duke of Northumberland, his sons—John and Robert Dudiey, William Parr, Marquis of Northampton, Sir John Gate, Sir Thomas Palmer and Sir Andrew Dudley.

Mary entered London triumphantly and was cordially greeted by her half-sister Elizabeth, who prudently made common cause with her. The old Duke of Norfolk was at once released from his long imprisonment, whilst the Queen graciously restored to him his forfeited possessions, including the manor of Kenninghall. He was, moreover, chosen to preside at the coming trial, even "as his father forty years before sat in judgment on the Duke of Northumberland's father" (Mason). It was arranged that the charge preferred against the conspirators by the justices of Norfolk should be tried by a court at the Gildhall, London (19th January). The prisoners were arraigned and convicted of high treason. Northumberland pleaded piteously that his life might be spared, but the craven, who remorselessly sacrificed so many lives in suppressing the peasants' rising, was, nevertheless, beheaded on Tower Hill, and with him suffered Sir John Gates and Sir Thomas Palmer (22nd August). Lord Robert Dudley was pardoned and released after six months' imprisonment (18th October); created Earl of Leicester (1563), he played a conspicuous part during the next reign, being held in the highest estimation by Queen Elizabeth. He died in 1588.*

Lady Jane Grey, her husband Lord Guildford Dudley, and two of his brothers, Ambrose and Henry, besides the aged Thomas Cranmer, were examined on a charge of high treason in the Gildhall (19th November). Each of the accused pleaded guilty with the exception of the Archbishop, who afterwards withdrew his plea of "not guilty." Upon all was passed sentence of death. The execution was, however, delayed owing to rebellions in various parts of the kingdom, the object being to place Mary's half-sister, the Princess Elizabeth, upon the throne. Their failure sealed the fate of those in jeopardy. Lady Jane Grey, the "sometime unfortunate Queen of England" (Strype) was beheaded within the Tower whilst her husband suffered outside on Tower Hill. Her father, too, the

* The Countess of Leicester, *née* Amy Robsart (1530-1560), died under suspicious circumstances at Cunnor Place, near Oxford, and was interred with stately funeral rites in a vault below the chancel of the church of St. Mary the Virgin. Upon the story of Amy Robsart, of Syderstone, Sir Walter Scott based his novel *Kenilworth* (1821).

Duke of Suffolk, was also beheaded. The last to suffer was Sir Thomas Wyatt, who faced the block on Tower Hill (11th April). For some time Elizabeth was suspected of complicity in Wyatt's plot. She was imprisoned (18th March) and entrusted to the custody of our neighbour Sir Henry Bedingfeld, then governor of the Tower, "who ranks among gaolers who have derived a lasting infamy from the fame of their prisoners." Foxe, effervescing with religious prejudice, has much to say about the unnecessary harshness of his treatment, and Burnet fiercely denounces him as "the chief instrument of her sufferings." It is difficult to accept these statements, because when at the first court Sir Henry came to pay his devoirs, the Queen pleasantly observed: "Whenever I have a prisoner who requires to be safely and strictly kept I shall send him to you." Moreover, in the "Royal Progress," a visit to her "Jayler" at Oxborough figures in the itinerary. There was evidently nothing which evoked resentment. Commenting on this subject, Mr. E. M. Beloe pertinently remarks:—"It is difficult to believe as an historical fact that Sir Henry Bedingfeld, a man of sufficient strength of character to retain his old religion, a Norfolk gentleman of somewhat more than middle age, should be unkind to the young Royal Lady given to his charge, and who must ultimately in the course of nature be his Queen" (*Oxborough* (1890), p. 17).

(3) A PAIR OF EARS.

Indirectly associated with Lynn and the neighbourhood is an insignificant incident which occurred in London when Lady Jane Grey was proclaimed.

Gilbert Potter, a pot-boy employed at an hostelry in Ludgate bearing the fascinating though morbid sign of *St. John's Head*, ventured to express an opinion that of the two candidates for the English crown, Mary had by far the better title. His master, Ninian Sanders, an earnest supporter of "her ladyship" Jane Grey, hearing this, publicly denounced the lad. Brought before the Compter for this outspoken delinquency, the boy was nailed through his ears to the pillory at Cheapside. After awhile he was set free, but the price of his liberation was the loss of both ears. The Queen, hearing of this exhibition of fearless loyalty, made a grant awarding Potter several messuages, etc., in South Lynn, which he was to hold by knight's service, as a recompense. The property in question once belonged to Blackburgh Priory, and was afterwards in the tenure of Thomas Winter (30th May 1554). Potter obtained a licence and alienated the messuages, land, etc., to George and Thomas Eden, and George Eden followed suit by alienating them (with 22 acres of land called Colton Dale in Wiggenhall, also once belonging to the aforesaid priory and late in the tenure of John Reynham and Gilbert Potter) to John Knapp, of South Lynn (1554-5), who conveyed them to Hugh Pratt and Edmund Houghton (1586-7).

During the evening of Potter's arrest his master was drowned whilst passing in a boat beneath London Bridge. The untimely fate of Sanders was regarded as an instructive demonstration of Providential retribution.

IN THY NAME.

During this reign the Roman Catholic religion was reestablished. The rood-lofts were replaced; the broken images of the saints were mended and painted; superb tabernacles were reared, and new censers purchased. This involved many towns in great monetary difficulties. On the 8th of April 1558 our chamberlains paid "Thomas Clabourne's wife for the Rowde of [rood with] Mary and John for St. Margaret's 42 shillings;" they also "paid to the churchwardens for the behoof thereof £3 15s."

Later in the year the town became the resort of one Huntingdon, who vehemently protested against the revival of the old religion. Licence to preach had been obtained for him and Dr. King, of Norwich, through the influence of Mary Fitz-Roy, the Duchess of Richmond, who petitioned Sir Thomas Smith, the Secretary of State, on their behalf (4th May 1547). Having received information that Huntingdon had composed "a rayling ryme" against Dr. John Stokes, the priest at St. Margaret's, the Privy Council ordered Sir Christopher Heydon and Sir William Fermour to apprehend "the seditious preacher," who was believed to be lurking somewhere between Lynn and Walsingham.

MERCHANT AND MARTYR.

The Marian persecution commenced in 1554, and continued with slight interruptions to the end of the reign. The Queen "grieved over the separation from Rome as a sin burdening her own conscience, and she believed with all her heart that the one path to happiness, temporal and eternal, for herself and for her realm, was to root out heresy in the only way in which it seemed possible, by rooting out heretics" (Gardiner). As many as 277 are said to have perished at the stake during this short reign. Because of the bitter feeling entertained by John Hopton, Bishop of Norwich (who was chaplain to Mary during her illness at Kenninghall), against the reformers, the number of victims in this diocese was proportionately large. "Of all the un-human wretches," exclaims Bishop Burnet, referring to the Bishop and his Chancellor, Michael Dunning, "not one could be compared for cruelty to these two tyrants. Other tyrants would be content with imprisonment and death, but these were infamous for new invented tortures."

One of the burgesses of Lynn suffered for conscience' sake; he was a merchant named Simon Miller, who was perhaps a son of Thomas Miller, mayor in the reign of Henry VIII. (1524). Foxe describes him as "a goodly and zealous man in the knowledge of the Lord and his truth." With the express intention, it would appear, of protesting against the enforced religion, Miller travelled from Lynn to Norwich, and whilst the congregation was leaving one of the city churches, he boldly protested against their "popish service," and asked where *he* could go to receive communion. The multitude were greatly surprised at his effrontery, and one more evil-disposed than the rest answered that "if he would needs go to a communion he would bring him thither where he should speed of his purpose." Miller was

soon afterwards arrested and brought before Chancellor Dunning, who detained him in custody. When under examination a piece of paper was seen obtruding above his shoe; this proved to be a confession of faith, which he had placed there for safety. The paper was abstracted, the confession read, and in reply to their question, Miller stated firmly his willingness to abide by the same. He was therefore "committed" to the care of a keeper named Felow, and was kept a prisoner in the Bishop's house.

Whether through the clemency of the Bishop or the kindness of the keeper is not stated, but Miller was permitted to come back to Lynn. However, after the merchant had "set all things in order," he returned to Norwich and honourably surrendered himself to his keeper, and as nothing could change his convictions or prevent his outspoken honesty, "the Bishop and his Chancellor" condemned and committed him to the fire about the 13th day of July 1557.

With the Lynn merchant was burnt a pewterer's wife, Elizabeth Cooper, of the parish of St. Andrew, Norwich. When the flames began to scorch, she shrank, crying "Hah!" whereupon her comrade stretched out his hand behind him as far as he could, beseeching her to be strong and of good cheer, "For, good sister," said he, "we shall have a joyful and sweet supper." Miller's exhortation seems to have imbued her with fortitude, because, in the words of Foxe, "she stood as quiet as one most glad to finish that good work which before most happily she had begun. So in fine she ended her life with her companion joyfully, committing her soul into the hands of Almighty God." *

THE PIRATES OF KING'S LYNN.

In his capacity as governor of the borough, Osbert Mountford applied for £400 for supplying the county with grain, and requested that Johnes (or Johns), a mariner, should be examined by the Privy Council (7th August 1553). The governor was asked to attend the court, and to bring with him evidence in writing, or witnesses, if necessary, to bear out the charges against the person named (23rd). Twelve sailors were chosen, namely, John Millet, John Harryson, William Mackinson, Richard Cowper, William Fenne, Edmond Church, Robert Harrison, John Morys, William Danyell, Richard Carre, Thomas Reade and George Lee, but they were dismissed by "My Lords," who forwarded a letter asking the governor to receive them home again.

Owing to repeated complaints respecting certain unlawful proceedings upon the high seas, of which the above instance seems to have been one, the mayor was warned, and at the same time requested to "stay Woodman, who robbeth the Frenchmen and other of the Queen's enemies" (13th March 1554). A year later the Assembly received specific instructions on this subject from the Court of Admiralty (25th March 1555).

Thomas Waters was summoned before the Privy Council the 10th of October 1554; the next year he was again summoned, and with

* See *Acts and Monuments* (1839), by John Foxe, Vol. VIII, pp. 613-617.

him William Overend, to whom letters of appearance had already been sent. Both, respectable merchants and ship-owners, were ordered to present themselves without delay (10th June 1555). In 1542 and 1545, Overend has fleeced the King's enemies, and although in the present instance the specific charges are omitted, "piracy" may be suggested and accepted in each case.

The Court of Admiralty investigated a charge against Thomas Jones, of Lynne, who had "spoyled at sea" a foreigner—Peter Dumoshell. Judgment was given for part of the goods seized. Weary with the law's delay, Peter besought Mr. Coke, the learned exponent of the "science of hocus-pocus," to proceed to a final judgment (21st March 1555). Robert Palmer, the mayor, was therefore summoned (6th July) to appear within 14 days to account for the discharge of Tom Jones's piratical cargo. The mayor arrived on the 18th, and in justification presented a letter dated 2nd May 1554, and addressed to the Mayor and Aldermen of Lynne by Sir Richard Southwell, authorising them to permit the delivery of the goods, which were of a perishable nature, previously, however, accepting bonds from Jones. On the 2nd of August the case was again before the Privy Council, the Lord Chancellor on this occasion presiding.

May not *Johnes*, *Johns* and *Thomas Jones*, each being "of Lynne," represent one person?

INCORPORATION OF SOUTH LYNN.

Prior to 1546 South Lynn was a separate parish or hamlet, subject to the jurisdiction of the sheriff of the county; it was then, according to Richards, incorporated by means of a special licence from Henry VIII. There is, however, no reference to this in the charters granted by Philip and Mary, nor in the record as quoted by the churchwardens, which reads thus:—

"They (the king and queen) did by their letters pattents Grant and Annex the parish and hamblett of South Lynn to the Burrough of King's Lynn, and that the Inhabitants there should participate of the priviledges of the Inhabitants of King's Lynn, and have the like Liberties that the other Burgesses have, and for this annexion the Mayor and burgesses pay yearly to the Crowne a ffee-farme Rent of Tenn shillings" (*C.W.A., St. M.*).

CHARTERS OR LETTERS PATENT.

- C. 19. Dated at Westminster the 27th February in the 1st and 2nd years of their reign (1555). Letters patent, granting during pleasure the annexation of the parish of South Lynn to the borough.
- C. 20. Dated at Westminster the 11th August in the 4th and 5th years of their reign (1557). Letters patent (after reciting C. 19, and declaring it null and void) granting to the Mayor and Burgesses the parish of South Lynn, in fee-farm at a yearly rent of ten shillings, and further granting the manor of King's Lynn and the quit rents in the borough, then, by virtue of an arrangement made between Richard Nix, the Bishop of Norwich, and Henry VIII. (statute, 4th February 1536), being in the hands of Philip and Mary, to hold the same as pertaining to the manor of East Greenwich of the said King and Queen, and of their heirs and successors, at the yearly rent of £13/13/6.

Letters patent, dated at Richmond the 11th August, in the 4th and 5th years of their reign (1557). Confirming:—

- (1). Letters patent, 6th December 1547 (C. 17, of Edward VI.), of inspeximus and confirmation of —
- (2). Letters patent, 7th July 1537 (C. 16, of Henry VIII.), reaffirming the reconstitution of the borough.

The boundaries of the enlarged borough were to extend to the utmost part of South Lynn, as far south as the Pulver Drain. A separate Leet Court was to be held by the mayor and burgesses in South Lynn as in King's Lynn, the sheriff having no right to interfere. Musters might be raised when necessary, and offenders punished exactly as in the other part of the town. "For the better maintenance and defence of the borough against the flowing of the sea," the Corporation was already permitted to purchase land and tenements to the value of, but not exceeding, "£100 by the year" (letters patent, 1552). The great necessity for a provision of this kind is enforced by the fact that the plate belonging to St. James' chapel was sold and the money applied towards the repairing of the wall of the town against the rage of the sea (1543), and also by a clause in the charter of 1557, wherein mention is made of a very useful stone wall, 340 feet in length and 9 feet in breadth at its foundation, which had been seriously neglected since the Bishop was deprived of his temporalities. Attention is drawn to this subject because the sea "doth spread abroad and pour in his waves within the said wall," and because the town was threatened with "a most lamentable depopulation." The authorities are therefore urged not only to mend this important sea-wall, but to keep it in future in a state of repair.

THE GUINEA TRADE.

The Privy Council requested the Assembly to warn the merchants of Lynn "to forbear to traffic with the Myne (*sic*) of Gynney or Bynney," which was under the jurisdiction of John III., "the King of Portingale," or Portugal (29th July 1556).

THE PLAGUE

made its appearance in 1556, and during "this most dangerous time of sickness" none but those holding licences from the mayor were permitted to sell fish, and three local brewers were fined because they left off brewing so that the King and Queen's subjects lacked a beverage which was regarded as medicinally necessary. The highest point in the death-rate came in 1558, when great numbers succumbed. The mayor and four aldermen died during the year; another account says they were successive mayors, which is hardly correct. There were three mayors in 1557-8, two of whom died—Henry Bleisby in January, and William Overend in May; Thomas Waters, however, survived.

THE NORTH SEA FLEET.

At the suggestion of the King, England joined the Spaniards in hostilities against the French (7th June 1557). The following towns were ordered to furnish thirteen ships to serve in the North Sea under Sir John Clere:—Yarmouth, Hull and Newcastle, two each; *Lynne*,

Boston, Ipswich, Alborough, Lowestoft, one each; and Blakeney and Cley, and Southwold and Dunwich, one each between them (13th July 1557). At the battle of St. Quentin the best blood of France flowed like water (10th August), but the part taken by our nation in a struggle, in which it was not politically concerned, was signally punished by the surrender of Calais (7th January 1558).

* * * * *

After being in the hands of the English for over 200 years, the loss of Calais greatly troubled Mary. Disappointed both in her public and domestic life, and afflicted with dropsy, the sad and lonely Queen passed away (17th November 1558), "wondering why all she had done on God's behalf had been followed by failure on every side—the desertion of her husband and the hatred of her subjects." (Gardiner.)

CHAPTER XXIV.

The Battle and the Breeze.

On the death of Mary, her sister Elizabeth, daughter of Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn, ascended the throne. The succession was undisputed, and Elizabeth was crowned at Westminster the 15th January 1559.

* * * * *

In every country there is, unfortunately, a constantly recurring fraction of the population which the prosperity of a nation does not visibly affect. As true as when first written is the assurance: "The poor shall never cease out of the land." Lynn, changed though it be beyond recognition, has still an undesirable substratum of townfolk even as it had in the Reformation days; it has, besides, a heavy poor-rate, of which it was then profoundly ignorant.* At the numerous religious houses

THE SUBMERGED TENTH

sought hospitality, and when they—the religious houses be it understood—were swept away, the deserving and undeserving, the unable as well as the able, received succour and assistance from the Church. Laws, disgraceful because of their injustice and inhumanity, were passed, but no amount of sweeping would rid the country of the social sediment. "The poor shall never cease out of the land."

Once upon a time every parish possessed a "church house" wherein the secular business of the district was transacted; it was provided with ovens for baking, tubs for brewing, spits for roasting, and furnished with a supply of platters, crocks and other articles of

* There was, however, a tax for the support of the poor about the time of Richard II. "John de Spalding bequeathed £4 to the community of Lenn to abridge the tax of the poor of Lenn." [*History of Boroughs and Municipal Corporations*, by Messrs. Merewether and Stephens, Vol. II., p. 760.]

a culinary description. As one or other of the festive seasons approached, gifts in kind from benevolent parishioners came mysteriously pouring in—a baron of beef, a bag of malt, a gammon of bacon, a peck of flour, a dozen eggs, and other welcome comestibles. Then the wives of the wealthier members of the community cooked the food and the churchwardens brewed the ale, and when at last the anticipated day of rejoicing arrived there was a good, substantial meal provided for all who chose to come, and those who did not join in the festivity were fined for their non-attendance. When the feast was over, the young, whose faces were beaming with excitement, amused themselves with dancing, bowling, racing in sacks, grinning through horse-collars, or shooting at the butts, whilst the dear old folk, who were too stiff or serious for such puerile diversions, would

Laugh at the jests or pranks that never fail,
Or sigh with pity at some mournful tale.

There were Church Ales, Clerks' Ales, Whitsun Ales, Hocking Ales and other harmless festivals, named from the enlivening beverages thereat largely consumed. An arbour of boughs was erected in the churchyard, where a group of bewitching maidens, each the pink of perfection, collected money, which was scrupulously set apart for the maintenance of the poor and afflicted. Moreover, in every church, and in many a hostelry too, was a "poor man's box," into which donations could be secretly slipped.

It is to be regretted that the earliest of our church records starts just after these sylvan scenes had been prohibited, because, having degenerated in character, they were thought unworthy of the countenance of the Church.

Connected with the chapel of St. Nicholas were three houses which in 1618 and for many years afterwards were tenanted "rent free." They were occupied by the sexton (east side of Pilot Street), the clerk (west side of Chapel Street), and the lecturer (corner of Woolpack Street and Chapel Street). The sexton's house, behind the chapel, stood next to what is now the *Grampus* public house. On the south side of the passage separating the present tenements are traces of early work. After passing the timber-framing of a more recent dwelling, the explorer will find a bricked-up Gothic doorway (42 by 76 inches), a stone niche (22 by 36 inches), and the stone-work of a mullioned window (46 by 68 inches). This house is given in William Newham's survey (1834), as that of the chapel sexton, which was, according to the report of the Charity Commissioners, let to Thomas Stacey, milkman, for £6 a year (8th January 1876). May not these remains be those of the ancient "church house"?

At the closing of the monasteries an Act was placed upon the Statute Book for the gathering and distribution of money to the poor (1536). Henceforth all "good Christian people" were expected to give of their substance every Sunday and Saints' day. The churchwardens not only went round every Sunday during the Communion service collecting alms for the poor, but were supposed to keep the able-bodied at "constant work." If any penurious parishioner refused

to give voluntarily, he was first gently admonished by the parson or his colleague; if this failed to loosen his purse-strings, the bishop sent for him and earnestly exhorted him, perhaps under threats of future pain, to perform his duty towards "those who were left to such relief as the humanity of their neighbours would afford them." Any parish neglecting to enforce the Act might be fined twenty shillings a month. The *voluntary* system was not, however, very effectual. To overcome the difficulty in Lynn, a tax of fourpence per chaldron was levied upon all coal brought into port by strangers (1545). This source of income, supplemented by gifts from the charitable, proved inadequate; hence, as already mentioned, the Council provided the poor with a distinctive mark or licence to solicit alms.

After intermediate legislative experiments, the principle of *compulsory* taxation was introduced by Elizabeth (1563), and was brought into full operation a few years afterwards (1572). It formed the basis of the subsequent statute which, though modified, has been in operation from the date of its enactment in 1601 to the present day. After reading what Richard Hakluyt wrote in 1584, the urgent necessity of such a measure must be admitted:

Yea, there be many thousandes of idle persons within the realme having no way to be set at worke, whereby all the prisons of the lande are daily pestered and stuffed full of them, where either they pitifully pyne away or els at length are miserably hanged, even xxj at a clappe out of some one jayle.

Under the new Act, justices were to assess all dwellings, and the churchwardens and overseers were to provide work, build poor-houses and apprentice the children of paupers. In the parish of St. Margaret, the parish clerk, Edward Davis, collected what was levied in "the booke of Sessament" (1602). The total amounted to £1 16s. 4d. Shortly afterwards the town was assessed in two parts (1606): "Item, payde to Robet. Parker for wrightinge the order about the Sesment betweyne St. Nicho. *parishe* and St. Margreett, iij s. iij d." [*C.W.A., St. M.*].*

ST. JAMES' WORKHOUSE.

The Dean and Chapter of Norwich surrendered possession of the church of St. James to the Corporation in 1566. For several years nothing is heard of the neglected edifice, which subsequently figured conspicuously in the annals of our poor. A notice in the Hall Book, October 1580, refers to the establishment of a workhouse. It was thought that many could earn an honest livelihood by making baize, and it was admitted that St. James' church might be turned to good account. Hence a committee was appointed to make any required alterations, the Council generously voting £600 to defray the cost (2nd December). The next year was spent in making preparations for the introduction of the new industry.

Through some cause or other, the manufacture of baize, though then successfully carried on in Norwich, came to an untimely end at

* "The Church-rate was determined by the churchwardens and the major part of the parishioners."

"The Poor-rate was made by the churchwardens and the overseers without the assistance of any other parishioners; they taxed themselves and the other parishioners." (*Kerrich on Parish Rates*, Vol. IV., p. 7.)

Lynn, for in 1586 the able-bodied poor were employed at the work-house dressing hemp and twisting tows for the fishermen. Even this occupation was doomed to failure. At this crisis John Lonyson, a goldsmith, of London,* by a deed of feoffment dated the 9th of October 1584, gave £200 in trust to the Mayor and burgesses, so that lands and tenements might be purchased, and the rents and profits therefrom arising could be bestowed upon the poor "in the New Hospital in Lynn, called the New House for the poor." The money was spent in buying of Charles Cornwallis and George Nicholls:—"Seventy-six acres of land, meadow or marsh, more or less, in South Lynn, West Lynn and South Clenchwarton, or some of them, namely, in breadth between the marsh of the said Mayor and burgesses (of Lynn) on the east, a marsh called Baly Marsh in part and the great river called Lynn Haven in part on the west, and abutting upon a marsh called Scalishowe (Scale's How) Marsh towards the north, and upon the marsh of the said Mayor and burgesses towards the south."

In 1729 the rents amounted to £88 (Richards), but about seventy years afterwards, by some mysterious upheaval, these 76 acres slipped completely from the face of the earth! The more bewildering is this when the inquirer seeks in vain for record of earthquake, volcanic eruption, or phenomenal subsidence in the neighbourhood. In an abstract of our charities placed before the Royal Commissioners in 1833, the whole 76 acres were "supposed to have been lost." What a *lusus naturæ*!

John Titley also benevolently subscribed £100 "to set the poor to work" (1591).

A FRIEND AT COURT.

A month after Elizabeth's accession, the Council met to consider a remarkable request from Thomas Howard, the fourth Duke of Norfolk, who was a kinsman of the Queen and the greatest and wealthiest of English peers. He coolly asked permission to select somebody to represent the ancient and loyal borough of King's Lynn—and, *entre nous*, himself—in Elizabeth's first Parliament. Stifling their surprise as best they could, the Council, after a while, meekly consented (27th December 1558). Thomas Hogan and Alderman Thomas Waters were accordingly "returned" in January, the first being the ducal and the second the municipal nominee.

The Queen's peace was seriously threatened the next year through a series of quarrels between the fishermen of Lynn and those of Wolferton, who raided a mussel scalp which was supposed to be an inalienable adjunct of the borough. To maintain their supremacy over the "muskell scalpe," the members of the Corporation decided upon accompanying the fishermen. Messrs. Ralph Downes, Robert Mowthe, Robert Gerves and Bunting were at first selected, but every alderman and every councilman was either to go in person or provide a substitute, the Council having in the mean time agreed that whosoever

* William Lonyson, a burgess of Lynn, purchased his freedom for £4 in 1538; he was a goldsmith, and, perhaps, the father of John Lonyson, of London. This surname was spelled curiously. In the *S. James' Hospital Booke* (1682) we find *Louistone*, *Louinston*, *Lonarston*, &c.

entered into any bond for the peaceful settlement of the disputes by arbitration should be freely indemnified by the town (19th February 1559). But "seeing fair play" was no easy task, because the Wolfertonians, having once tasted the forbidden fruit, were not to be restrained from gathering those popular bivalves. Hence the Assembly launched a series of actions against the daring mussel-poachers, and, moreover, deputed Messrs. Bunting and Gerves to call upon to the Duke of Norfolk "to entreat his Grace's favour in the town's suit concerning the mussel scalp." Realising how one "good turn" must upset the social equation, they sought another to restore the equilibrium. The Duke probably exerted himself to help the town in the piscatorial dilemma in which they were involved. On the 12th of May, Robert Gerves applied to the Council for the payment of a few preliminary items, amounting to £7 15s. 6d., including incidental expenses of the deputation when in London and legal fees arising from the suits at law against the fishermen of Wolferton.

In the beginning of July, the Council, anxious to secure witnesses to substantiate their case, asked John Reeve to "commune" with the inhabitants of Marshland and other places, whilst Robert Gerves was, with like intention, exploiting North and South Wootton. If reliance be placed on some of the depositions, the light-fingered Wolfertonians must have indulged in nefarious "dydling," because the scalp in question was a mile-and-a-half from the shore, and could only be approached at full sea by boat, and a laden "crayer," drawing 7 feet of water, might sail over the alluring bed.

The friendly relation between the borough and the Duke was brief, but it existed to the end. His lordship owned a mansion in Norwich, where he generally resided. This magnificent quadrangular edifice, purchased by his ancestors in the reign of Henry VIII., stood near the Blackfriars' bridge, on a site now covered with modern buildings. Possibly the Duke was desirous of altering or enlarging his palace, and for this purpose stone was necessary; hence, with the consent of the Corporation, he quarried and removed 20 loads of freestone from the disused chapel of St. James (1568). Whether this supposition fits the context or not is immaterial; the Duke lost his head, as we shall see, speculating upon other designs (1572), leaving his eldest son Henry to rebuild the ancestral mansion upon more elaborate lines (1602).

It was an age of shameless desecration; the profane spoiler clutched the most precious ecclesiastical treasures, and, as a rule, greedily turned them into money. Even the prior's little oratory on "the Mount" was pillaged; six loads of thack tiles,* being carried from thence to the Common Staith, where they were doubtless sold; three loads of spars were also removed and laid in the store-house (1570-1). Women were employed two years later in carrying bricks

* *Thack* or *thatch tile* (Old Friesic, *dehka*, to thatch) in contradistinction to *wall-tile* or flat brick. The Anglo-Saxons styled brick-work *tigel geweorc* (tile work), and the Normans, like the Romans, built with wall-tile. In the statute of Edward IV. mention is made of *pleintile*, otherwise *thaktile*, *roftile* or *crestile*, *cornertile* and *guttertile*, which were all used in roofing houses (1477).

from Our Lady's chapel to the Gannock bridge, which perhaps needed repairing.

In 1562 the Assembly elected Sir Robert Bell, the recorder of the town, for one member, and modestly stipulated that the other should be a burgess. To place this on record was an unnecessary exhibition of puerile duplicity (14th December). The meeting was adjourned in order to learn whom the Duke's nominee might be. On the 29th our obligingly subservient Council elected Richard Le Strange, who was made a freeman the same year.

The services of a High Steward were subsequently deemed necessary; the Council therefore ordered John Pell, one of the members, and Thomas Waters, to wait upon Sir Robert Bell in London, in order to obtain his advice. If he concurred, the appointment either of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, or of William Cecil, Lord Burleigh, was left in his hands. Though a High Steward was first mentioned in the Charter of the 17th year of Charles II., Robert Dudley was appointed the 18th of June 1572. As "Lord High Steward," he was the town's representative in the House of Lords; he was not supposed to interfere with the business of the Corporation, being merely the customary channel for the delivery of their communications.

There is evidence, too, of an alteration in electoral tactics in 1572, when the Council chose both members themselves, "according to the tenor of the statutes in that case made and provided" (16th March). Once more was the Recorder reëlected, the other member being an alderman and resident burgess named John Kynne. To account for this change, a retrogressive step must be taken. In October 1569, Thomas Howard was committed to the Tower, because of his implication in an intrigue to marry Mary, Queen of Scotland. During his imprisonment, which lasted nearly twelve months, the Earls of Westmoreland (Charles Neville) and Northumberland (Thomas Percy) took up arms, avowedly to reëstablish the religion of their ancestors, but really to place Mary upon the English throne. At the approach of Thomas Ratcliffe, Earl of Sussex, they disbanded their troops and fled from Bramham Moor in Yorkshire (November 1569). Westmoreland escaped to the Netherlands, but Northumberland was taken and executed (August 1572). In the mean time, the Duke of Norfolk, who was regarded as an accomplice, was again arrested (7th September 1571). A charge of treason was preferred against him; he was tried and convicted by a jury of twenty-five peers, and after the death-warrant had been thrice countermanded by the Queen, he was beheaded (2nd June 1572).

"THE INVINCIBLE ARMADA."

It was præeminently important to keep a jealous eye upon the coast defences whenever the country was threatened with invasion by a hostile nation. Comparisons are indeed odious, notwithstanding they are at times instructive; and the maritime and commercial status of Lynn cannot be better gauged than by comparing it with other places in Norfolk. The examination of an abstract from a schedule

of the survey made in the ports and havens in Norfolk, with returns of shipping, mariners, &c., in 1565, will undoubtedly be profitable:

Ports, Havens, Creeks, and Landing Places.	House holders.	Ships for Iceland.	Crares & Ships of Burden.	Mariners.	Fishermen.
Yarmouth	553	7	104	150	250
Winterton	24	—	—	6	8
Hemsby	27	—	—	—	4
Waxham	11	—	2	4	9
Palling	29	—	1	2	3
Eccles	10	—	1	3	3
Hasboro'	30	—	2	—	—
Bromholme	46	—	1	—	12
Mundesley	16	—	3	—	19
Cromer	117	—	—	—	48
Sheringham	136	—	—	—	69
Waborne	35	—	—	—	14
Salthouse	58	—	—	—	21
Cley	100	9	14	35	25
Wyveton	80	1	5	—	53
Blakeney	80	4	8	30	18
Wells	90	7	7	—	60
Burnham	59	—	2	7	5
Hitcham	76	—	1	3	2
Snettisham	79	—	—	—	—
Dersingham	75	—	1	3	2
LYNN REGIS	542	5	12	90	30
Total ...	2,273	33	164	333	655

Apprehensive lest the Spaniards might carry out their threat of invading the country, a more minute examination of the coast was undertaken (1568). The commissioners divided the Norfolk coast into parts, and appointed competent persons to draw up reports thereon. The deputy commissioners for the Lynn section, which stretched as far as Dersingham, were Robert Hulyard, Robert Houghton, John Barker and William Fenn.

To Thomas Colshill, surveyor to the port of London, we are indebted for a return of the merchant ships of England (1572). The total number of vessels in the sixteen principal ports was 1,383. Lynn possessed 60 merchant ships, whilst London had 162, Ipswich 179, and Yarmouth 193, the largest number of any port.

LYNN VESSELS.

100 tons	=	2 ships	30 tons	=	10 ships
80 "	=	1 "	25 "	=	7 "
60 "	=	7 "	20 "	=	5 "
50 "	=	7 "	16 "	=	2 "
40 "	=	14 "	10 "	=	5 "

In 1602 the merchant adventurers had connections at York, Hull, Newcastle, Lynn, Norwich, Ipswich, Exeter, Southampton, and all other ports and towns trading beyond the seas, by virtue of their corporations.

Again in 1577 the coast was the subject of inspection. From a general survey of the landing-places in England and Wales we learn there were in all 489 (or 504 as given in another official record), including 1 in the Isle of Ely, 12 in Norfolk, 29 in Suffolk, and 134 in Essex. Ten years later, Norfolk, a maritime county offering what were regarded as exceptional facilities to the enemy, was even more cautiously and minutely surveyed. Stimulated by advice from the most skilful pilots and sailors of Lynn and Snettisham, the deputy lieutenants of the county, Sir Edward Clere and Sir William Heydon, paid a visit to Lynn, having received orders to reorganise our local musters or forces, and to observe the greatest caution in the selection of captains.

After minutely surveying the coast, a report was forwarded to Henry Carey (Lord Hunsdon) the Lord Lieutenant. It was suggested that the haven of Lynn should be protected by the erection of a fort near the Crutch or Crotche, a serviceable channel about a mile from the town, and that a strong bulwark should be constructed extending to Weybourn Hoop, Mandeley (Mundesley), Bromwell, and Winterton. Great attention was deemed necessary at Yarmouth and Lowestoft, and they recommended the preparing of beacons to spread alarm in case of danger, and insisted that application should be made to the privy council for the supply of twenty pieces of ordnance (20th October 1587).

Exactly when the drain upon the resources of the county was enormous, Lynn and Yarmouth were asked to provide vessels of war for the Queen's service. The Mayor and Corporation forwarded the following reply, in which the patriotism of our forefathers is brought into high relief when contrasted with the stingy meanness of the inhabitants of Wells and Blakeney:—

Right Honorable, after we the Mayor, Aldermen and company of the Burrough of Kyng's Lynne hadd receyved your Honorable L^{res} (letters) w^{ch} were directed to this Towne of Kyng's Lenne and the Towne of Blakeney, concerninge the furnyshyng of twoo Shippes of warr, either of them of the burthen of LX. tonnes att the least, and one Pynish [pinnace] fitt for that service we hadd conference with some of the chefest of the saide Towne of Blakeney, and with some of the Townes of Claye and Wyveton w^{ch} be members of the same Towne of Blakeney, and we fynde that they are vnwillynge to be att any chardge neare the furnyshyng of a Shipp. We sent also to the Towne of Wells w^{ch} is a member of our porte, a Towne very well furnyshed with shippyng w^{thin} w^{ch} there be many Ritch men inhabitynge, butt they have denyed altogether to contrIBUTE to our chardge, and we made diligent enquiry yf any of our porte hadd sent forth any Shippe of warr or taken any goods by way of reprisall, but we cannot fynde that there is any such. And we rec yo'r H's saide L^{res} [received your Honour's said letters] the vij th of this moneth before w^{ch} tyme there were gone out from hence for Iselond [Iceland] sixe of the best Shippes of o'r Towne and dyvers others into Holland and other plac's, so that we were left destitute of all Shippes fitt for that service except one called the *Mayeflower of Lynne* beyng of the Burthen of One hundred and flyfye Tonnes of w^{ch} we have made choyse, and we entend God so p'mittinge to furnysh the saide Shippe and Pynish wth 100 men and all other things fitt and necessary for her Ma'ties warres. Howe be itt, the trueth is, that our Towne is very vnable to beare the chardge thereof without assistance. Wherefore, we humble crave yo'r H's L^{res} to be directed to the Townes of Claye, Wyveton, Blakeney, Wells and other the Coast Townes towards Lynne, and to the Dealers wth Corne, Merchundizes and

Maryne causes in the Townes neare adiacent, comaundyng them to ioyne herein in the chardge wth vs, and we shall accordyng to our bounden Dueties pray to god for yo'r H's preservacion. Kyngs Lynne this 12 of Aprill, 1588.

Yo'r H's in all humblenes

Thomas Sandyll, Maior
Robert Hullys

Thomas Sverend
Richard Clark
Thomas Boston.

Alex. Musgrave, Capt. of the May Flower to have £100 from the 10th April to the 1st July 1588. [A pencil note].

Five vessels from Lynn are said to have formed a part of Drake's squadron, their names being the *Antelope*, the *Clayborne*, the *William*, the *Mary*, and the *James*; this, however, is not confirmed by Foljambe's manuscript. The *Mayflower*, 150 tons burden, with a crew of 70 men, is mentioned in his "Book of Musters 1588," as one of the coasters serving under Lord Henry Seymour; he includes likewise the *Revenge* of Lynn, 60 tons, with 30 men, and the *Jacob* of Lenne, 90 tons, with 30 men, among the Lord Admiral's coasters. Two *Antelopes* are given; the one of 400 tons, with 160 men, however, belonged to the Queen, and the other of 120 tons, with 60 men, was supplied by the city of London.

That Foljambe's list is defective seems feasible, because a little incident, preserved in the State Papers, yields the name of another of our vessels. Robert Huylor, acting as deputy mayor, considerably placed before the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, and the Lord Admiral, the case of a deserving though unlucky seaman—John Atkins. He was captain of the *Freegift* of Lynn, when that vessel served against the Spaniards, but was too ill to follow his vocation; moreover, his old master Nicholas Sabb was dead, and the *Freegift* had been unfortunately wrecked within twelve miles of our haven (1598).

Another vessel probably belonging to Lynn is mentioned in our "List of Freemen." The entry reads:—"John Waynforth marin £20 released 10 l. & to discharge ye Towne of the other 10 l. due for service as master's mate & man in late ship o' War called the *Expedition*, &c." The applicant was charged £20, but whether he paid £10 or nothing must be left an open question. Note, the *Expedition* is termed the "late ship o' War" (1597).

At the time of the Spanish Armada, England had only 14,000 sailors; her ships were small, and there were only four merchant vessels in the kingdom which exceeded 400 tons. Our Royal Navy numbered twenty-eight.

In a general combat off Gravelines the English scored a great victory, humiliating the much-vaunted prowess of the Spaniards, who came to chastise presumptuous England, to dethrone Elizabeth, and to restore a wandering nation to the fold of Rome (29th July). The Duke of Medina Sidonia, realising how desperate was his condition, attempted to return by sailing round Scotland and Ireland. He was pursued by Lord Howard as far as Flamborough, when a storm, stranding the greater part of his vessels upon the shores of Norway, Scotland, and Ireland, completed his discomfiture. Philip received the news of the disaster with the composure of a stoic, observing

that he sent his armament to fight the English, not the tempests of heaven! Elizabeth, too, regarded the storm as a timely interposition of Providence; she struck a commemorative medal with the legend, "*Tu Deus magnus et magna facis Tu solus Deus.*"

Because of threats from Spain, our nation was for many years in a state of apprehensive suspense. On the 7th of August 1599 the following letter was despatched by the Privy Council to Thomas Baker, the mayor of Lynn:

You are not ignorant of the daily advertisements that are brought hither of the great preparations the King of Spain doth make by sea not only of ships of war, but of a good number of galleys, to invade some parts of this realm; and therefore you can consider how behooful and necessary it is to have certain intelligence of their approach in the Narrow Seas, and what course they do hold. For which purpose we do in Her Majesty's name, will and command you forthwith to set some two or three nimble vessels unto the seas out of that [the Lynn] harbour that may go and ply up and down between the coast of France and ours, to learn what they may discover of the coming of the said fleet, and use all diligence to advertise the same unto you that we may by post receive from time to time such news as you shall understand from them. Herein requiring you to take present order, we bid, &c.

Postscript.—We think it meet that you should keep these pinnaces and vessels at sea, as you are directed for the space of 6 weeks—[*Foljambe MSS.*].

So alarming was the crisis that similar letters were sent to Perin [Penryn, Scotland], Plymouth, Portsmouth, Dartmouth, and Southampton.

AQUATIC AND PISCATORIAL REGULATIONS.

The Corporation were not likely to overlook any of the valuable concessions conferred by the charter of Henry VIII. (1524). Not only were they then made surveyors of the haven and adjacent waters, but accredited inspectors of the local fisheries, to whom the fishermen were responsible. What they timidly ventured to do was now an acknowledged right rather than an uncertain privilege. Conscious of how their jurisdiction extended beyond the boundary of the town, they began to hanker after Admiralty powers. This is indicated in a series of bye-laws drawn up in Elizabeth's reign, concerning "the keeping and preserving of the haven of Lynn and the fish thereof." Having adopted these bye-laws, the council selected six persons, possibly members of the Assembly, to supervise the working of the scheme. A summary of a few of the more salient of the fifty-one orders may prove helpful.*

FIRST: *To prevent the main stream from being polluted.* No obstructions to navigation were permitted, such as weirs, dams, stakes, etc.; and nets fastened to posts were not to remain; no rubbish might be thrown into the water, and the piles driven to preserve the banks were not to be removed, nor was gravel or sand at the water's edge to be taken away. Six persons, living near the main stream, were appointed to watch and report any infringement of the orders of the Council.

SECOND: *A series of regulations to be observed by the Lynn fishermen.*

* See Mackerell's *History of Lynn* (1738), pp. 257-270.

(a) Relating to orderly behaviour when fishing; for example—“It is ordained that every Man that goeth to the Sea that shall first come to an Anchor shall hang his great Anchor without Fraud and Guile and his Boat that cometh next to him to go up with the Drag each of them both together, and four must go up with the Drag if there be so many, under the forfeiture of 1s.” The general fine was 3s. 4d.; the highest, however, being 8s.

(b) For the preservation of spawn and the fry of fish. No brood was to be destroyed; no salmon or trout were to be taken out of season; the kind of nets and the sizes of the meshes were specified. The length, too, of fish to be retained was given,—pike or pickerel not less than 10 inches, salmon 16 inches, trout 8 inches, and barbel 12 inches. No trunks or nets might hang across the haven. As there was great danger of the oyster scalp in the haven being ruined through “the greedy desire” of certain persons “seeking present gain,” it was decided that nobody should use scrapes, rakes, or drags armed with iron. Fine 3s. 4d.

(c) To retain a sufficient supply of fresh fish for the town market. All the fish caught were to be brought home to the Douce (Fisher) fleet. None might be sold to strangers to be carried away without the permission of the four overseers (fishermen), who first assigned what was necessary for home consumption. Fines 3s. 4d. to 6s. 8d. The Mayor appointed these overseers, who were to act as inspectors of the fishery. They were, moreover, to make diligent search and inquiry about wrecks. Goods cast into the sea to lighten a vessel, which remained under water (*jetsam*), those which floated after the ship had sunk (*flotsam*), and goods fastened to a buoy and sunk in the sea to be found again (*ligan*). *Derelict* comprised flotsam, jetsam and ligan cast by the sea upon land. Notice in every case was to be given to the court, in default the payment of 3s. 4d. as fine.

THIRD: Directions for conducting the Court and the payment of three officers. Processes under the Mayor’s seal were directed to the water-bailiff for summoning a jury of sixteen—merchants, sailors, mariners, fishermen, and others trading upon the river, each one to be an inhabitant of Lynn. If any refused to serve they were to be fined, the Mayor fixing the amount. The decision of the jury was final, and those refusing to pay were to be committed to prison.

(a) The Steward of the Court received, over and above his ordinary stipend, one-sixth part of the fines derived from offenders, and one-sixth part of the value of the wrecked goods found; also six pence for each process against an offender and six pence for every case dismissed.

(b) The Water-bailiff was paid six pence out of every penalty amounting to 3s. 4d. (or more), but if under, only two pence, and at the same rate (say three-twentieths) from the value of all wreckage. For the arrest of a person, also for taking bond, he was paid four pence, and two pence upon dismissal.

(c) The Common Crier of the Court received three pence out of every fine and two pence from every offender dismissed.

THE SLAUGHTER OF THE INNOCENTS.

The wretched, insanitary state of the town was the cause of many deplorable "visitations," as they were absurdly termed, and there is ample justification in concluding that Lynn was rarely, if ever, wholly exempt from diseases of a virulent and contagious nature. Except, however, when the death-rate was alarmingly high, no notice was apparently taken. Beyond the bare fact that the plague was prevalent in 1547, we can go no further. A nomadic population contributed largely to the spread of epidemic diseases, and our annual fairs were productive of much mischief. Hence in 1584, recognising that more were dying than usual, the authorities decided upon moving the February fair from the afflicted Damgate to the Tuesday market-place, where it has continued to be held ever since. Moreover, to check the danger, £5 18s. was spent in setting up four large booths near the Town Wall for the relief and isolation of those afflicted. On the 24th of May, the Council ordained that all "dogges and yappes" and "cattes" should be at once destroyed, to prevent the spread of the infection. Persons were chosen to enforce the decree, where affectionately-obstinate burgesses objected to sacrifice their canine and feline pets. Those possessing "dogs of account," who promised faithfully to prevent them from leaving their own premises, were excused, as were strangers ignorant of the new bye-law. In this our Council were following a wise precaution taken in London, where all dogs other than hounds, spaniels and mastiffs specially kept to guard houses, were either removed or killed.

For three years, from 1569 to 1599, the plague decimated the population of Lynn. Parkin states, 200 were buried in St. James' grave-yard in the year 1591, which must be an error for 1597. In our parish registers are curious entries about this "visitation." Every wedding, christening, and burial had to be correctly written in a book by the minister, under pain of 3s. 4d. for every time an omission occurred. The parishioners were enjoined to provide "one sure coffer with two locks and keys, whereof one (was) to remain with the parson, vicar or curate, and the other with the churchwardens" (1547). In this coffer the register was to be safely kept.

A fair and accurate copy was sent every year to the Bishop; for writing this copy the churchwardens of St. Margaret's paid 6d. the year prior to the visitation, but in 1598 the entries covered "fyveskore and seventene leavs," for which the copyist was paid thirty shillings. In St. Margaret's register we read: "About this tyme the plague was knowen amongst vs in this towne" (Feb. 1597). There is a similar note in that of St. Nicholas:—"here begins the Lord's uisitation August 26: 1597 and lasted till the month of May 1598." During this period, the sick were sent to St. James' chapel, or the "new house," as it was termed after the structural alterations.

Ite(m) p'd for a new beare to Cary the infected pepole that dyed and payntinge of it black, 6s. 2d.

Ite' p'd ffor the old Chest that caryed the sik enfected before, to edward davys who bought it, 2s. 2d.

Ite' p'd to mr Johnson for buryenge 3 pore peple 12d. and for perfume to thomas stanclyfe, 5d. [C.W.A., St. M.]

As those dying of the infection are not specified, the annexed table shews the total number of deaths during three years:—

From the C.W.A.	1596-7.		1597-8.		1598-9.	
	St. M.	St. N.	St. M.	St. N.	St. M.	St. N.
January	5	4	8	4	4	26
February	9	5	12	4	8	18
March	2	1	47	12	3	63
April	9	9	81	1	7	27
May	9	5	51	5	7	11
June	7	5	18	5	7	4
July	5	5	7	6	2	1
August	8	5	32	8	3	6
September	10	3	29	18	10	8
October	7	10	8	19	8	7
November	13	1	5	17	4	2
December	12	4	1	16	8	7
Total	96	57	299	115	71	180

From the Survey of the Ports and Harbours of Norfolk (1565) we learn there were 542 householders at that time in Lynn. Assuming that an average of five persons lived in each house, the population would be represented by 2,710, say 2,700. With this datum, the death-rate would work out thus:—

1596-7 = 56.6 per thousand.

1597-8 = 153.3 „ „

1598-9 = 92.2 „ „

HAIRBREADTH ESCAPES.

No mention is made by our historians of the great earthquake on the evening of Easter Wednesday, April 6th 1580, although it was said to have been felt throughout the kingdom. The great clock at Westminster struck at the shock, and the bells of the various metropolitan churches began jangling. The alarmed audiences rushed from the theatres, etc. To assuage the terror manifested in every part of the kingdom, the Queen issued a special form of prayer to be used by all householders, with their whole families, every evening before retiring to rest. Earthquakes were, however, noticeable at Lynn in 1574-5, and again in 1602. The town with parts of Marshland was "drowned" in 1564 and again in 1669-70. The inundations caused considerable loss; on the second occasion not ten roods of the bank stretching from Lynn to the bridge at Magdalen were left. From 21st to 24th of September 1594, the town was swept by a most violent storm.

The storm of 1571 is thus described by a contemporary writer:—

This year (1571) the fifth of October chanced a terrible tempest of wind and rayne, both by sea and lande. In the county of Norfolk the sea brake in

between Wisbiche and Walsoekene and at the Cross Keyes drowning eight towns and Jarman's at Stowe brigge. At the Cross Keyes Inne the walls of the houses were broken down. In the bishopricke of Ely—Wisbiche, Guyhorne, Parson Drove and Hobshouse, being an almshouse, were overflowen. In Wisbiche was a garden, a tennis play and a bowling alley walled about with bricke (which was worth 20 li. by yeare to the owner) was quite destroyed by the water. [Holinshed's *Chronicles*: 1577.]

The harbour was seriously damaged in 1586, when the Queen benevolently contributed towards the repairs.

IN DUE SEASON.

Concerning the election of a Mayor, the following curious communication from the Privy Council was addressed to "the Mayor (Christopher Graunt) and his brethren":—

Some, to whom the election apperteyned, had not so good consideracion as they shold have had; but without regarding their Lordships advice [they had] made choice of one that had lately been noted before them in the Sterre (Star) Chamber, for some undutifull misdemeanours within that towne much to their scaunder; and yet, for that by their second election their Lordships find that error acknowledged and a better choise of one more meter for her majesties service and the quiett government of the towne, their Lordships were contented to allowe of their doinges and to beare with the former falte of those persons to whom the election appertained requieng them to indeavour themselves to remove all dishonest factions and to attend to the quiet government of the towne (5th September 1576).

The "better choice" refers to the recent election of Gregory Baker on the 29th of August, who was to succeed Christopher Graunt on the 29th of the next month.

THE STRIFE OF TONGUES.

The greatest excitement prevailed during the term of William Killingtree's mayoralty (1581), which was brought about by the factious behaviour of John Pell, an ex-mayor and a former justice of the peace, and his son, Jeffrey Pell, aided and abetted by Robert Hullyard (or Hullyer), also an ex-mayor, and others, who diligently circulated scandalous libels and rhymes, incriminating not only the mayor and aldermen of the borough, but two worthy ministers—William Leedes, vicar of St. Margaret's, and William Sanderson, vicar of Terrington St. John's, who, having the year before received from the Queen a licence of non-residency from his vicarage, was probably an assistant, or, as we should now say, "a curate," in Lynn.* The nature of the charges against the characters of these men may be ascertained from documents preserved in the Public Record Office, but being, it is feared, like Gratiano's reasons—two grains of wheat hid in two bushels of chaff—we, with apologies for inadvertent levity, decline the search, especially remembering that the libel against the mayor is *said* to have been based upon certain letters *said* to have been found by an attentive servant named Parker.

In December, William Killingtree, on behalf of himself and the other aggrieved members of the community, was constrained to

* Buried in St. Margaret's graveyard:—William Sanderson, October 3rd 1598: William Leedes November 3rd 1628 [P.R. (*Parish Register*) St. M.].

place the particulars of the case before the Privy Council, for the town was in such an uproar that they went about in fear of bodily harm. John Pell and his associates were summoned before the council; they, however, behaved with such "great boldness" after their return that the Mayor petitioned the council that they might be "called to account" (March 5th 1582). The same day the libelling offenders addressed a petition to Sir Francis Walsingham, the most influential of the Queen's counsellors, desiring that if the complaints preferred against them were heard (decided) by the council, they might be discharged of the impending suit in the Star Chamber.

THE QUEEN IN NORFOLK.

The Queen made several provincial tours. She visited Suffolk (July 1561) and Norfolk (August 1578), when her "progresses" were unusually extended. At the end of July 1578 she stayed at Long Melford and Hawsted; on the 7th of August her Majesty entered Bury St. Edmunds, and Euston on the 10th. Great preparations were made at Norwich for her reception, and workmen were brought from Lynn and Yarmouth to assist. Thomas Churchyard, in the service of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, was for three weeks busily engaged arranging the masques, ceremonies, and festivities. He says:—

The Norfolke Gentlemen hearing how dutifullie their neighbours had receyved the Princess prepared in lyke sort to shewe themselves dutifull, and so in most gallantest manner assembled and set forward with five and twenty hundred horsemen whereof, as some affirme were sixe hundredth Gentlemen, so bravely attired and mounted, as indeede worthy the noting, which goodly company wayted on their Sherille a long season; but in good sooth (as I have heard credibly spoken) the bankets and feastes began heere afresh, and all kinds of triumphes that might be devised were put into practice and prooffe. The Earle of Surrey [the famous poet] did shewe most sumptuous cheere in whose Parke were speeches well sette out and a speciall device much commended; and the rest as a number of gentlemen, whose names I have not, were no whit behinde to the uttermost of their abilities in all that might be done and devised.

The Queen arrived on the 16th and remained with the citizens six days. The Corporation presented her with a silver-gilt cup, containing £100, and other loyal townships sent similar costly offerings.

Subject to the approval of the Earl of Leicester, the steward of the borough, the Council at Lynn determined to shew their dutiful obedience and good will by asking her to graciously accept a finely-wrought purse, adorned with pearls and gold, containing one hundred *old* angels,* towards which £45 10s. was taken from the common treasury and handed to John Ditchfield, the mayor. The nominal value of the town's offering was £50. Of its intrinsic worth we refrain from speculating, and rest contented that according to the calculations of others its worth was somewhere between £200 and £3,000!

* Angels, half-angels (anglets) and quarter-angels were first struck in England by Henry VI. (1422-1461) and were thus called because on the obverse side there was a winged and nimbed figure of the Archangel Michael, wounding a dragon à la St. Margaret.

After Elizabeth's departure, a serious outbreak of plague occurred, which raged for two years, and is said to have been caused by her Majesty's infected train of attendants.

"OYEZ, OYEZ, OYEZ."

By the second charter of Henry VIII. two marts or fairs were granted to the borough (1537), providing they were not inimical to the interests of any existing fairs in the neighbourhood. Each was to last six days, and they were to begin respectively on the day following the Purification (February 2nd) and the Assumption (August 15th) of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

Fairs were then conducted on hard and fast lines, and any infringement of restrictions resolved itself into fines, confiscation, and perhaps imprisonment. All shops were closed under pain of forfeiture of the goods exposed for sale, and if the local tradesmen were not contented to be idle they must carry their wares to the mart. Thus a large attendance was insured, and the lord of the manor, or in this instance the town itself, secured considerable profit after paying for the erection of "stalls or shops." To these centres people came from distant parts of England, and from the Continent as well. Harrison places the "Lin Mart" among the fairs which were not inferior to the greatest marts in Europe (*Description of England*, 1577). The greater part of England depended upon Stirbich for a supply of hops, which came from Kent. Huge pockets of hops were carried from "the fair field" to the Cam and conveyed in barges to Ely, and from thence to the port of Lynn, where they were shipped to Hull, Newcastle, and Scotland. Rivalry between fairs was general, and disputes respecting the payment of tolls, customs, etc., were common occurrences. These differences were, as a rule, settled by arbitration; there was, however a suit at law between Lynn and Cambridge (1510).

(1) *Stirbich Fair*, that is, Stourbridge, near Cambridge.—Serious contentions were in 1547 settled by arbitration, and the indenture of agreement was signed by William Coke, sergeant-at-law, the recorder of Cambridge, and two aldermen, namely, John Fanne and John Ruste of the one part, and Thomas Gawdy, recorder of Lynn, and two aldermen—Thomas Waters and Raffe Downes, of the other part. A similar procedure was necessary in 1552.

(2) *Boston Fair*.—Articles of agreement were signed by the representative recorders, Stephen Thumblebye, of Boston, and Robert Bell, of Lynn (20th May 1576).

(3) *Newcastle-upon-Tyne*.—The arbitrators on this occasion were Sir Henry Hobart, the attorney-general, and Sir John Jacksonne, the recorder for Newcastle. The dispute was between the mayor (John Bassett) and the burgesses of Lynn of the one part, and the Mayor and burgesses of Newcastle, plus the governor, stewards and brethren of the Fraternity of Hoastmen, of the other part. The special function pertaining to the merchant gild of Newcastle was the receiving of strangers—*hoasts*, or *oasts*, as they were then styled. The hoastmen transacted business for strangers, and for their trouble

levied a certain duty. The Corporation of Hoastmen is at the present time the premier incorporated company in Newcastle, and election to membership is a coveted honour. The seal upon the Lynn document, dated the 15th of November 1609, shews a member of the fraternity in his official robes receiving a stranger. "Welcome my *oste*" serves as legend. Some writers contend that the traders were compelled to board and lodge with the hoastmen, who took the meanest advantage of their "paying guests," and, moreover, that the civic authorities shared the spoil.

By Statute and Charter the Lynn Mart was put upon a firm basis.

LEGISLATION.

(1) LOCAL ACTS.

1559 (1st year of the reign). For holding a mart or fair once a year in the borough.

1558-9 (1st year). For regulating the price of corn exported from Norfolk and Suffolk (c. 11, s. 11).

1571-2 (13th year). Concerning the forfeiture of vessels anchored upon the coast of Norfolk and Suffolk (c. 11, s. 4).

1585-6 (27th year). For repairing the sea-walls or banks of Norfolk (c. 24).

(2) CHARTER.

C. 21. Dated at Westminster the 6th of July in the 1st year of her reign (1559). Exemplification of a statute called the *Mart Act* ("begun the 23rd of January 1559") respecting the renewal of a fair to be held yearly, "on the next day after the Feast of the Purification of the Virgin" (February 2nd) and to continue for six days.

(3) LETTERS PATENT.

1576 (19th year). Dated at Westminster the 1st of December. Exemplification and confirmation of :—

(a) Letters patent (C. 20) of August 11th 1557 (Philip and Mary),

(b) Letters patent (C. 17) of December 6th 1547 (Edward VI.),

(c) Letters patent (C. 16) of July 7th 1537 (Henry VIII.),

reaffirming the reconstitution of the borough.

THE NATION'S FOOD SUPPLY.

Owing to a succession of unfavourable seasons, corn was at one time alarmingly scarce, and famine threatened the country; the difficulty was enhanced because speculating merchants bought largely, intending, of course, to sell when the price had risen abnormally high. The hardship was felt acutely in 1565, when Elizabeth wrote a letter to Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, complaining how certain merchants, strangers and others, depleted the markets for private gain; she, moreover, instructed him to inform them that they should answer presently for their selfishness according to law. Commissions were appointed to check the excessive exportation of corn; they were to meet monthly and send in certificates or returns. These precautionary measures did not prevent large quantities being smuggled through the port of Lynn. The University at Cambridge experienced a taste of inconvenience when their supplies ran short; hence Dr. Robert Beaumont approached the Privy Council, complaining about the exportation from Lynn, and requesting authority to commandeer all corn within five miles of Cambridge (June 18th). Thomas Wakefield, of Chesterton, also pointed out how the produce

of the district was conveyed by water to Lynn (August 7th). Edward Scambler, the Bishop of Peterborough, too, was on the alert; writing to the Privy Council, he wished to know how much grain had been conveyed from Northamptonshire to Lynn *via* Peterborough, and whether any had gone "beyond the sea" (22nd June 1565). We next find Osbert Mountford with a body of honest and faithful followers at "Germanes Bridge," preventing the shipping of corn brought from Cambridge and other places. Assisted by the Justices of Peace, he was to guard the exportation of corn from Lynn, and to report the quantity stored in the town granaries, and to say how much had been shipped, with or without licence, other than to Berwick (20th September 1565). Checked at St. Germans, corn smugglers were soon thriving apace in the Isle of Ely. The Bishop of the diocese (Richard Cox) and the justices were therefore requested to form a committee to examine the havens and creeks in the district. The cargo provided by Sir Valentine Browne at Lynn, ostensibly for the garrison, was seized; after a while he was, however, allowed to leave the port, but the Bishop was strictly enjoined to ascertain that the corn was delivered at Berwick. The committee were, moreover, to draw up monthly returns of the total amount exported from Lynn to Berwick (25th November 1565).

These restrictions greatly impoverished the inhabitants of Lynn, whose livelihood depended largely upon a carrying trade. They therefore petitioned the Privy Council in 1570, pointing out how heavily they had been taxed in maintaining the banks or sea-walls, which protected their haven. The Lords of the Council, in reply, did "very well like and allowe of their [the burgesses'] forwardnes in performinge those necessary reparacions, for which respect the said lycense was graunted." They accordingly instructed the officers of custom to permit, in future, the transportation of the proper proportion of grain from Lynn, namely, 7,000 quarters of barley and malt and 600 quarters of wheat (29th May).

Owing to this relaxation famine threatened the city of London, and Lynn was particularly mentioned in the clamorous complaint of the citizens. As will be anticipated, Elizabeth immediately issued a proclamation entirely prohibiting the transportation of corn (17th September 1572). This, however, did not prevent the crafty traders from smuggling. Hacker, a fishmonger, detected the vessel of Shipton, of Lynn, at Sluys, with a cargo of 200 quarters of wheat; and Foxe, the servant of Alderman Bonde, reported another vessel from Lynn or Yarmouth at Ostend with 400 quarters. Inquiries were at once instituted at the two English ports (25th November 1573), and returns demanded of the quantities of grain stored in their warehouses (6th December). Three months later the Commissioners allowed Sir Valentine Browne to carry 1,000 quarters of wheat, 1,000 quarters of rye, and 500 quarters of malt to the garrison at Berwick (2nd March 1574).

Again was the exportation of grain most strictly interdicted in 1586. Towards the end of the year, the mayor, Robert Gerves, reported that notwithstanding the prohibition issued in June, the

prices were alarmingly increased through "the great engrossing, not only of strangers, but of our own countrymen" (7th December). Warrants were granted permitting the exporting of certain specified quantities, but they were at any moment liable to temporary suspension. In 1586 two hundred quarters of wheat, and in 1588 four hundred quarters, were shipped per warrant to the Low Countries, the place of discharge being Elbing in Prussia. Archibald Douglas applied to the Lord Treasurer for a licence to permit a Scotsman, who had delivered a ship-load of herring at Lynn, to carry back barley, peas or beans (6th March 1588).

The accompanying table shews a three-months supply, from Michaelmas to Christmas 1596, for London:—

Places.	Wheat Qrs.	Oats Qrs.	Malt Qrs.
Milton	996	—	67
Faversham	1,061	56	800
Sandwich	350	—	4,130
Maldon	90	770	—
Rochester	10	40	—
Yarmouth	3	—	470
LYNN	42	440	530
Colchester	15	20	—
Dover	—	—	360
Shoreham	—	—	100
Ipswich	7	—	80
Blakeney	20	60	180
Total	2,594	1,326	6,818

During the time London, however, sent 1,210 qrs. of rye to other ports.

In reply to Lord Burleigh's inquiry, John Owen the collector, Robert Ashwell the comptroller, and John Richardson the deputy surveyor of customs at Lynn, stated that only one licence for the transportation of beer, cloth and grain remained unexpired (6th April 1597). It belonged to Boston, but they could not certify how much remained unexpended, as the factor of that port, William Gamocke, had passed all kinds of grain except wheat when it was at a low rate in accordance with the statute price. The licence was with the Mayor of Boston, who would cause a certificate to be made of what had been passed, and also of what remained unspent. "You require payment of all sums due to her Majesty last Michaelmas," the report goes on, "but I have no money in hand due to her Majesty having paid it every half-year according to your orders. What customs remain due since last Michaelmas I will discharge next term." At the same time the custom officers at Boston received orders to forbear further output, although the ports held an unexpired warrant or licence for 40,000 quarters of all sorts of grain (wheat excepted), which was granted in 1578 for twenty years. Much of the annual output remained unshipped, but nothing definite could be stated, because a great portion of it was assigned to Lynn and other places, only 5,000

quarters being reserved for Boston, and of this not 800 quarters had been "vented" since July 1549. The interest on the remnant was in the hands of Anthony Doughtie, custom officer, by assignment from the mayor and burgesses, but it was unknown in whom the interest of the rest was vested.

Later in the reign, Humphrey Guybon, of Thursford, the High Sheriff of Norfolk, wrote to Lord Burleigh explaining how the daily excess of the carriage of corn to ports and other places, under pretence of being provision for gentlemen's families in different parts of the kingdom, had so increased that he feared there would not be enough to satisfy the wants of their own country. The prices, such as were never known before, were still rising—wheat 53s. 4d., meslynn (melsin, a mixture of different sorts of grain) 48s., rye 46s., barley 42s., peas and beans 32s., and oats 24s. per quarter. He pointed out how averse the common people were to the continual drain upon their food supply, and mentioned that in three different places in Norfolk the inhabitants were on the verge of rebellion, for instance, at Hatcham (Heacham) where twenty-four rioters had boarded and forcibly unloaded a vessel bound for Gainsborough. He moreover asked for instruction concerning the ringleaders, whom he held in custody (30th April 1597).

With his letter the Sheriff enclosed a communication received from John Curtis, of Magdalynn (Wiggenhall St. Mary Magdalen), who was cognisant of a proposed rising in Marshland. On the 23rd of April, Thomas Welles told Curtis, the poor had risen in the west country, and would be with them in Marshland in a fortnight, and that four or five persons from St. Germans would come to him and would go to a justice of the peace and ask for cheap corn, and failing to get it at a reasonable price, "they would arise, would knock down the best first, and that they only waited for a drum," a noisy though perhaps inciting acquisition.

THE WIDE, WIDE SEA.

Complaints of piracy became so frequent that special articles were at length devised for repressing delinquencies along the Norfolk coast. The following "sea-ports—Lynne, Snettesham, Burneham, Welles, Walsingham, Blackney, Sherinham, Cromer, Hasboroughe, Wynterton and Yarmowthe," were placed under the control of four commissioners, namely, Sir Edward Warner, Sir Christopher Heydon, Osbert Mountford and William Paston (8th November 1565).

A few years later, an exchange of piratical civilities between the Scotch and East Anglian traders grew quite indispensable. The seamen of Lynn politely pillaged the Scots, who promptly retaliated; then, both complaining, sought redress, our townsmen from Mr. Ranulph, one of the four ambassadors and special correspondents in Scotland, and the other sufferers from Sir Francis Walsingham, the English Secretary of State. Robert Scott's vessel was boarded between Lynn and Leith (January 1581), as were also those of the merchants of Edinburgh, near Lynn (27th June 1585). Jeffrey Pell, George Farely and Robert Ashfield, of Lynn, lost their ship

and cargo, for which they thought that James VI. the King of Scotland ought to recompense them (May 1586).

Our Mayor, Christopher Graunt, received instructions from the Privy Council respecting goods taken at sea by Englishmen serving foreign princes. He was also informed how Messrs. Vigvior and Tiratt, the owners of the *Bonaventure*, of Marseilles, had sold some Frenchmen as slaves to the Turks (24th December 1575). The Warder of the Fleet was ordered to take John Pell, of Lynn, into his custody, whom he was to detain until further directions were given (27th May 1576). A bark laden with oranges and lemons, believed to have been captured off Dartmouth by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, was bound for Lynn. The Privy Council requested William Heydon, the Vice-Admiral of Norfolk, to detain the mariners in case they reached Lynn, but to permit the owner, Gonzago de la Villa, to depart with his vessel (1579).

WISBECH CASTLE.

The "Virgin Queen" grew quite as intolerant in the matter of religion as her sister Mary. At first those who clung to the ritual of the Romish Church were permitted to obey the dictates of their consciences provided they worshipped privately in their own houses, but after the rising in the north, and a series of "Popish plots," the law was stringently enforced. An Act, too, was passed, distinctly prohibiting the solemnisation of rites pertaining to the Church of Rome. Forfeiture was meted as punishment for a first offence, a year's imprisonment for the second, and imprisonment for life for the third. All, moreover, who failed to subscribe to the Act of Supremacy were as "recusants" guilty of high treason. In 1577 the bishops were asked to furnish returns of all recusants in their respective dioceses. Among the forty-nine "worth notice" included in Bishop Freake's list, are some with whom we have already become acquainted, as for example, Sir Henry Bedingfield and his wife, of Oxborough, and Francis Bastard, of West Winch, who was made a freeman (1565). William Gibbon, of Lynn, whose lands were valued at £260, is classed with those "partly of papist and partly of the peevish preciser sort."

To reconcile any person to the Romish Church was declared treasonable, and those lukewarm Christians who absented themselves from the parish church (unless they heard the English service in their own homes) were liable to be fined £20 per month. The next year many "passive resisters," blessed with intractable consciences, found themselves participating in what Burke would term "royal servitude and durance vile."

By order of the Privy Council, a number of seminary priests—refugees from Douay, with certain English recusants, were imprisoned in the Bishop of Ely's castle at Wisbech (1580), which for centuries had been used as a common gaol.* The cleverest controversialist

* Richard Lambert of Lenne, brought an action against William le Bolewere, a merchant and others, for conspiring to imprison him unlawfully. He had been attached by the Sheriff of Cambridgeshire and "thrown in the depth of the gaol of Wysbech among thieves, where by toads and other venomous vermin he was so inhumanly gnawed that his life was despaired of."

of the period, Dr. William Fulke, was sent thither to argue with the prisoners and to convince them, if possible, of the error of their ways. Carleton, the governor of the castle, incidentally describes the great Protestant champion as "a man of holie life, learned and able to give accompt of his doctrine stronglye." Despite the spiritual exertion of this zealous divine, "the twenty papists in a cage" remained obdurate. "The disputacon," continues Carleton, "held by the space of two houres, the Lord be thanked [was] to the great profit of us and such as stood by, though to them a hardeninge." A full account of the theological discussion in Wisbech castle, entitled *Conferentia cum pontificiis in castro Wisbiccensi, 4th Oct. 1580*, as well as an English version, was published (1581).

A charge of two shillings was made by the wardens of St. Margaret's church "for sending a certifficate to my L(ord) Bishopp (William Redman) to certyffy concerning recusants" (1598); but at the end of Elizabeth's reign, although there were 800 communicants, no-one expressed scruples about accepting the sacrament.

In 1631 the Corporation voted Hester Ogden, a married daughter of the late Dr. W. Fulke, who resided in Lynn, the sum of £5, towards "the new reprinting of her father's books" (16th December). He was deservedly popular as a scholar, and "his voluminous writings are monuments of that industry and love of study which alone prevented his advancement in the Church."

THE PEOPLE'S PRAYER.

The borough members, John Pell and Thomas Grave, were requested to solicit the Queen's consent for making cloth in, and exporting the same from Lynn (2nd May 1572). In June they were urged to persevere in their suit, and to apply to her Majesty's Council for "liberty of cloth and corn according to the bill exhibited by (Robert Dudley) the Lord of Leicester," High Steward of Lynn (1572-1588). To defray the expenses of these important negotiations the Corporation voted £100.

The Flemings and Walloons living in Norwich sought permission to move to Lynn in order to join in the new industry, but they were informed through Sir Christopher Heydon and Sir William Buttes that the Queen would in nowise permit any of them to dwell in Lynn; if, however, they conformed themselves to order, her Majesty would be pleased to suffer them to abide in Norwich, if not, they might obtain passports and quit the realm (8th November 1574). Thetford petitioned for the introduction of a staple trade in order to induce people to settle in the town (1580).

Moreover, it was agreed that John Pell and Edward Flowerdew, the recorder, should humbly make suit to the Queen for the advowsons of the parsonage of King's Lynn and the vicarage of Allhallows in South Lynn (27th February 1575).

So great was the necessity for money, that the collectors of tenths and fifteenths were unreasonably pressed, not in Lynn alone, but in other towns. Here the Mayor was ordered "to bind them in

good bandes (bonds), in treble the sommes to make payment of all that is by them due to the exchequer within 15 days" (1st December 1558).

GOOD RHINE WINE.

As the Queen had little money to lavish upon her favourites, she was in the habit of rewarding them with grants of monopoly; in other words, the exclusive privilege of selling certain articles. They were thus able to ask and also to secure a higher price than they could have obtained in an open market, because they were not amenable to competition. Sir Walter Raleigh (1552?—1618), a poor gentleman adventurer, who rose to be one of the most wealthy of Elizabeth's proud courtiers, was at one time the recipient of bounties and favours to an extent which caused much envy and scandal. Among other patents and monopolies he was granted that of wine licences, which brought him in from £800 to £2,000 a year (May 1583). With his suite he visited Lynn in 1587 "upon the Queen's affairs," and granted Thomasine, the wife of Christopher Puckering, a Lynn merchant, and Elizabeth her daughter, a licence to keep a tavern and sell wine—"Renysse Wyn" (21st September 1592).

According to long-standing custom our mariners were permitted to land a certain quantity of wine for themselves without paying import duty. This was prohibited in 1582-3; hence they petitioned the Lord Treasurer to continue the ancient custom of "portage wine."

LE BEAU MONDE.

As a visible sign, distinctive of the high rank held by the governing body, the Council decided that the mayor and recorder should array themselves in scarlet whenever they presided at the sessions; and to magnify the importance of the offices to which their husbands had attained, the wives of our haughty aldermen were to bedeck themselves in gowns of scarlet, and, moreover, the wife of the mayor and the wives of all ex-mayors were to don French hoods. This costume was specially designed for Sundays, and every-one neglecting the behest of the Council paid a fine of forty shillings. Common councillors and their wives were, of course, too insignificant for the services of the local costumier (1580).

A similar order, that all the aldermen's wives should wear velvet hats, was in force at Yarmouth. It was revoked in 1632. This was applying an "Ordinance for the Regulation of Gentlewomen's Head-dress," passed about the middle of Elizabeth's reign. The head-gear of the women required as much attention three centuries ago as at the present time. After being curled or frizzled or crisped, the hair, arranged in wreaths or borders, was spread out from ear to ear, and underpropped with forks or wires to prevent its falling. The whole, after being plentifully beset with wreaths of gold or silver, rings, pieces of glass and other trinkets, was finally surmounted by a French hood, a hat or cap of velvet. None, however, save

"gentlewomen born, without arms," might legally attempt to place an ermine or lattice bonnet upon their towzled heads.*

MEN OF RENOWN.

In Lestrangle's list of the members for Lynn in this reign may be detected some who were born great, some who achieved greatness, and some upon whom greatness was unceremoniously thrust. Several did not belong to Lynn; hence were their bonds of attachment of the weakest description. According to the statutes of Henry IV. and V., the knights or members of shires, and those who elected them, must both reside within the prescribed county. The boroughs were subject to the same rule; their members, and those by whom they were elected, were com-burgesses or co-citizens. "It was after the rise of political jealousies of the Tudor Times that strangers began to covet and canvass for the borough membership" (Stubbs). Not being burgesses, they were of course ineligible. To evade the Act of 1413, and to obviate the difficulty, they were created burgesses; in other words, the Corporation embraced them, as it were with outstretched arms, and exclaiming, "Free—gratis," conferred upon them the freedom of the burgh. Sir John Peyton, of Dodding-ton, in the Isle of Ely (1579), and others were adopted in this way.

Richard Clarck (1535-1602), for thirty years searcher and collector for this port, was mayor in 1583 and member from the 9th of November 1584 to the 29th of January 1593. Conceiving that the health of the town depended primarily upon the purity of its water-supply, he had the Gaywood river recast from the Kettle Mills to "the furthestmost bridge" at his own expense; he paid, too, for the renewing of St. Margaret's conduit, to which 580 feet of new pipes were added. He erected state seats in St. Margaret's church for the mayor, aldermen and common councilmen, and provided, besides, a new scabbard of crimson velvet richly decorated with the Queen's arms, the arms of the borough, and other silver-gilt trappings. His son, *Matthew Clarck*, M.A. (1564-1623), was mayor in 1605 and 1613, and member from the 6th of March 1614 to 22nd January 1623. A painted monument with ten kneeling figures in St. Nicholas' chapel records their death and that of other members of this benevolent family.

Sir Robert Bell was recorder (8th December 1561 to 22nd January 1574) and member for Lynn from 14th of December 1562 till his decease; he was succeeded by *John Peyton* (6th November 1577). He was chosen speaker (1572), knighted and appointed Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer (1575). His third wife, whom he married in 1559, was *Dorothy*, the youngest daughter of *Edmund Beaupré*, of Outwell. Whilst at Oxford Assizes, at the trial of *Rowland Jenks* for uttering scandalous words against the Queen, he was, with

* *Lattice, lettice or letuse* (Italian *latizzo*) a kind of grey fur resembling ermine, was one of the articles upon which duty was paid at the Tolbooth, in 1243:—

"Of ev' yymb, <i>letuse</i> ...	iii d.
Of di. tymb. (half) ...	i d.
Of j quart'r ...	j d.
<i>Benethe</i> : for ev' y skyn ...	ob. (½d.)"

others, suddenly seized with a malady arising from the stench of the prisoners. It is remarkable that one of the judges of the Exchequer, Baron Flowerdew, of Stanfield Hall, and member for Rising, met his death through a similar cause (1586). Chief Baron Bell—"a sage and grave man and famous for his knowledge in law" (Camden), died at Leominster (25th July 1577).

Sir Robert Mansell (1573-1656), knight and vice-admiral of Norfolk, was related to Lord Howard of Effingham. He was appointed commander of an expedition against the Algerine pirates (1620), and represented the following constituencies: Lynn (9th October 1601 to 6th March 1604), Carmarthen (1604), Carmarthen-shire (1614), Glamorganshire (1623-5 and 1627-8), and Lostwithiel (1626).

PAROCHIALIA:

ST. MARGARET'S CHURCH.

The first entry in the earliest of our churchwardens' books relates to property in the town belonging to the church rather than to the parish of St. Margaret. The manuscript, made up of a series of *cahiers*, covers about eighty years (1592-1672). To the following extracts are appended a few explanatory notes.

Annuities belonging to St. Margaret's church in the year of our Lord God 1592, to be gathered by the churchwardens:—

(1) R (received for) the tenements and pasture called paradise in webster-rowe (Broad Street) in the occupation of george gybson, pays by yere (£4) iiij li.

A few small annual quit rents were paid by the Corporation to Robert Fincham, the lord of the manor of West Winch, pertaining to certain lands which previously belonged to the Gild of the Holy Trinity (1557). Prior to 1562 these emoluments were conveyed to Francis Bastard, a Lynn merchant, who purchased his freedom in 1565. He resided at Islington (Tilney-cum-Islington), where his ancestors once farmed the Countess of Richmond's manor of Newhall, which at one period was in the possession of the Prior of Westacre. To the Bastard family belonged the Hospital of St. John in the Damgate.

Upon the church estate in Broad Street, subsequently containing a dove-house, an annual payment of 2s. was due to the lord of the manor of Newhall*. "Ite(m): p'd to ffrances bastard ffor the rent of paradise dewe to the manor of newe hall in heslyngton ye my'hellmas last past 1593...00:2:00." [C.W.A.]

The Corporation attempted to treat with Henry Bastard and his wife Elizabeth (? Mary) for the purchase of these rents, but did not succeed (24th September 1600). The payment on the Paradise estate was discontinued in 1795.

Formerly the vicar lived in a "parsonage house," in Broad Street, which was built, perhaps on the church estate; whether, however, it belonged to the Corporation or the Dean and Chapter of

* First called "Broad street" in 1629. "Itm rec. Robt. Syms for an Orchard in Broad street called little Paradise . . . j : x : o" (£1/10). "Broad street" is crossed, and above is written in a different hand "webster rowe" (C.W.A., St. M.). Subsequent entries give "Broad Street."

Norwich was the subject of inquiry. Dr. Prideaux decided it had never been in the possession of the Dean and Chapter (29th August 1705).

(2) R the tenements in baxterrowe & fuller rowe (South Clough lane granted in feo farm to Thomas myller and nowe in the hands of John Palemer of Germands wygnall pays bye yere (25/-) xxv s.

In other entries a garden is mentioned, and one of the tenements is denominated "the brewhouse." Part of this property -- 21 Tower Street and the opposite corner of South Clough Lane-- was rebuilt in 1839.

(3) R the Tenement late in the ocupation of wydowe bryggs between the myll & John Wrench house And nowe in the ocupation of John Fearme the myller pays by yere (26/8) xxvj s. viij d.

This was adjacent to the Town Corn Mill, which stood near the entrance of the Walks, and was driven by the waters of the "Mill" fleet.

(4) R the lytell pyttle or close in Saint James End granted to ffarme to m. Hulyor & nowe in the ocupation of John Spense pays by yere (6/8) vjs. viij d.

Wholly omitted in the Church Terrier.

(5) R the two tenements And allytell gardin the end of Skynners Rowe (St. James' street) late in the ocupation of mr. Iverye & nowe in the ocupation of peter Smythe, clark; pays by yere (6/8) vj s. viij d.

The position of these tenements is discussed elsewhere.

(6) R the mayor & burgesses paye twooe severall Anewities, the one of fowertie shylllyngs ayere for saint Margrets churche And ye other xxvjs. viij d. for the late church of saint James & now payd to the church of saint margrets (£3/6/8) iij li. vj s. viij d.

To the whole some of the rents and aneueties belonginge }
to ye church yerely £10/11/8 x li. xj s. viij d.

In 1632 the Corporation began paying the rents accruing from (1) £6, not £4, (5) and (6).*

SNIPPETS FROM STATE PAPERS.

1563.—Visitation of Norfolk made and taken by William Hervey, Clarencieux King of Arms.

1565.—Three livings were vacant in Lynn, the cause being attributed to general poverty.

* Compare with the Terrier, August 31st 1896.

1. For a piece of land in Paradise Ward, King's Lynn, called Paradise, now forming part of the Cattle market, in the occupation of the Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses of King's Lynn payable by them (yearly) £6.

2. For a tenement in South Clough Lane, late of William Cushing, now of Thomas Taylor, 3/6 : for several tenements in South Clough Lane, now forming part of Daniel Nuthall's estate, 18/ (and) for a tenement in South Clough Lane, late Hubbard's afterwards of Jonathan Munton and now of his widow, 3/6. [In all 25/]

3. For a piece of land abutting upon each side of the London Road in King's Lynn, intermixed with Land of Sir William Hovell Browne Folkes, Baronet, whereof William Ayre's Executors are Lessees, 6/8 [not 26/8].

4. [Omitted.]

5. For two pieces of land at the south-east [? north-west] corner of Tower Lane, late Codlin Lane payable by the Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses, 6/8.

6. An annuity granted to St. Margaret's paid by the said Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses £2, and an annuity formerly to St. James's paid by the said Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses £1/6/8. [In all £3/6/8.]

[7. By virtue of Francis Kennett's Will, dated 14th February 1584.]

For a tenement near Littleport Bridge, late Woodbine's now Archer Collison, 5/-

1571.—At the request of the Privy Council a list of all strangers or foreign residents was drawn up (May 20th).

1573.—A Certificate of Musters for the town and liberties of Lynn was forwarded to the Privy Council (September 3rd).

1575.—The officers of the port of Lynn supplied Lord Burleigh with information respecting the quantities of butter, malt and other provisions shipped for Ireland by Henry Underwood, deputy to Henry Sekeford (October 20th). The Irish were at this time opposing the English Government.

1584.—Overtures were made by the customers (collectors) of the ports, for the farming of the customs of Yarmouth, Boston and Lynn (February 2).

1584.—A ship belonging to Francis Shaxton, a Lynn merchant, was wrecked at Havodporth, Glamorganshire. Henry Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, restored most of the goods saved from the wreck, but Sir Edward Mansell retained part, until a suit pending between him and the Earl should be settled. The Privy Council ordered the goods to be sequestered until the determination of the suit.

1584.—Christopher Kervyle petitioned the Privy Council to direct Sir John Haydon, Mr. Nicholas Bacon, Richard Clarck, the mayor of Lynn, and others to procure certain evidences, leases and other documents wrongfully detained by John Baxter, William Parke and John Prentis.

1589.—Robert Cooke, Clarencieux King of Arms, visited Norfolk.

1595.—The town petitioned to be allowed to muster its own men according to their charter (October 16th). A person (unnamed) was sent to interview Lord Burleigh to urge the suit. Complaints made to Lord Burleigh because of the ingrossing of barley (October 25th).

1598.—Charges were preferred against certain patentees who engrossed the sale of white salt and beggar the country (June 10th).

1599.—Cornelius Lambred, a merchant of Calais, was captured with his vessel, the *Golden Dragon*, by three Dunkirk men-of-war near the Lynn Deep.

1600.—Lynn claimed exemption from musters.

1601.—Jeffrey Peel, merchant and owner of the *Valentine* and the *John* of Lynn, arrived at Plymouth (August 7th), and reported preparations of war. The Lynn vessel was ten days coming from Rochelle. Sir John Gilbert forwarded the intelligence to Sir William Cecil.

1602.—The masters and owners of ships petitioned the Queen, pointing out that they paid 1s. per chaldron for wharfage upon coals, whereas the Newcastle traders at Lynn and Boston paid nothing, and praying that a like contribution be levied upon them at Newcastle.

* * * * *

Elizabeth died at Richmond early in the morning of the 24th of March 1603, to the sincere regret of the nation at large, and was buried in Henry VII.'s Chapel at Westminster.

CHAPTER XXV.

Our Heritage—The Sea.

ELIZABETH's death was the prelude to a new era. The Tudor dynasty ended; the succession passed to the Stuarts. James VI. of Scotland became James I. of England, France and Ireland (24th March 1603). He was son of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland, by her murdered husband, Lord Darnley, being lineally and lawfully descended from Margaret, daughter of Henry VII.

* * * * *

An ethical writer of repute coolly maintains a king to be "a mortal god on earth." If, instead of "rushing into print," the philosophic Francis Bacon had patiently waited until after the accession of James, say ten years, he might have concocted a more reasonable and convincing definition. The sycophants by whom that specimen of kingly humanity was surrounded, though consummate adepts in the art of flattery, were yet satisfied with styling their stolid, besotted master "the British Solomon."

OUR LIBERTIES MENACED.

Of his wisdom, two samples shall be submitted. In the proclamation summoning his first Parliament, James told the electors what sort of men they were to chose, and he threatened corporations, failing to comply with his wishes, with the deprivation of their liberties and privileges. This was not the course an ordinary wise man would have taken, but the speech of this "God upon earth," when Parliament assembled (19th March 1603), was more like a wearying Presbyterian harangue than anything else:—

What God hath conioyned then (he exclaims) let no man separate. I am the Husband and all the whole Isle is my lawfull wife; I am the Head, and it is my Body; I am the Shepherd, and it is my Flocke. I hope, therefore, no man will be so vnreasonable as to thinke that I that am a Christian king vnder the Gospel should be a Polygamist and husband of two wiues, that being the Head should haue a diuided and monstrous Body, or that being the Shepheard to so faire a Flocke (whose fold hath no wall to hedge it in but the foure Seas) should haue my Flocke parted in two. But I am assured that no honest Subject of whatsoeuer degree within my whole dominions is no lesse glad of this ioyfull vnion than I am. [*The Workes of the Most High and Mighty Prince Iames*: 1616, pp. 418-9.]

Was not the Duke of Sully far nearer the mark when he described this egotistic and pedantic monarch as the most learned fool in Christendom!

As the liberties and privileges of our borough were increased rather than curtailed, we may well assume that our representatives were men "after his own heart," in a Parliamentary, if not a Scriptural, sense.

James was frequently in Norfolk, but it is doubtful if he ever visited Lynn. He wrote glibly upon the duties of a king in his *Basilicon Doron*, but he was not one who wore a crown every day.

Unluckily for the people of Thetford, James found good sport in the neighbourhood, and, eagerly dismissing the affairs of State, he there cultivated a life of pleasure—hunting, hawking and drinking to his heart's content.

“THREE MEN IN A BOAT.”

The Lord High Treasurer, Robert Cecil, was the recipient of an important communication, dated the 12th June 1611, from Berwick. The writer, Sir William Bowyer, having heard of the escape of Lady Arabella Stuart, prudently caused John Bright, the master of the *Thomas* of Lynn, then lying at Berwick, to be closely questioned.

John Bright, who was probably a Lynn man, told a highly interesting story.* He said that, whilst at anchor in the Lee roadstead off Blackwall, in the Thames, on Monday evening, the 4th of June, two boats approached; one containing two women, and the other three men, one of whom it may now be confessed was Lady Arabella in disguise. They immediately hailed him and asked whither he was bound. He replied: “For Berwick”; whereupon he was offered any amount of money if he would serve them. John Bright, however, bravely withstood the temptation, saying he was bound to his merchant and could not break his word. They then asked if there were not a French vessel near, but he answered he did not know; there might be, if so it was about a mile and a half up the river. After a while he saw them all aboard a vessel. These adventurers he described, admitting that one of the women he took to be Moll Cutpurse, and naturally thought that, having committed another of the crimes for which she was notorious, she was anxious to escape detection.

King James and Lady Arabella Stuart were cousins; the first was descended from Margaret, the elder daughter of Henry VII., and the second from Mary Tudor, the younger daughter of the same Sovereign. As the daughter of the Earl of Lennox, the youngest brother of Lord Darnley, Arabella stood in the line of succession. It will be remembered how she was arrested in consequence of a rumour that a marriage was arranged between her and William Seymour, the grandson of Catherine Grey, the heiress of the Suffolk line; how James, disbelieving the report which associated her with the plot in which Cobham and Raleigh were implicated, treated her with marked favour; how she privately married William Seymour, and how the secret slyly leaked out, as those kind of secrets mostly do.

On the 9th of July 1610 she was entrusted to the fatherly surveillance of Sir Thomas Parry, whose house was in Lambeth, whilst her young husband remained in the Tower. Subsequently she was given into the charge of William James, the Bishop of Durham (11th March 1611), but her health gave way, and, though unfit for

* Elizabeth Cooper, in her *Life and Letters of Arabella Stuart* (1866), quoting the *State Papers*, gives “John Briggs” (Vol. II, p. 175); but the *Calendar of State Papers (Domestic 1611-8)* has “John Bright” (p. 42).

such a journey, she was at length actually moved as far as Barnet, from whence her escape was made. The intelligence derived from John Bright did not aid in her capture, because she was taken in mid-channel long before that good seaman arrived in Berwick. Her husband succeeded in landing at Ostend, but "the fair Arabella" was confined in the Tower until her death (25th September 1615).

THE PREVAILING OF THE WATERS.

Lynn, as well as the Marshland villages, suffered considerably from occasional floods and inundations. There was "a mighty tide" which swept away a part of Catt's bank. Clenchwarton with the immediate neighbourhood was submerged (1st April 1607). After the waters abated a survey was made, and the inhabitants of Lynn were accused of being negligent in maintaining certain sea-walls. There was, however, a far more dreadful inundation on the 1st of November 1613, brought about by a violent north-east wind meeting a heavy spring tide. The King's Commissioners conducted an inquiry at Lynn (7th of December). Terrington suffered severely; among the losses were—1,876 sheep, valued at £58; 120 beasts, £322; 480 acres of corn, £720; corn in barns, £700; grass in fields, £50; 13 houses completely ruined, together with 1,042 greatly injured, £1,000; besides bedding and household stuff valued at £40.

Dugdale, in his *History of Imbanking and Drayning of divers Fennes and Marshes* (1662), says:—

In this distress the people of the town (Terrington) fled to the Church for refuge; some to Haystacks, some to baulks in the Houses till they were neer famished; poor women leaving their children swimming in their beds till good people adventuring their lives went up to the breast in the waters to fetch them out at the windows, whereof Mr. Browne the Minister did fetch divers to Church upon his back: And had it not pleased God to move the hearts of the Mayor and Aldermen of King's Lynne with compassion, who sent Beer and Victual thither by Boat, many had perished; which Boats came the direct way over the soyl from Lenne to Terrington.

Here is an abstract of the losses in general as they were presented by the jurors of the several hundreds at the Session of Sewers, 9th December:—

"THE MARSHLAND RING"

Within.	£	Without.	£
Terrington	10,416	Gaywood	205
Walpole	3,000	South Wootton	313
West Walton	850	North Wootton	810
Walsoken	1,328	Watlington	500
Emeneth	150	Totnell-cum-Wormgays	60
Wiggenhall and S. Lynne	6,000	Holm-cum-Thorpland	40
Tydney & Islington ...	4,380	Stow Bardolf	100
Clenchwarton	6,000		
West and North Lynne ...	4,000		
	<u>£35,834</u>		<u>£2,028</u>

The total amount is given correctly as £37,862; there must therefore be an error in the items of the first column.



THE CORPORATE SEAL, OBVERSE AND REVERSE ; THE SEAL OF THE GILD OF ST. GEORGE, AND THE ADMIRALTY SEAL. (ALL EXACT SIZE.)

Bold attempts were subsequently made to prevent similar disasters in the future. The Privy Council received a petition from the Court of Sewers for the counties of Cambridge, Norfolk, Huntingdon, Lincoln, Northampton, and the Isle of Ely, complaining because the work in hand was so greatly hindered (19th June 1618). Their main object was to provide sufficient outfalls for the Nene, Welland, and Great Ouse, and to take care of Lynn, Wisbech, and parts of Holland. Now, as there was an insurmountable difference of opinion as to how this could be effected, the petitioners requested the presence of a Clerk of the Council at their next sessions, who might act as umpire; at the same time pledging themselves to abide by his decision. The Lynn Council petitioned also to have their haven confined. In August the inhabitants of Sutton and Mepal, Isle of Ely, complained because the Sutton Lode, the only good outfall for the Ouse up to the Lynn haven, was not opened. This, they contended, was prejudicial to their interests.

ADMIRALTY JURISDICTION.

In the Crown is vested the jurisdiction of the British seas; the protection of his subjects being a royal prerogative, which the Sovereign exercises through the Lord High Admiral or those lawfully deputed for that purpose.

For some time past the loyal inhabitants of King's Lynn had ventured to put into operation a salutary yet limited authority over their haven and the waters connected therewith, although their earlier charters and letters patent did not warrant such a usurpation of powers distinctly belonging to the King's direct representative, the Lord High Admiral. They aspired not only to have the powers they already assumed put upon a proper basis, but to exercise even greater maritime privileges. During the previous reign, the Council authorised John Pell, one of our burgesses in Parliament, to supplicate her Majesty "for the uniting of the admiral jurisdiction unto this town" (31st January 1575). As a suitor John Pell did not succeed. Two years later the Corporation were in communication with the Lord Admiral concerning the proposed liberties. Thomas Overend, the mayor, received a letter from him, together with a supplication to the Queen. These our members, Messrs. John Peyton and John Pell, were asked to present. They were to prosecute the matter as might to them seem meet, and by their good discretion secure a grant confirmed by Act of Parliament (27th February 1579). But Elizabeth and her council were not disposed to accede to the request.

In appreciation of the great losses and expenses which our borough had so repeatedly sustained in maintaining and preserving the town against the inroads of the sea, King James graciously bestowed upon the Mayor and Burgesses the right to exercise the privileges accruing to "the Admiralty of the port and harbour of Lynn." They were made Lord Admiral of the district, but their powers were to rest in abeyance until the death, forfeiture or suspension of Charles Howard, Lord of Effingham (Surrey) and Earl

of Nottingham, the then Lord High Admiral of England. After his resignation of office, in lieu of the sum of £3,000 and a pension of £1,000 per annum the Corporation enjoyed Admiralty control over a definite area (6th Feb. 1619), and were responsible to the King and to no intermediary person. The charter describes the limits of their jurisdiction in these words:—

— the Borough, and the Port of the same Borough, and also all and singular the Deeps, vulgarly called the Lynn Deeps, and also all and all manner of place and places, and course of Waters extending from the Borough aforesaid unto a place called St. Edmund's Ness, otherwise Gore end (now Gore Point), and from thence north and by west, to another place of sand called Long Sand; from thence to another sand called Whiting Sand, from thence to another place or sand called Terrington Brest, otherwise Terrington Brest Sand; and from thence to West Lynn, and from thence to another place or sewer called Staple weere; And all and all manner of places and parts within and upon the aforesaid sands and to the utmost flowing and reflowing of the Waters within the limits and bounds aforesaid.

Gore Point is near Holme-next-Sea, about three miles west of St. Edmund's Ness. The irregular figure enclosed by these bounds somewhat resembles an isosceles triangle with its apex at Staple Weere (weir, a dam), a sewer on the left bank of the Ouse about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles above Magdalen bridge. These were old boundaries: a bull of Innocent III. directed that all persons drowned between St. Edmund's Point and Staple Weere were to be buried in the churchyard of the monks of Norwich at Lynn (1198-1216). At a court held twice a week in the reign of Edward III., debts and transgressions arising between the same places were tried in Lynn.

After reciting the grant made to the Earl of Nottingham as Lord High Admiral of the Seas in 1585, permission was given the mayor and burgesses of our borough to hold a Court of Admiralty of Record every Thursday if necessary, the members of which were to be the mayor, the recorder, and two or more aldermen, whereof the mayor and recorder must be one. Though strictly local, this court, a miniature *facsimile* of the High Court of Admiralty, was to be conducted with scrupulous regard to maritime laws and customs. No High Admiral could have any power or jurisdiction in the prescribed area, neither could he sue, or cause to appear before his court, any burgess "or any other of the borough," nor could he preside as judge at the Lynn Court, except in cases of piracy, but he might enter the borough in times of war and board any vessel in order to impress sailors and fishermen into the King's service. Hence the maintenance of the King's peace rested entirely in the hands of those constituting the Lynn court. They had power to decide any matters arising either in foreign parts or upon the high seas, if one of the disputants were a resident of the town, and not only could they put into execution the laws against forestalling on the seas, but enforce the statutes regulating the nets and "engines" used in taking fish. They could imprison aggressors, levy fines and distrain upon those who refused to pay; they could, moreover, make forfeitures, seize wrecks, demand royal fish, levy the following dues—anchorage, beaconage, ballast and lastage, and

enjoy the liberty of ballasting and lading all ships coming into port. But the emoluments derived from these concessions were to be spent upon the borough and the port. Besides, as justices of gaol delivery, they could punish drunkards, and arrest and hang felons upon the town gallows.*

The perquisite of royal fish previously enjoyed by the Chief Admiral was now transferred to the Corporation. "Sturgeons, whales, porpoises, dolphins, riggs, graspeyes and all other fishes whatsoever having in them great and large thickness or flatness" were comprehensively termed by the charter "Royal Fishes." A fisherman named Norris caught a sturgeon weighing 12 stone (2nd August 1858); this was claimed by the Corporation the next day. The man, however, compounded for his sin by paying the Mayor the nominal sum of one penny!

The duties devolving upon the Common Council, comprising the mayor, aldermen and common councilmen, were accentuated. They could meet whenever they chose, and either the whole or the greater part of them could devise bye-laws for the rule, good government, profit and benefit (including the adequate victualling) of the borough; but their enactments were not to be "repugnant to the laws of the realm." Those who disobeyed these injunctions might be fined or imprisoned at their discretion. They were expected, as trustees of the town's estate, to let the various plots of land and tenements to advantage, and when necessary to repair the drains, scour the fleets, and do all in their power for the commonweal.

At a meeting of the Commissioners of Sewers held at the Gild Hall, Lynn, it was agreed that the suggestions in the report concerning the banks necessary for the preservation of Marshland should be adopted. The banks, therefore, were constructed, and taxes enforced under penalties of double fines, distrainments, etc., the expense being estimated at £289 10s. (2nd April 1622).

LYNN *versus* WISBECH.

Delighted with their new privileges, our Corporation slyly assumed the right to exercise jurisdiction over the town of Wisbech. Through the officers of customs, orders were issued prohibiting vessels to unload in Wisbech, except at certain specified places. Having no desire for their town to be absorbed by the port of Lynn, the Wisbech burgesses firmly refused. The Corporation of Lynn entered a suit in his Majesty's Exchequer against the inhabitants of the refractory port. At the instance of a Commission of Inquiry our Corporation was nonsuited and the independence of Wisbech thoroughly established (*circa* 1647).

A NEW INDUSTRY

was inaugurated for the express benefit of the poor. An indenture of agreement, entered into between Francis Gurney, a merchant tailor of London, Ambrose Thompson, a glover, of Thetford, and

* Prior to this the town possessed gallows. At an Admiralty Court, comprised of commissioners and justices, Sir Robert Southwell, knight, presided at the trial of sixteen pirates, most of whom were hanged in the "Gallows Pasture," that is, the "Hospital Field" (1587).

Martin Hill, a wool chapman, of Ellingham of the one part, and the Mayor and Burgesses of the other part, was signed. The persons named proposed to instruct the poor children of Lynn in the art of spinning worsted yarn,* not only providing what wool was necessary, but employing the poor generally in the same industry and paying them reasonable wages. The indenture stipulated that the children were to receive no remuneration for four months; the three partners were, therefore, to reap the benefit for that period. It was further arranged for the experiment to be tried in St. James' workhouse, the Corporation liberally advancing £200 for three years without the payment of interest. Each of the three partners, together with Sir William Yelverton, of Rougham, and Sir Hamon Le Strange, of Hunstanton, "who had both married near relations of the Gurneys," were bound £100 each for the security of the loan (11th October 1622).

Sir Henry Spelman (1564?-1616), the famous antiquary of Congham, observes:—

He [Sir John Eyre] in his life conveyed the four first Monasteries [in Lynn] to a Priest, from whom the Corporation of Lynn purchased the Carmelites and Minorites and being thus enter'd into things consecrated to God [the Corporation] purchased the Impropriation of the Church of St. Margaret's there, and defacing the Church of St. James perverted it to a Town-house for the manufacture of Stuffs, Laces and Tradesmen's Commodities, whereby they thought greatly to enrich their Corporation and themselves. Great Projects and good Stocks with a Contribution from some Country Gentlemen were raised for this purpose two several times of my knowledge, but the Success was that it came to nought and all the money employed about that new building and transforming the Church hath only increased Desolation; for so it hath stood during the whole time almost of my memory till they lately attempted by the undertaking of Mr. Fr. Gurney and some artizans from London to revive the Enterprize of their Predecessors but speeding no better than they did, have now again with loss of their Money and Expectation left it to future ruin. [*History of Sacrilege*: 1698.]

St. James' chapel was in the hands of the Dean and Chapter of Norwich, who voluntarily surrendered their right to the Corporation (1566). The people of Norwich stubbornly opposed the introduction of this new industry; they were jealously apprehensive that it might tend to ruin their own manufacturing prosperity. In the petition placed before the Privy Council it was pointed out that whereas Lynn was not only a seafaring place, but the centre of an agricultural district, Norwich, wherein a numerous class was verging on mutiny, depended wholly upon one resource. Their fears were groundless; our scheme proved unsuccessful; hence Sir William Yelverton and Sir Hamon Le Strange were called upon to forfeit an equivalent for the borrowed loan (3rd October 1625).

LETTERS PATENT.

A. *To the Borough*:—

- C. 22, termed Letters patent, dated at Westminster the 19th of November in the 2nd year of the reign (1604), granting admiralty jurisdiction on the death of Charles Howard, the Lord High Admiral, with confirmation in general terms of previous charters.

* There were three methods of spinning wool, viz., woollen yarn upon a great wheel, Guernsey or Jersey yarn upon a smaller one, and *worsted* yarn (first practised at *Worsted* in Norfolk) upon the rock. The last method was adopted in Lynn.

B. To the Hospital of St. Mary Magdalen, Gaywood :—

1. Letters patent dated at Westminster the 22nd of April, 9th year (1611), for the reconstitution of the hospital, with governors, a warden or master, and ten, nine, eight, seven, six, or five poor brethren or sisters.*
2. Letters patent dated at Westminster the 27th of January, 15th year (1618), appointing Sir Le Strange Mordaunt, bart., Sir Hamon Le Strange, knight, John Richers, Owin Sheppard, John Founteyne and William Armiger commissioners to ascertain by witnesses the bounds and limits of a "faldecursus" (fold-course, i.e., sheep-walk) in dispute between the governors of the hospital and Henry Bastard and others. Their finding was to be forwarded to the Court of Chancery.

C. To a burgess :—

Letters patent dated at Westminster the 4th June, 5th year (1607), granting to Thomas Battie the office of governor or guider at the Spittle (Hospital) Howse of Goworth, Norfolk, in consideration of the "service heretofore done in the warres"—and of "his maymes sustained therein." The Battie family belonged to Lynn: Richard Battie was "drowned and buried, Dec. 9 1573" [P.R., St. N.].

THE BIRTH OF A BELL.

John Draper, of Thetford, was engaged to cast a great bell for the chapel of St. Nicholas, and for that purpose he was to use "the twoo smalest bells." The weighing of the new bell from the Thetford foundry shewed that the metal supplied had not all been used, hence the founder paid the chapelwardens £5 in lieu thereof. At the same time a great bell was also ordered for St. Margaret's tower, the chapelwardens accepting the responsibility of this and sundry other expenses (1616-7). For "overplus metal" in this case £10 was demanded. As the bell-founder refused to pay, an action was instituted for the recovery of the same. Let the wardens Michael Revett and *Richard Goodinge* tell the story. Is it not strange that one of the chapel reeves should be Richard Goodinge, a descendant probably of the renowned Johannes de Godynge de Lynne—one of the earliest bell-founders in Norfolk?

Chardge of suite ageinst Jo : Drap [for p read *per* or *pro*] w'th other abatem'ts (£2/5/8).

Itm they crave to abate for chardge of suite paid to Mr. Willm May ageinst John Drap about the recourie of the x li xjx s.
 Itm that was answered to the said Drap for the bell clapp, stock and whele claymed by him vpon the paym't of the said pts w'ch bell clap, stock and whele was left at St. M'garett's church and by the churchwardens their deteyned xxv s. viij d.

Chardge laid out about the bell (£3/5/8) :—It was agreed betwene the said accompt and Jeames Edberry, bell-founder, that he should newe cast one bell at the Towne of Jermans [Wiggenhall St. Germans] and we should deleyver the said bell their at o'r chardge for castinge whereof no more to paie vj li. x s. (£6/10).

paid him in pt (part) at the match (?) makege xij d.
 paid more for bringinge the bell from the church to the comon stathyard ij s.
 paid for wayking the said bell their xvj d.
 paid for makinge the oblig'n (agreement) for p'formance thereof xij d.
 paid to the bellownder at severall tymes ix s.
 paid to Robt. Symes for caryinge the bell to Jer(mans) iiij s.

* See Richards' *History of Lynn* (1812), Vol. I., pp. 533-40; also various ancient grants, *11th Report H.M.S.S. Commission*, part 3 (1887), pp. 235-8.

paid for horse hire that afternoone it was carrie'd, to se it safe laide vp
 into a howse xvj d., and to two fellowes to carry it into the said
 howse viij d. ij s.
 paid more for horse hire at sevrall tymes tgethr iiij s iiij d and spent in the said
 iornies (journeys) ij s vjs iiij d.
 paid more to the bellfownder at two sevrall tymes xx s.
 paid more for a furnace makinge at Jermans to cast the said Bell xix s.

After the disagreement with John Draper, the wardens decided upon placing the next venture in the hands of James Edberry, who, though nomadic in his professional habits, belonged, it seems, to this part of Norfolk. The church bells at St. Germans were cast by John Draper, nevertheless there were Edburys at Walpole St. Peters (1736). He was reputed to be a good workman, but the wardens did not know perhaps how friendly he was with John Draper, and that this friendship might turn out prejudicial to their own interests. Now John Draper often entered into partnership with other bell founders. This is evident from the initials upon certain bells, as for instance:

I.D and I.B (John Draper and John Brend of Norwich) upon bells at Hindolveston and Great Witchingham.

I.D. and A.G (John Draper and Andrew Gurney of Bury St. Edmunds) upon bells at Lidgate and Hinderclay (1621), Thurston, 1st and 2nd (1630) and Bildeston, Suffolk, 3rd (1624).

I.D and I.E (John Draper and James Edberry or Edbury) Worlington, Suffolk (1614).

I.D and I.E (John Draper and James Edberry) or according to Dr. J. J. Raven, "John Dryver and James Edbere, founders, Bury St. Edmunds," Wickham Skeith (1615).

T.C and I.E (Thomas Cheese and James Edbere) Hargrave, Suffolk, 1st (1622).

After this the bell mescaried in the casting thereof (10/4)

Imps'mis paid for carryinge the mettles into the storehouse at Jermans viij d.
 Itm for a lock to hange on the said storehouse dore while the mettles laye their ij d.
 Itm paid to Mr. oxburgh his clark [the Recorder's clerk] to make a warrant to bring ye said Edberry before him iiij d. and for horse hire to serve ye same warnt xx d ij s.
 Itm for boate hire to bringe the said mettles back ageyne to Lynne v s. and to men to carry itt into ye boate there xij d. vj s.
 Itm for carryinge vp the said mettles out of the boate into comon stath yard xv d.
 paid for helpe of waiyng it their ij d.

Since his comynge to Lynne (£1/13)

Itm paid him at sevrall tymes for chardge of his diett here since his beginnynge of his worke xvj s.
 Itm paid him more iiij s.
 Itm paid for one thousand Brick to make the furnace to cast the bell with chardge of taking them vp into common stath yard xiiij s.

Charges about casting the Bell in comon stath yard (£5/13/1).

Imp'mis paid to Thomas Lam that he was to have of the bellfownder for howseroom duringe the tyme of his worke vj viij d.
 Itm paid to Robt. Symes for thre loades of sand and a load of clay iiij viij
 Itm paid to Kilborne for the hundred billett vij s.
 Itm paid to Rich: Waters for halfe a thousand billett vij s.
 Itm paid for 400 brick for the furnace vj s. and half a thowsand billett more xj s. vj d., in toto xvij s. vj d.

Itm paid to Saunder for makinge the furnace to cast the bell ... viij s.
 Itm paid to Tho : Dix for exchange of lay (? alloy) mettle wth pewter bought of
 him and iij s. iiij d. govern (given) for the candlestick for the pulpitt xij s. v d.
 Itm paid more at sev^rall tymes to the bellfownder whilst he was about the
 worke xvij s. iiij d.
 Itm paid for breakeinge vp the furnace and leavelinge the grownd ... xvij d.
 Itm paid to Jo : Smith for xxj daies that he attendid vpon Edbury at Jermans to
 gett home o^r mettall ageyne xxv s.

This bell beinge caste was carried to the church and hanged (12/6).

Itm paid for wayinge and carryinge the said bell to the church ... iij s.
 Itm paid for stockinge the said bell viij s.
 Itm for takinge downe the bellfrey dore and for pinninge it vp ageyne
 to gett itt in vj d.

This bell not beyng tunable was after put to Jo : Drap of Thetford by him
 to be cast ageyne their (5/3).

Inp^r'mis paid for makinge the obligac^on for him for pformance of covennty xij d.
 Itm paid Robert Symes for carryinge it downe to the waterside vj d.
 Itm paid for wayinge the same, to him ij s.
 Itm paid to pickringe for his paynes to breake the bell & helpinge to se it
 boated ij s.
 Itm paid for two kind (?) to putt in the mettle when it was sent to Thetford ij vj.
 Itm paid for carryinge and recarryinge the bell from Lynne to Thetford xx s.
 Itm for carryinge it from the waterside to the church & carryinge itt heare iij s.
 Itm paid to hart for hanginge the bell x s.
 Itm whereas we were to pay vnto him for newe castinge the said bell vij li xij d
 (5/1) we did abate him for want of mettall in our bell xl s. so paid him v li. j s.

The above particulars are copied from the earliest of the chapelwardens' accounts for St. Nicholas' (1618 to 1719).

Prior to the altercation, John Draper had cast five or six bells for our churches, and a passing acquaintance with James Edberry taught the wardens a lesson they were not likely to forget. That they were satisfied with the great bell for St. Nicholas' may be assumed, because in 1627-8 John Draper recast another of the peal; moreover, "the minister," Mr. Emmett, and the wardens of both churches entertained him at a supper, when he came to receive payment.

In 1608, the clock-bell of St. Margaret's church was recast in the foundry at Thetford. Draper was to receive £5; there was, however, a rebate for 43 lbs. of metal at 5d. per lb. The "small bell" was also recast (1613-4).

"MOST HORRIBLE TREASON."

The miraculous escape of the King from the machinations of Guido Fawkes and the other conspirators was faithfully observed in Lynn, as two extracts will confirm:—"1616-7. Itm. paid for breade and beare on St. Jeames day xvij d., the 5 of No(vember) iij s. iiij d. and on the day of the King's entrance into the Kingdome the 24th of mrch xvj d." (C.W.A., St. N.). "1618-9. Itm, for parchement to wright the statute in; that is to be read ev'y vth day of Novemb'r at morning prayer for Gunpowder treason iijj d." [C.W.A., S. M.].

The bread and beer, an oft-repeated item, was for the sustentation of the ringers, and not for the officiating clergy.

GENERAL MUSTERS

were common in times of national emergency. By virtue of commissions under the Great Seal, the getting together of all the "fencible men" occurred at intervals during the reign of Henry VIII. To obtain arms, moreover, the residents in towns were compelled to pay upon what they possessed. The preamble of a special Act passed in 1557 to facilitate the "taking of musters" reveals some abuses in "the royal press." It declares that "the most likely men for the service have been, through friendship or rewards, released, and others not being able or mete taken and chosen thereunto."

At the commencement of this reign a general muster throughout England and Wales was undertaken. Lynn accounted for 260 able men, 85 armed men, 30 pioneers, and 3 high horses, demi-lances being conspicuously absent. The King's purveyor claimed 100 ling and 100 cod out of each ship-load caught by our fishermen. A few years afterwards, Henry Howard, the Lord Lieutenant of the county, complained because the local forces were inefficient. As Norfolk was one of the richest counties, he was surprised there were 500 less horse soldiers than in 1591; he therefore authorised his deputy lieutenants to make a new muster, in order to meet the deficiency (1611). Thomas Howard, the Earl of Arundel, succeeded him the next year, and the survey of the local forces went on under his administration.

Commanders in 1615:—

Foot-soldiers.	Places.	Horse-soldiers.
Sir Philip Wodehouse Richard Hovell, Esq. Humphrey Pryme, Esq.	King's Lynn Freebridge Lynn Freebridge Marshland	} Sir Le Strange Mordaunt.

With the horse-soldiers were bracketed those of Clackclose, Yarmouth and Christchurch (Norwich).

Owing to Raleigh's unsuccessful attack on St. Thomas, in Guiana, the Spaniards were displeased (1617), and, perhaps, fearing an invasion, the local forces were again examined. A fresh enrolment of all able persons between 16 and 60 years of age was pushed forward, and measures were devised to circumvent any attempt to land upon the coast of Norfolk (1618). The instruction circulated comprised twelve clauses: six to prevent an enemy landing, and six giving advice, presuming the enemy had landed.

Frederick, the Elector Palatine, who had married the Princess Elizabeth, was chosen King of Bohemia by the people of that country, who refused to acknowledge their new emperor, Ferdinand II. James, solicitous to preserve his friendship with Spain, sent an insignificant and quite inadequate force of 4,000 men to aid his son-in-law. Frederick was defeated at the battle of Prague, and driven not only from his newly acquired kingdom, but also from his hereditary dominions (1620). Remembering how Raleigh, one of the cleverest and deservedly renowned men of his age, had been judiciously murdered to conciliate the court of Spain, the people of

England were more than ever disgusted; hence a sum of £300,000 was voted to carry on the contest. Knowing this, James reluctantly assisted the Elector Palatine. In 1624 our Lord Lieutenant received orders to impress 600 men in Norfolk, to recover the inheritance of the King's children. They were to be "able, strong, and healthful bodies, and of years meet for this imployment, but none of them (were to be) taken out of the trayned bands," which were still to be kept entire. This impressment was carried out locally by Sir Charles Cornwallleys and Sir Henry Bedingfeld, of Oxborough—the deputy-lieutenants to the Lord Lieutenant, Thomas Howard, the Earl of Arundel and Surrey. Twenty men were enrolled in Lynn, 30 in the hundred of Freebridge Lynn, and 30 in Freebridge Marshland. The press caused general dissatisfaction; many quitted their homes rather than serve, and three were convicted by law and sentenced to be executed.

In 1625 an army was despatched under Ernest, Count Mansfeld, one of the most brilliant generals of the age, but half the soldiers perished through the transport vessels being overcrowded. He was defeated by Wallenstein at Dessau, and died the next year (20th November).

FROM THE STATE PAPERS.

- 1603. Lord Buckhurst wrote to the officers of the port prohibiting the exportation of corn and beer beyond the seas, Scotland excepted (5th July).
- 1604. The Mayor received an application, dated 30th June, Greenwich, from Robert Murray, requesting to be made a free merchant.
- 1607. John Pell died, and was buried at Dersingham; on a black marble slab are two incised figures also six sons and three daughters.
- 1608. Grant to Thomas Vause (the Groom of the Confectionery), of the office of prior, guide or governor of the Hospital of St. Mary Magdalen, Gaywood (15th June).
- 1609. Lord Salisbury received a letter from William Butler in favour of Mr. Violet, of Lynn, the assignee of a bond of his for £5,000. He had transferred it to the King for more severe prosecution, but he begged his lordship "to besprinkle with the dew of his comfort the withering *Violet*" (26th October).
- 1611. A letter, dated Royston, 8th April, was received by Lord Salisbury from Sir George Bruce. In recognition of his long service in manufacturing white salt and in memory of love to his late brother, Lord Kinloss, he urged Salisbury to favour his petition to furnish Hull, Boston and Lynn with salt.
- 1613. Visitation of Norfolk by John Raven, Richmond Herald, Marshal and Deputy to William Camden, Clarencieux.
- 1619. Grant to Godfrey Haverkamp and Robert Davy, of London, on the surrender by Sir Francis Jones of the office of Collector of Imposts at Sandwich, Ipswich, Berwick, Carlisle, Newcastle, Hull, Yarmouth, St. Botolph (Boston) and Lynn (Westminster, 6th July).

1620. Grant to Nathaniel Maxey, on surrender by Matthew Clarck of the office of Searcher in the *port* of Lynn (6th June).
 1621. Certificate by the Officers of Customs of all native goods and merchandise brought into the *port* of Lynn from the United Provinces since midsummer last (17th September).

WORTHY OF HIS HIRE.

A desire was expressed by Sir Robert Hitcham, of Framlingham, in Suffolk, to represent Lynn. As Attorney General to Anne of Denmark, the Queen Consort, he was an able and gifted candidate. His rise was remarkable; he held a patent of precedence next after the King's counsel; he became a serjeant-at-law, and was knighted (1614); and two years afterwards he was promoted to the office of King's serjeant. So anxious was Sir Robert to enjoy the sweets of Parliament, that he offered to serve the town without payment (1603), and was then and there accepted, but was asked to qualify himself by coming to Lynn to receive the freedom of the borough. In 1610 he proposed breaking his journey at Lynn, when on his way from the assizes at Norwich to Ely, where he was expected to preside as judge. The Council agreed to present him with £20 as an acknowledgment of his valuable services. The mayor, John Barret, entertained him, and the charge thereof, together with "horse meat," was afterwards defrayed by the town (23rd July).*

On the 27th of February 1613, letters were received not only from Sir Robert Hitcham, but from Sir Henry Spelman, of Narborough, offering their services. They were accordingly elected.

The Assembly appear to have honestly complied with the Act of Henry V., when two *bona fide* inhabitants were elected (1620). Possibly their conduct in this respect was inimical to the views of the wealthy candidates seeking constituencies, because a motion was subsequently made against the admission of the mayors of boroughs into parliament. To whom this directly applied is not certain, but the cap may have fitted Thomas Gurlin, who was mayor in 1621, and possibly one of the town's representatives, as he certainly was in 1625-6. Be this as it may, our mayoral member vigorously defended his position, urging that Lynn had large shipping interests which were entrusted to him, and that he necessarily understood local affairs far better than a stranger, and, moreover, "as no one else had come up," he was more than justified in accepting the office. As no writ was issued, let us unhesitatingly assume that, like Goldsmith's ruined spendthrift, the mayor of Lynn—"claim'd kindred there and had his claim allowed."

AS POOR AS—A KING!

The King and the church mouse had changed places, and the distinguishing feature of this reign was chronic destitution. The King and an empty purse were inseparable; no one perhaps knew the inconveniences of poverty better than James I., but the knowledge thereof did not turn his grief into joy. Like the Roman general,

* Sir Robert Hitcham died at Framlingham, leaving his money for pious and benevolent purposes (1636).

the English king was troubled with an "itching palm," and an incurable propensity "to sell his offices for gold to undeservers." A new hereditary title, that of baronet, was created for supplying the King with money to quell the rebellion in Ireland; * knighthoods, too, were placed upon the market. Loans from private persons were also in great request. Parliament determined to raise £16,430 in Norfolk alone, and demands were therefore made upon 730 persons. Lynn contributed £700 towards the amount, which proves how wealthy one section of our townsmen must have been (1611-2). Some who did not contribute enough were called upon for a supplementary loan. From two lists are selected a few local contributions:—

	£	£		£	£
Athowe, Thomas	30	—	Lawson, Roger	20	—
Barker, Thomas	—	10	Mace, William	—	20
Butler, John	20	—	Oxborowe, Thomas	30	20
Bacon, John	20	—	Sendall, Thomas	30	20
Baker, Thomas	30	10	Spence, John	—	10
Claybourne, Thos.	20	—	Violett, Henry	20	20
Clarke, Martin	20	10	Stratton, Hellen	20	—
Carew, Symond	20	—	Pigott, Alice	20	—
Cartwright, Peter	20	—	Reave, John	20	13 ¹ / ₃
Elmes, Esmond	50	—	Pell, John	30	—
Fenn, William	40	—	Wayte, Henry	20	—
Grave, Katherine	100	—	Walleis, Edmund	20	—
Guibone, Thomas	40	—	Wallis, John	—	10
Gibson, Thomas	20	13 ¹ / ₃	Warner, William	—	20
Hood, William	20	—			
Kircher, John	20	—		£ 700	156 ² / ₃

The county was called upon to contribute money in 1620 and money and plate in 1614.

PAROCHIAL NOTES.

No apo'logy is needed for a few extracts from our churchwardens' books.

(1) ST. MARGARET'S CHURCH.

A vestry meeting was held on the 2nd of July 1617, to consider an assessment to cover the expense for repairing the lantern, roof and glass windows, which were in decay. Here is a copy of the questions, which the meeting was supposed to answer.

1. Whether the houses, Lande and Tenements together with the p'sonall estates of the p'ishoners ar to be rated or only one of them, and then wch of the same, and whether may the best of them be chosen accordinge to the (as-) Sessors' discretion?

2. yf the owners of Lande and Tenem'ts assessed to this charge dwell out of the Towne, some w'thin the Dioces, some w'thout the Dioces, and refuse to pay, Then what course (is) to be taken for recoveringe their sev'ral assessm'ts?

3. what course is to be taken against the p'ishoners beyng Inhabitants refusinge to pay, whether their assessm'ts be by Ten'ts or by their goods?

4. yf the Tenant be compelled by distress or otherwise to pay the Assessment of his Landlord, what meanes hath he to recover the same agayne?

5. yf the p'sonall estate of a p'ishoner be to be assessed, howe shall the same be rated, whether by so much only as is in view w'thin the p'isse (parish

* The title of *Baronet* was offered to all who would pay the Exchequer £1,080 in three annual instalments, being the sum required for the pay of 100 foot-soldiers for three years. *Gardiner*.

or by that he is conceyved by the Sessors to be worth, though the same be in mony. or debts and if the certaynty thereof nott casely to be knowne?

6. yf a p'ishioner inhabitinge there hath an estate only of lande in other places wch is there chargeable to the like kynde, whether may he be rated for that estate in Lande, he lyvinge in Lynne only upon his Revenewe?

7. whether may a p'ishoner be rated for any fee at profitts wch he receyveth by any office in that towne or ells where?

8. whoe ought to be Sessors, what number, by whome are they to be chosen and in what manner, And what other things are necessary to be observed in the ratyng or collectinge of this Assessem't?

9. yf a house be void w'thout a Tenant what assessem't shall be made for that house? [C.W.A., St. M. 1591-1672].

For the guidance of the churchwardens in making an assessment "Jeffreyes Case in Law" (31st and 32nd Elizabeth) is quoted, and the following answers, signed "Tho: Talbot," the spelling of which shall be modernised, are given:—

The contribution is to be rated by the yearly rents of houses and land within the parish, and all that have houses and land in their occupation within the parish are to be taxed.

The parishioners only are to be taxed by their houses and land in the parish, and such as resist to pay are to be cited at the suit of the churchwardens to the Ecclesiastical Court or to the Consistory of the Bishop.

The tenant that is compellable to pay the assessment by the preceeding Ecclesiastical, for no distress lieth in that case, he must remedy himself by his covenant with his landlord in another court.

The personal rate is not considerable in such rates, but the rent of houses and land, saving that stock of cattle feeding and lying in the parish, if any be, may be rated.

Parishioners are to be rated by the houses they dwell in, within the parish, and no estimate (is) to be made but by houses, lande and cattle within the parish.

The possessor is to be rated though he keepeth it shut up and dwell not in it nor letteth it.

The rate is to be made by the churchwardens giving knowledge generally in the parish for a meeting of all the parishioners at a time and place certain, where and when every parishioner may be present and either consent thereunto or be rated by the greatest numbers there present.

(2) ST. NICHOLAS' CHAPEL.

The first chapel-reeves' book begins in 1616 and ends 1719. It consists of about a hundred separate parts bound together. The first entry, which we purpose quoting, relates entirely to the land and tenements belonging to the chapel.

(1) Land : Rents £51 : 19 : 0.

one pasture lyinge next the east gates, cont: (containing) by estemacon two Acres and a halft letton to Symon Thacker	...	viiij li. x s.
one pasture lyinge neare vnto Borden bridge, cont: two Acres and a halft letton to Jeffry Saltar	...	vij li. x s.
one pasture lyinge at the east side of St. Katherines, cont: one Acre letton to Michael Revett	...	iiij li. xix s.
one pasture lyinge on the east side of gouldsmithes gardeyne, cont: one Acre letton to Richard Goodinge	...	iiij li.
one pasture lyinge on the north side of Salters waie, cont: ij Acres and a halft letton Henry Gooddyne	...	viiij li.
one pasture lyinge on the Sowth side of Salters waie, cont: iij Acres di (3½ acres) letton to Tho. Tidd	...	x li.
one pasture lyinge on the sowth side of Salters waie, cont: iij Acres di letton to Willm wayte	...	ix li.

(2). Tenements: Rents £23 : 13 : 0.

Henry Bullock for his tent (tenement)	...	...	...	xl s.
Widow Taylor for her tent	...	...	...	xxiiij s.
Richard Lynam for p't (part) of a tent	...	...	...	xvj s.
Wid : Bright for one other p't	...	...	...	iiij s.
Mrs Gibson for her mesuage or tent...	...	...	...	iiij li.
Thomas Morgan for p'cell (parcel) of a tent	...	...	...	xl s.
Wid : Chace for one other p't of a tent	...	...	...	xx s.
Willm Clark for his tent...	...	...	...	xx s.
Gyles Green for his tent	...	...	...	xxiiij s.
Willm Bullock for his tent	...	...	...	xxiiij s.
Emanuell Osborne for his tent	...	...	...	xxx s.
Mr Ray for rent	...	...	...	—
Tents heretofore sould by the churchwardens	...	...	...	ix s.
Willm Brown for one half yeares rent of the corner tent	...	...	...	xxx s.
Henry Sisson for the other half yeares rent of the same tent	...	...	...	xxx s.
Willm Salter of the chappell for his tente	...	...	...	nil
Mr Emott curate of the same chappell for his tent	...	...	...	nil
wid : Wood for rent of the little howse in the churchyard next the church porch	...	...	...	x s.
wid : Ridinge for rent of her ortalchard	...	...	...	xxx s.
John Hutchynson for rent of a gardeyne	...	...	...	ij s.
of the Maior and Burgesses for an annytie heretofore graunted by them to the chappell	...	...	...	xl s.

[C.W.A., St. N.]

OUR TOWN CLERK.

Thomas Valenger (1575-1611), the son of Thomas Valenger, a gentleman of Watlington, was educated at the Lynn Grammar school by Alexander Roberts, A.M. When 18 years of age he was admitted pensioner to the bachelors' table at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. He accepted the office of town clerk the 20th of May 1597, and continued to discharge the duties thereto belonging until the 29th of August 1606. In 1605 he built an alms-house in Finkel Row * (now *Valinger's Road*) for four poor men, and by his will (7th May 1610) and its codicil (4th October 1611) he provided a small endowment. Five acres of pasture land were accordingly purchased in Wiggerhall St. Germans for £55/5, plus £6 for conveyancing (1641). From the rent roll (1642-1770) we learn that the lowest sum received was £2/4 in 1691, and the highest £5/11 in 1699. In 1898 the income was £4/11.

The original edifice was rebuilt in 1806, from plans prepared by Samuel Newham, for which the wardens paid 10s. 6d. The present building was erected on the site of the old hospital by voluntary subscriptions (1826).

The South Lynn benefactor was buried beside his wife in the aisle of All Saints' church (13th October 1611).† His will was proved the 19th of May 1612.

* *Finkel* from the Scandinavian *fuk*, angle or corner. The *row* at the village "green" was near the bend in Coldhain Street—where Friar Street now joins All Saints' Street. There is a *Finkelgate* in Norwich and a *Finkel* Street in Hull.

† He was probably a descendant of Henry Vallenger (circa 1581), the printer, who was condemned by the Star Chamber to lose his ears and pay a fine of £100. [*One Generation of a Norfolk House* (1878) by Dr. A. Jessopp, pp. 92 and 102.]

THE SLEEP OF DEATH.

With a polluted water supply and no system of drainage it is surprising that the town only suffered intermittently. Plague was again prevalent in 1604. "The first supposed to die heare buried of the visitac'on (was) Barbara the wife of George Cowp (Cowper) the 3(rd) daie of June 1604" (C.W.A., A.SS.). Seven other burials arising from this disease are given in July. In 1610 we note "two cases from visitac'on."

* * * * *

James I. died at Theobalds, near Cheshunt, the 27th of March 1625, either from tertian ague or gout in the stomach; he was interred in Westminster Abbey.

A learned divine once preached before the King, announcing his text thus—"James the First and Sixth: 'For he that wavereth is like a wave of the sea driven with the wind and tossed'" (James i. 6). The fearless discourse, however, failed to reform the vacillating monarch to whom it was pointedly addressed. Whilst the bishop of Lincoln (John Williams) delivered a remarkable funeral oration from what was considered an appropriate text: "And the rest of the acts of Solomon, and all that he did, and his wisdom, are they not written in the book of the acts of Solomon?" (1 Kings xi. 41).

CHAPTER XXVI.

Nearing the Crossways.

CHARLES I. succeeded his father when 25 years of age. He married a Catholic princess, Henrietta Maria, the daughter of Henry IV. of France and Marie de Medicis (23rd June 1625). Of the Queen's dower £492 13s. 8³/₄d. was derived from Norfolk:—

The manor of						£	s.	d.
East Dereham	...	...	...	...	...	55	10	0 ³ / ₄
Terrington	...	...	...	...	...	175	0	8
West Walton, Walsoken, Enneth and Tilney	...	...	...	...	...	45	9	8
Wymondham	...	...	...	...	...	79	10	10
The farm of								
the manor of Stockton Soken	...	...	...	...	...	52	0	6
the hundred of Mitford, granted for life to Sir John Hobart (11th James I.) at	£9	4s.	1d.,					
but worth	...	...	...	...	...	85	2	0

* * * * *

In the great fight for political and religious liberty the eastern counties stand foremost, although the actual scenes of the decisive engagements, during the civil war, were beyond the confines of East Anglia. Our stalwart yeomen, with the redoubtable Cromwell as

the guiding spirit, constituted a potent factor in the cause of Puritanism and representative government. An important, though somewhat inconspicuous part, was played by our own ancestors in the great movement which terminated in the temporary subversion of our monarchy and the martyrdom of a despotic king.

The incidents which brought about this deplorable tragedy are well known—the issue of warrants for forced loans, arbitrary exactions and illegal taxes, the summary imprisonment of those refusing to pay, the levying of troops and the employment of the press for land and sea service, the billeting of soldiers and mariners on private individuals, open hostilities between the King and his people, a series of obstinate battles, the surrender of Charles to the Scots, the trial at Westminster, and the scaffold at Whitehall.

RAVAGES OF "WATER RATS."

The issues of the conflict between the King and the Parliament were complicated not only by the objectionable impost of ship-money, but by the sharp contrast between the simple Puritanism prevailing in this part of England and the ecclesiastical tendencies of the times. The inhabitants of Norfolk might naturally join in the Puritan protest, yet they could not reasonably object to the levying of ship-money, because it was unquestionably necessary to protect their fishing industry and the coast trade generally.

"Ships are but boards, sailors but men; there be land rats and water rats, water thieves and land thieves," and to their cost the sea-faring folk discovered the truth of Shylock's assertion. The piratical "water rats" of Dunkirk and Ostend had long been scouring the eastern coast; the Iceland fishery was crippled and our shipping menaced. For example, "the ships of Lynn" were chased and boarded by the Dunkirk fleet near the mouth of the Tyne (2nd November 1625). Two of the masters, John Raven and John Albert, advisedly complained to the Mayor of Newcastle, who reported the case to Secretary Conway, but redress was out of the question. The vessels belonging to Lee were also chased, but, luckily gaining Scarborough, escaped. In 1628 these pirates effected a landing at Tunstead, and the North Sea fishery was compelled to sail under the protection of an armed convoy. Great difficulty, too, was experienced at Yarmouth and Lynn, because the laden boats were intercepted so that the fish could not be carried to London. The *Unity of Friends*, another Lynn vessel, was captured by the *Great Bear*, of Amsterdam; the master, Giles Tatsell, having lost all, except a wife and six children, petitioned the Lords to assist him in his sad dilemma (19th November 1636). It was generally admitted that ships of war were greatly needed, yet those who contributed "ship-money" were fearful lest the money raised for a specific purpose should be squandered on less meritorious objects.

So terrible was the havoc caused by these pitiless free-booters, that "the poor mariners and sea-faring men" between London and Berwick, having already placed a recital of their grievances in the hands of the King, approached the Privy Council, praying for relief.

The Lynn fishermen and their families were in a state of wretched destitution; 1,000 men, upon whom 3,000 depended, were out of employment. If they ventured into "the Deeps," the Dunkirkers surrounded them, and either burnt or scuttled their vessels. Moreover, for thirteen months the ships of some of the petitioners had been engaged in the King's service, for which the owners had as yet received nothing (1626).

At this crisis, as if to aggravate their misery, "the Mayor and Aldermen of Lynn, Wells and Burnham" were called upon to provide two warships, which were to be at Portsmouth by the 20th of May 1627. The inhabitants of Wells protested against what they regarded as an unwarranted imposition. Hitherto they had been charged as a part and parcel of the hundred of North Greenhoe, and not as a member of the port of Lynn. When two ships were required for the expedition to Cadiz (1597), Wells contributed £5 towards the sum of £22, at which their hundred was assessed. The Privy Council received a petition also from Lynn (April 1627), pointing out how the borough had already lost 25 vessels, worth £9,000, through the depredations of the Dunkirkers; how £1,200 was spent in fortifying the town against the King's enemies, how they impoverished themselves by advancing His Majesty £425, and how they were paying £350 yearly towards the support of the poor and infirm. In consideration, Thomas Grinnell, the mayor, and others prayed that the community be excused sending ships to Portsmouth. The Corporation was anxious to wriggle out of the difficulty and tried to saddle the county with the expense, but the Lords-lieutenant advised the Admiralty that, having an annual income of £1,000 derivable from land, the borough might very well perform this service without extraneous assistance; and to extort a contribution from the county at this juncture would prove, as they believed, a great impediment to the question of future supply.

(1) LICENSED RAT-CATCHERS.

Trinity House certificates were freely issued in response to formal applications from shipowners, addressed to George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, the Lord High Admiral. This was the preliminary step, before obtaining a warrant from the Privy Council, for "laying aboard" the applicant's vessel certain pieces of ordnance to protect the crew and freight against merciless sea-rovers. The owners of the undermentioned ships sought the protection derived from the employment of "great guns":—

"Of Lynn."					Tonnage.	Certificate dated.
The	Edward	and	Thomas	...	140	1626, March 24.
"	Desire	...	...	...	160	" " 27.
"	Truelove	...	...	...	100	" July 1.
"	Globe	...	...	...	100	" " 22.
"	Answer	...	...	...	120	" " 26.
"	Love's Increase	...	...	...	110	1627, May 16.

The *Globe* was built at Great Yarmouth, and the *Love's Increase* at Whitby.

Letters of marque, or special commissions to capture pirates, were subsequently granted to these ships:—

"Of Lynn."	Tonnage.	Owner.	Captain.	Date.
Violet ...	120	Theo. Wright, &c.	John Barker.	1627, March 7.
" ...	"	Thos. Soame, &c.		" May 1.
Mary ...	80	Abraham Clarke.	Abraham Clarke.	1628, March 11.
Handmaid ...	30		—	" 11.
Desiré ...	150	Edwd. Ackworth, &c.	Edwd. Ackworth.	1629, April 16.

(2) ENGAGEMENT OF A "WHELP."

The carrying of guns with special licence to take pirates did little good, because within three years and a half our shipping trade was sacrificed. To preserve what remained, the merchants, mariners and owners of Lynn, Boston, Wells, Burnham and "other creeks within that bay," besought the Lords of the Admiralty for the loan of one of the ten *Lion's Whelps* for twelve months, the petitioners being quite willing to man and victual the gunboat in question at their own expense (20th January 1630).

The services of His Majesty's ship the *Fourth Whelp*, commanded by Captain Thomas March, were therefore granted "to convoy and guard" the vessels of Lynn and the other places, towards which our port was expected to pay two-thirds (11th March 1630).^{*} Money was alarmingly scarce, and, as an instalment had to be paid in advance, the sailing of the expedition was delayed. The boatsman, Abraham Sampson, and the gunner, William Caine, were offensively importunate; they actually applied to the Admiralty, who decided that £15 16s. 9d. was indeed due to them. Captain March was still in the harbour on the 28th of April, because he then suggested that letters should be addressed by the Admiralty to the Mayors of Lynn and Boston, and also to Sir Hamon Le Strange, asking them to call the defaulters to account.

Prior to this the captain asked for permission to exchange four guns on board the *Fourth Whelp* for four already lent to the town (30th March 1630). The Officers of the Ordnance raised no objection if the Lords of the Admiralty granted a warrant to that effect; they thought those offered, which weighed less by 8 cwts., would be more effective for town defence, being not so cumbersome (1st May 1630). The exchange was probably made about the 12th of August, when the *Whelp* returned after a trip to Flamborough. Early the next year, Thomas Soame, the mayor, received a deputation from the shipmasters and seamen, who wished him to convey to the Admiralty their hearty thanks for the valuable assistance rendered by H.M.S. *Fourth Whelp*. The shipping, especially at Lynn and Newcastle, had considerably improved (26th February 1631).

Having faithfully discharged his part of the contract, and brought his vessel safely to Chatham, Captain March was anxious to receive his money. He therefore suggested the propriety of sending letters

^{*} The gunboat was apparently employed before this, for Lynn "paid £140 for two months' victuals for the *Fourth Whelp*, September 30th 1629." [Calendar of State Papers: Domestic, 1629—31, p. 68.]

to the Mayors of Lynn and Boston, entreating them to interview those merchants and owners who were behind in their payments, and to report to the Admiralty why they did not conform with the terms of the agreement (19th March 1631). A month passed, and the settlement of arrears was beginning to assume a serious aspect. In the mean time, the captain intimated, through "My lords," his willingness to attend upon the Mayors and others "for their more full satisfaction."

(3) CERTAIN DEATH.

Exaggerated rumours of a foreign foe making a descent upon the eastern sea-board caused the members of the Congregation to shake in their municipal robes. They forthwith determined to repair the neglected fortifications, and to make the town as impregnable as possible. An application was made for a dozen culverins and demiculverins from the King's store. But George Carew, Earl of Totness, the master-general of the Ordnance Department, vigorously opposed the request, first insinuating that iron guns of such a description were not in stock, and then pointing out how his Majesty's ships were only provided with demiculverins and sakers. He, however, hinted that the King's founder had suitable pieces in reserve, and could supply the petitioners' wants at an outlay of £1,109, which ought to be forthcoming before the despatch of the guns. (24th April 1626.)†

A thousand pounds! The Mayor looked blue;
So did the Corporation too.
For Council dinners made rare havoc
With Claret, Moselle, Vin de Grave, Hock;
And half the money would replenish
Their cellar's biggest butt with Rhenish.

The rats were swarming the coast, and not having heard of the magical skill of the Pied Piper, the burgesses constructed a citadel, afterwards dedicated to St. Anne, to guard the entrance of the haven. A citadel and no guns? What a mockery! The bargain was suddenly struck. Ten pieces of ordnance, culverins and sakers, were voted, much to the ill-concealed disgust of the noble Earl, who felt in duty bound to point out what a multiplicity of demands the Lords of the Admiralty might now expect from all the other coast towns, and the inconceivable danger which might arise if the ordnance specially provided for the ships were missing when urgently needed. But the town of Lynn, though "calling the tune," paid the Admiralty as much as the Corporation of Hamelin paid the marvellous piper.

In 1630 Captain March prevailed upon the Admiralty to sanction an exchange of guns. Four demiculverins from his ship were replaced by four of the town's powerful culverins. For many years the pirates of Ostend and Dunkirk continued their depredations.

DRAINAGE OF THE GREAT LEVEL.

The exact year when the Great Ouse first began to discharge its waters into the haven at Lynn cannot be given; it was, however,

The *culverin* (Latin, *colubrinus*, a serpent) was a long slender piece of artillery which carried balls a great distance; the *saker* (French *sacret*), and the *falcon* (French *faucon*) or *falcone* were lighter pieces each deriving their names from hawks.

prior to 1294. In the reign of Edward III., the Marshlanders compiled a doleful petition, complaining of heavy losses sustained through floods and inundations; the "river going to Lynn," which used to flow between banks 12 perches apart, but which was then, in 1362, a mile in breadth, is incidentally mentioned. After the dissolution of the monasteries, the water-ways, maintained chiefly at the expense of the religious houses, fell into serious decay. Hence the Commissioners decided that some provision should be made for straightening the Lynn haven (1566), which, being much broader, caused the tide to rise a foot higher at Salter's Lode than it did 20 years before (Dugdale); they, moreover, ordered all the drains and sewers to be scoured three times a year (1574). This the people neglected to do, and as there were no means of compelling them, a *bad* condition soon gave place to a *worse*. To prevent floods in their immediate vicinity, the people of Lynn petitioned to have the waters of their haven confined by sea-walls (1618). Here, it seems, the matter rested, until 1630, when a gigantic scheme for draining the whole level was devised. A contract was signed by Sir Cornelius Vermuyden, who was to carry out the undertaking at his own expense, and receive as recompense 95,000 acres of land. Owing, however, to the unpardonable jealousy of the fen-dwellers (for Vermuyden was, alas, a foreigner), the work was obstructed and the contract abandoned. The following year an agreement was entered into with Francis Russell, Earl of Bedford, an Englishman. He was to have 95,000 acres, but of this allotment 40,000 acres were to be devoted to maintaining the banks, etc., whilst 12,000 acres were to be given to the Crown, thus finally leaving the Earl only 43,000 acres. To this proposal all were apparently willing to submit, but to protect their own interests the following resolution, subsequently termed "the Lynn Law," was sanctioned at a Session of Sewers held at Lynn the 13th of January 1631:—

(1) "THE LYNN LAW," OR ACT OF SEWERS.

A true coppie of the provisions made in the great law of Sewers touching the preservation of Lynn haven and the Port there & of the Navigation in all the Navigable Rivers within ye great Levell intended to be drained by that law. Provided allways, & it is further ordered, enacted, adiudged & decreed, that the Port & haven of King's Lynn shalbe preserved, and the Navigation, passages and highways in upon and about all & every the Navigable Rivers within the tract of this Commission as namely: Grant, the River of Owse, Neane, Welland and Gleane shall be likewise preserved, and no preiudice, annoyance, hurte or hinderance be done to them, or any of them, by any of the means aforesaide. And if it shall happen that any such preiudice, annoyance, hurte or hinderance shalbe comitted or done, in upon or about any the said Navigable Rivers, contrary to the true intent and meaning of this law, Then upon complaint thereof it shall & may be lawfull from tyme to tyme for eight of the said Commissioners—whereof the Vice-chancellor (of) the Universitie of Cambridge for the time being, and the maiors of King's Lynn aforesaide and Cambridge for the time also being, shalbe three, if they will be present—to reforme, abate, prosterne and amove all such preiudices, annoyances, hurts, hindrances and every of them, so yt the ancient navigable passages & highways may be restored and continued in upon and about the said navigable Rivers as heretofore have been used and accustomed, anything in this law in any wise notwithstanding.

This specimen of consistently unique spelling was "examined," and signed by Francis Parlett, recorder for Lynn (1630-43).

On the 14th of July, Thomas Cecil the Earl of Exeter intimated his willingness for the suggestion from Lynn to receive royal assent and "pass the Great Seal." Charles accordingly issued letters patent giving his assent to an Act of Sewers made at King's Lynn for draining the Great Level—a marshy expanse lying within the Commission of Sewers for the counties of Northamptonshire, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Huntingdonshire and the Isle of Ely—and moreover commanded those concerned in the undertaking "to maintain the Act and punish any who should presume to stop or hinder its progress." (26th July 1631.)

(2) THE KING'S DISSATISFACTION.

The work was completed in about seven years. The leading "adventurers," Francis Russell, Earl of Bedford, Henry Lord Maltravers and Edward Lord Gorges then approached the King and presented a decree of sewers asking the royal assent to the acceptance of the 12,000 acres (13th February 1637). At a Session of Sewers held at St. Ives on the 12th of October, it was decided that "the fenny, low and late surrounded grounds of the great level . . . were both well and sufficiently drained." The allotment of 95,000 acres, less 40,000 acres, was accordingly made.

No mention is made of the 12,000 acres which were to be set apart for the King. Indeed the whole adjudication (continues Mr. S. B. J. Skerthby) is a most singular proceeding, for it is certain that the works executed did not fulfil their object and that the omission of the adjudication of the King's acres was not according to the *Lynn Law*, but it is rendered still more singular from the fact, that His Majesty's surveyor-general assisted in the work and yet allowed the royal rights to be infringed. [*Geology of the Fens*, 1877, p. 45.]

The Attorney-general and the Attorney of the Court of Wards reported that the decree of sewers relating to the 12,000 acres might be prejudicial to the king in point of tenure, so that the law was dead and fruitless. The petitioners prayed the King to assent to the decree and a grant of the lands in free and common socage, not *in capite* or by knight's service. An endorsement reads thus:—

His Majesty much desiring the perfection of this work and finding that notwithstanding the judgments above referred to, the same is so imperfectly performed that the country and His Majesty remain much unsatisfied therein, and knowing the great advantage that would redound if the said levels were made fit for culture, what the petitioners have refused to undertake, commands the Lord Treasurer, calling to his assistance the Attorney, Solicitor, and Surveyor-General, to certify which is fit to be done for perfecting the level which His Majesty desires and is resolved to accomplish.—Whitehall, 13th February 1637-8.

(3) THE FEN RIOTS.

The gross mismanagement of the operations, the regrettable competition amongst the adventurers and the frequent abandonment of works already commenced inflicted great losses upon the inhabitants of this district, and aggravated their anxiety for the future. Serious disturbances occurred in several villages because the people felt their

rights were being invaded and their livelihood endangered. The Privy Council therefore instructed Sir John Hare and Sir Thomas Dereham, justices of the peace for Norfolk, to punish those who opposed the Act of Sewers made at Lynn. His Majesty's special command was couched in these words:—"That you put in execution the Statute of Northampton, and that you imprison some of the offenders and bind over others amongst the more refractory and best able to attend this Board, providing by the most effectual means you can to quiet the country." (31st May 1637.)

At Wretton nine were accordingly bound in recognizances of £200 not to hinder the work. The next year Francis Parlett was favoured with the report of a meeting of the Queen's tenants at Walsoken and Walpole. They declined to treat with the commissioners appointed by the Queen to inquire respecting improvements in the drainage of the marshes in that neighbourhood, yet claimed common rights according to the custom in the respective manors (1638).

THE POOR AND NEEDY.

An exceptionally bad harvest increased trouble in 1630, for wheat (50s. per qr.), rye (36s.) and barley (30s.) were sold at double the prices charged two years previously. Throughout the whole kingdom excellent measures were devised to alleviate the sufferings of the poor. "Maltings were restrained; the brewers were not permitted to make, or the ale-house keepers to sell, strong beer. Stores of corn were collected in the towns and sold to the poor at less than market price; relief was given freely; public works were promoted; children whose parents were too poor to provide for them were apprenticed, and men who came into the country to buy up corn were driven away." (Mason.) From the justices' certificates forwarded to Francis Mapes, the county sheriff, we learn what was done in Lynn. Not only had the authorities supplied victuals, but provided the indigent with employment, thus "not suffering to their knowledge any poor to starve, or travel or beg in the streets." By means of private contributions adequate relief was given, so that there was no likelihood of complaint. Ten warders were regularly on duty during the day, and the night-watch was regulated by the Statute of Winchester. Drunkards, habitual loafers and disorderly ale-house keepers were fined; the sums forfeited being appropriated to the relief of the poor. Rogues and vagabonds were systematically whipped;* malt-houses were suppressed; and the streets and highways were surveyed and repaired "with such care as was convenient." These returns were signed by John Percival, the mayor, and Francis Parlett, the recorder.

In the hundreds of Freebridge Lynn, Freebridge Marshland and Clackclose, Sir John Hare, William Berners and our recorder certified that 250 children had been apprenticed to husbandmen and

* Two young women whose unwelcome children became chargeable to the parish, were whipped according to the law and custom of the borough," 14th April 1634. (Mason.)

artificers, and, moreover, that four maltsters only were now carrying on business

Here are a few extracts from our records:—

Itm giuen a poore . . . wch had a licence to receaue benevolence, xij d.

Itm giuen a prechers widdowe, whose husband was slain in Ireland, x s.

Itm giuen a poore man whose child had the Kinges Evell, ij s.

Itm giuen John Devorax, an Irishman who had Lres (letters) from the Councill, whose losse was £900, ij s. vj d. [C.W.A., St. N.]

In St. Margaret's "account," five, convicted of "drunkenness, contributed 26s. 4d.; whilst fourteen highly respectable parishioners subscribed £14 1s. 10d. with which twelve lads were apprenticed—the highest premium being £4, and the lowest 10s. To William White "a poore lad in Bridwell" was given sixteen pence. At a meeting of the parishioners after appointing overseers for each ward, the Mayor and justices elected Humfrey Ashe and Amos Goddard "overseers for ye poor of the p'ishe of Suth Lynne within the Burgh" (1632-3).

In consequence of an outbreak of plague, the mart was discontinued (1625). The wholesale traders of London, who frequented Lynn, petitioned the Privy Council praying that as the epidemic had abated in London and ceased in Lynn, their goods sent for the February fair might now be sold (January 1626). A recurrence of "the pestilent sickness" happened in 1636. The first to succumb was John Smith, the servant of William Read, who was buried the 27th of August 1636. Edmund Caston, junior, minister and preacher, was interred the 5th October. The annexed statistics are culled from St. Margaret's parish register; those dying of this dreadful disease are distinguished in the record by "p."

1636-7.	Plague.	Plague "pest house."	Deaths not marked "p."
August	1	—	10
September	21	3	30
October	23	5	31
November	12	2	21
December	4	4	9
January	6	6	12
February	2	1	13
March	3	1	14
April	6	0	13
	78	22	153

During the outbreak the Corporation engaged the services of Samuel Barron, to whom they paid £30. With this slight remuneration "the doctor of physic" was dissatisfied. What he considered commensurate with his attendances during the plague is not stated. The Council were, however, willing to pay him £70 more before next Lady Day (31st January 1639). How the dispute was settled is not clear, but the physician, the recorder and others, went to London to consult the Privy Council.

There was another visitation in 1645-6; twenty-two cases appear in the burial list of this parish, of which fifteen happened in May. The bells were rung the 14th of October—a thanksgiving day, because the plague had ceased in the kingdom.

THE KING'S NAVY.

The system of waylaying and forcing men to enter the King's service was a source of great vexation; many quitted their homes, and those who obeyed did so with undisguised reluctance. The numerical value of volunteers and "pressed" (or etymologically "ready") men is proverbial. Of the truth of this, Viscount Wimbeldon, to his utter dismay, was conscious, when he set out with eighty vessels against Spain (1625). With his crew were seventy kidnapped from Lynn and thirty from Wells, all sullen, taciturn fellows, far more willing to return than to face the foe. The expedition proved a gloomy failure; the sailors permitted the enemy's vessels to escape from Cadiz, whilst the soldiers, sent ashore to begin the land attack, coolly invested the wine-cellars, from whence they emerged incapably drunk.

When an armament was necessary to defend the Norfolk coast against pirates, the unpleasant task of impressing was entrusted to Thomas Miller (otherwise Milner), a justice of the peace for our borough. The system, as will be seen, was open to grave abuses. Certain men whom Miller impressed he afterwards freed from their obligations, and induced others totally unfitted to take their places. He was cited to appear before the Lords of the Admiralty to answer serious charges preferred against him (9th May 1635). John Howson, Christopher Addington and Jeffrey Dobbin (or Dobbs), seamen belonging to the *James*, whom Miller apparently "cleared," were strictly examined (11th May), as were also John Davis (*alias* Dawes), Thomas Hambleton, Thomas Woodes and Richard Secker, persons physically unfit for service, who were, nevertheless, impressed.

Sir Henry Palmer, who went on board to muster the company, observed a lad named Howson. Upon inquiry, Sir Henry learnt he was a glover, a home-faring youth who had never been to sea, and that he had been persuaded to take the place of an able seaman on board the King's ship for five shillings. Similar admissions were made by Christopher Addington and Jeffrey Dobbin (17th May). After being in the custody of one of the King's messengers for ten days, Miller forwarded a petition praying that his defence might be heard at once, or that his examination might be referred to the Commissioners (28th May). Two days afterwards the Officers of the Navy reported the result of their inquiry to the Admiralty. The accused denied impressing inefficient men, and bitterly complained because the charges against him were injurious; he could not, however, deny that he released some who were masters of ships, "and purposely prested as a punishment for conveying their men out of the way." The report concludes: "He cannot free him from just blame, but he protested that his future diligence to advance His

Majesty's Service should be his aim to redeem any error by him committed."

Thomas Miller was mayor in 1628; he died during his second term of office in 1638. The following entry relates to this person:—
 "1620.—Paid to Tho. Miller to answer a citacon for the churchwardens (of St. Nicholas) at Norwich . . . xij d. paid more to him for chardge of dismissinge the Court . . . iiij s. iiij d."
 [C. W. A.]

SHIP-MONEY.

The commencement of the nation's trouble arose through the levying of a tax, termed ship-money, which in several parts of the kingdom was considered unjust. Writs were directed to the sheriffs of every county, directing them to provide a thoroughly-equipped and well-victualled war-ship, which was to be at a specified place by a certain date. Each sheriff was also informed *sub rosa*, how "instead of a ship he might levy upon his county such a sum, and return the same to the treasurer of the navy for his use." Besides, he was instructed how to proceed against those who refused to pay. Thus for several years a sum of £200,000 poured into the King's ever unrepentant coffer. A crisis was imminent; Charles and his subjects were slowly approaching the crossways.

The assessment of the five corporate boroughs in Norfolk was first settled at a joint meeting of their respective magistrates; afterwards, the remainder of the money required was apportioned to the various hundreds. For comparison, the ship-money returns covering three years are given:—

Corporate Boroughs, &c.	1635-6	1637-8	1638-9
Norwich	£740	£400	£150
Great Yarmouth	220	220	80
KING'S LYNN	300	200	72
Thetford	30	30	12
Rising	10	10	4
The County Hundreds	6,700	6,940	2,382
NORFOLK (Total)	£8,000	£7,800	£2,700

1635-6.—The citizens of Norwich strongly objected to an assessment of £740, and petitioned the Privy Council (19th September), pointing out how in general musters they were invariably assessed at something under one-fifteenth and not at so excessive a rate as one-tenth. They were quite willing to contribute, at the usual rate, the sum of £496, leaving the county to raise £6,944. There was much cavilling, too, among the people at Lynn about their £300 assessment. The subject was debated at a general meeting of the county magistrates. Those belonging to Norwich and Thetford were in favour of a reduction of £50, whilst those of Yarmouth and Rising generously advocated an easement of £100, but in the end they assented with the others to £50 only. The sheriff of the county, William Paston, of Appleton, cruelly insisted that Lynn

could well afford the whole, notwithstanding the admitted poverty of the place, brought about by the terrible ravages of the plague, and the serious decline in trade through the loss of many ships. In reply to his unfavourable comments, the Privy Council urged him to get in the full amount as pre-arranged, although the borough was then £312 in arrears (11th July 1635).

1637-8.—A demand was made upon the county for £7,800. Sir Francis Norley presided at the magistrates' assembly held in the Gild Hall, Norwich, when the proportionate payments already stated were fixed. Clergymen were now compelled to pay upon their ecclesiastical as well as their temporal estates. Prior to this assessment the burgesses of Lynn "having paid £250 and been always ready to perform anything commanded for the King's service, prayed for the mitigation of £250 *de futuro*." At a later date, the chapel-reeves recouped the tenants from whom the collectors had taken the tax. For example:—

1642-3: paid George Bonne of Gaywood att twoo sev'all tymes for the 400,000 li. subsidy for the Lands in Gaywood.	00 : 09 : 2
paid Mr. John Barrett one of the Collectors for Association mony and for $\frac{1}{4}$ p't of the 400,000 li. as by his receipt appeare for the Chappell lands and howses in Lynne	00 : 14 : 10 $\frac{1}{2}$
paid ffancis Dawson to Thomas Revett, Collect'r, for the Moyetie p't of the 400,000 li. for Paradize gardyn ij s. And to an other, for the same before, other ij s.	00 : 04 : 0
paid John Bellerby Sub Collector for the second moyetie of the 400,000 li. and p't of the first moyetie the rest	00 : 07 : 10
paid to Widowe Singleton wch she paid to wards the said Subsidy for the Tenem't she lyveth in	00 : 02 : 02
1643-4: paid to George Browne the 24th of June 1643 for the $\frac{1}{4}$ p't of the assessm't of 400,000 li. assessed vpon the Lands in Gaywood	00 : 02 : 3 $\frac{1}{2}$
paid Cuthbert Champney 26 of June for the howses in Jewes Lane Ward]	00 : 02 : 2

[Many similar entries.]

1644-5: paid the 21th of January 1644 to Lionell Goldsmorth and Stephen Sandey for the first vj monethes for and towards the maynteyninge of the Brittanesh Armye in Ireland begun the j of September 1644 for the Lands in Gaywood
 00 : 01 : 11 |

[Many Irish refugees relieved.]

1642-50: P'd to Thomas Symmes for 12 monethes assessm't (for his ground) to Thomas Lord flairefaxe
 00 : 04 : 08 |

[C.W.A., St. N.]

1638-9.—The difficulty of raising enormous sums was now felt worse than ever. John Buxton, the sheriff of Norfolk, admitted when writing to Edward Nicholas, the clerk of the Privy Council, that upon his credit, as an honest man, the work was so extremely trying that he must have sunk under the burden if he had not been graciously supported. Because of the severity he had been forced to use, he was regarded as the most odious and despicable man in the county. At the same time he paid the treasurer £200 squeezed from the people of Lynn, who could, from bitter experience, give indisputable evidence of his callous persistence.

The impossibility of filching further large sums from the inhabitants of Norfolk was at last recognised, yet was another ship-of-war of 450 tons burden demanded, which was to cost £5,500.

The amount was to be raised by two counties instead of one; Suffolk £2,800, and Norfolk £2,700. The vessel was to be ready and at Portsmouth by the 15th of March 1638-9. The proportional payments were determined at a meeting convened by Augustine Holl, the sheriff of the county, and John Toly, the mayor of Norwich. To comply with these exorbitant enactments the authorities resorted to measures, which may at first sight seem rather discreditable. Unwilling for any fish to escape the net, they tried to abstract mulctuary payment from Sir William Heyrick, of Beaumanor, in Leicestershire. In May 1635 he and his wife visited Lynn, lodging first at John Wharton's and afterwards with Captain Hovell. The weather being tempestuous in September, and travelling across the fens quite impracticable, at great inconvenience they were compelled to prolong their stay. Sir William Heyrick owned no land in Norfolk, and had always been assessed by William Shuttlewood for the hundred of West Goscote towards providing ships for Leicestershire. But now the Lynn collector demanded payment, which was stubbornly refused. On the 13th of October Sir William was ordered by warrant to meet the Privy Council. Being seventy-five years of age, and physically unfit to undertake at that season a journey of eighty miles, he wrote a respectful letter "to the sacred board," which his son, who was willing upon oath to justify his father's assertions, presented. And here the current fails and we are left in the dark, only expressing a hope that the brave old gentleman, who resisted the unscrupulous claim from Lynn, escaped scot-free.

A MYSTERIOUS DOCUMENT.

was picked up by Robert Symmes in one of our streets near the house in which Sir Thomas Coventry lodged. It was dated from Gray's Inn, London, and was addressed by "Your country's friend, A.B." to "all English freeholders," and tended to withdraw people's hearts from agreeing to any payment of the loan demanded by the King. Not only did it insist upon the great danger of recklessly establishing a precedent, but revealed the names of many noblemen, who, as was asserted, refused to pay. This dangerous missive was carried to Thomas Grinnell, the mayor; he at once despatched the finder with it to Lord Keeper Coventry (23rd February 1627). On the 25th, Secretary Conway, writing from Newmarket, instructed the Mayor to strive to discover the author. The loan required from Lynn had already been paid in, and the defaulters reported.

PARLIAMENTARY NOTES.

On the 13th of March 1639, the Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council elected two senior aldermen—Thomas Gurlin and William Doughty—to represent the town in what was afterwards termed "the Short Parliament." It was, moreover, decided that for their services each should receive 5s. a day, as much as was paid to the representatives of Cambridge. The next year a courteous letter was addressed to the Council by Charles Villiers, Earl of Arundel, the Lord General, humbly requesting that one of the members for the next Parliament

should be a person whom he might nominate. It was, however, unanimously agreed to accept none other than those "resident and inhabiting within the Corporation" (12th October 1640).

Wages at the usual rate of "fyve shillings a piece for every daye" was eliminated from our expenditure when Sir John Hare was returned (1627), though it recurs in 1639. The payment was formally voted, but the severe drain upon the town's resources precluded any likelihood of fulfilment. On the 2nd of January 1643 the Assembly considered an order from the House of Commons (dated the 15th October 1642), asking them to "pay and allowe out of the Towne Stock as formerly, unto John Percevall (otherwise Percival) and Thomas Toll their Burgesses For this present (that is 'the Long') Parliament as lardge an allowance *per diem* as they have heretofore allowed any of their Aldermen that hath bene Burgesses in Parliament for that towne, Notwithstandinge the Freemen of that towne had their voyces in the choice of John Percevall and Tho. Toll. If the Mayor of Lynne can shew any cause to the country we shalbe ready to heare him." Whereupon the municipal body requested Edmund Hudson the mayor, Miles Corbet the recorder, William Doughty the ex-member, William Leake and John May to concoct a suitable reply. On this occasion, be it noted, the burgesses at large shared in the Parliamentary election—a procedure "resented by the superior people of the town as an offensive novelty and a dangerous intrusion on the ancient privileges of *the House*." (Jearesson.)

In their answer (3rd January) the Council tried to evade these pecuniary obligations by making excuses. The Parliament was not yet ended, and, as men of business, they were not in the habit of paying for work before it was done. Besides, to be honest, was there any prospect of their ever paying? The extraordinary expense incurred through providing for the safety of the town and the kingdom had long since crippled their resources. Moreover, whenever their members were remunerated the money was not taken from the town's stock; nor was it, they might have added, furnished by themselves, the Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council, who arrogated to themselves the *sole* right of election, but by the freemen and inhabitants with whom they were terribly offended.

The Assembly besought the Commons to issue a writ when John Percival died (1644), so that his place might be filled, but the House refused to accede (8th December 1645). A letter was next sent to Miles Corbet, who was in London, asking him to use his influence, because the town, as was generally believed, was suffering for want of another member (15th February 1646). Ultimately a writ was obtained, and Edmund Hudson duly elected. As he was chosen by the freeholders of the borough, there is no record of his election in the Hall Books. The Commons were displeased, and promptly decided that the new member was disqualified from serving through delinquencies against the Parliament, in "having assisted at the rising of Lynn." Edmund Hudson was therefore dismissed (5th

July 1647), and a fresh writ for another election issued. It was, nevertheless, suspended, so that the recalcitrant borough might be mortified by contemplating a vacant chair. Alderman Thomas Toll retained his seat until the dramatic dissolution of the "Long Parliament" (20th April 1653); he was, however, joined by William Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, who was elected (8th September 1649) to fill the vacancy caused by the decease of John Percival.

ECCLESIALIA.

As a new bell was necessary at St. Nicholas' chapel, Thomas Draper was asked to meet Messrs. Groome, Thomas Revett, Michael Revett and the churchwardens, who represented the parishioners. After careful deliberation and an expenditure of one shilling and ten pence in refreshment, a bargain was struck. For £6 the founder agreed to recast the bell and pay the carriage to and from Thetford. If the new bell, however, weighed less than the metal which was supplied, the founder was to allow eightpence per lb. as rebate (1626). Accordingly the old (it may be cracked) bell was removed from the belfry (5s.) and drawn to the crane upon the Common Staith (8d.), whilst porters brought the scales and weights (1s.). The bell, weighing 13 cwt. 3 stone 4 lbs., was next lowered into the boat (1s.) and was carried up the river *viâ* Brandon Ferry to the Thetford foundry, where it was broken and carefully recast. Afterward being brought back, it was reweighed (1s. 4d.) and found to scale 2 lbs. less than 13 cwt. Bernes the smith having made the necessary ironwork (2s. 6d.), the bell was hauled up the tower (8d.) and placed in position (5s.).

The sonorous booming of the new bell yielded satisfaction, and Thomas Draper was asked to come and receive his pay. He was entertained at a supper (9s. 10d.) by the Rev. Richard Emmett "the preacher," Thomas Revett, Michael Revett, Mr. Wharton and "myself"—the writer to whom we are indebted. The whole transaction was an amicable one—John Draper receiving £4 6s. 8d., that is £6, less £1 12s. 4d., the deduction for 48½ lbs. of metal, at 8d. per lb.

The Bishop of Norwich, Samuel Harsnet, visited Lynn soon after his installation (1620), and again when the font, at last granted (£3 11s.) to the chapel of St. Nicholas, was consecrated (1627). This font, the one at present in use, was carved by Edward Coverstoun of Tyllney (£13 11s.). The chapel-reeves, who went to see how the work was progressing (10s.) were so delighted with the design—"a singular struggle between the Gothic and Renaissance periods" (Beloe), that in the end they paid the sculptor ten shillings more than his agreement, "as he did deserve." For the stone upon which the font rested 5s. was paid, for a chalders of lime and the carriage of the font 6s. 8d., for mason's work 20s. 10d., and to Beany, who lined the cavity with lead, 26s. 8d. An ornate cover was carved by Gooderman Shawe (33s. 4d.), its two "ryngles" cost 1s. 3d., whilst a table upon which the cover might be placed was also provided (9s.). The whole undertaking therefore amounted to

£23 4s. 9d. The present cover, designed by Mr. Olrid Scott as a replica of the one just mentioned, was presented by Mr. E. M. Beloe (1902).

The ministers of the town, namely, John Horne, Edmund Almond, Thomas Hoogan, Nicholas Toll and Thomas Leech, who were then dependent upon the Corporation for their stipends, placed a petition before the Town Council, the gist of which is not apparent. As the nature of their communication was couched in "dark sentences and words not well understood," they were asked to meet the Council and explain their meaning (9th December 1646).

AN ENGLISH NUNNERY AT LISBON.

The appearance of a quarto pamphlet, "published by authoritie," created a sensation—the Puritans in Lynn being considerably shocked, because it was dedicated to the mayor, Thomas Gurlin, and his aldermanic brethren, and was, moreover, as we suspect, written by a native of the town. Entitled—*The Anatomie of the English Nunnery at Lisbon . . . dissected and laid open by one that was sometime a younger Brother of the Convent*, etc., it was printed in London by G. Purslowe for R. Mylbourne and P. Stephens (1622). A second edition—"To be sould by R. Milbourne and P. Stephens,"—was published the next year.

The author, Thomas Robinson, was a mariner, who, having "often occasion to travel beyond the sea," became acquainted, when at Lisbon, with Joseph Foster, an English friar. Father Seth, by which name the friar was better known, employed Robinson for some time as secretary, and having deprived him of ordinary apparel, tried to induce him to become a mass-priest. Despising the subtle entreaties of the friar, the hardy son of Neptune contrived to escape and to publish certain revelations, which, if true, reflected discreditably upon the character of the inmates. Among the many "reliques" the nuns possessed, reference must be made to a piece of the old Tyburn gallows, "which the Jesuites stole away out of England, because," as Robinson declares, "it had been honoured by so many of their brethren, which is had in little lesse esteeme then the holy crosse, for (they say) as the Master died on that, so his disciples died vpon this; and these are all set in siluer and richly adorned." Besides the father confessor, two priests and a "familiar," or lay brother, there were thirty-two sisters—of whom 27 were English, 3 Portuguese and 2 Dutch.

That the Robinsons of Lynn belonged to the sea-faring, mercantile class there can be no doubt. The surname is common enough. For instance, Thomas Robinson, a merchant, the eldest son of Thomas Robinson, deceased, obtained his freedom (1647); a Thomas Robinson was mayor (1667). Edward Robynson, apprenticed to John Berners, a ship-master, was awarded his freedom (1611). Many other Robinsons appear in the list of freemen, but whether the aforesaid Thomas Robinson, the author (1622), was the freeman (1647) and the mayor (1667), who will say?

Reviewing the names of the inmates which the writer gives, we note:—Lucy and Briget Browne, the daughters of Sir Anthony Browne, Viscount Montacute; also Anne Wharton, “the treasuress” of the institution. This Sir Anthony Browne was the grandson of Anthony Browne, who was created Viscount Montacute (1554). That this family was connected with our town seems clear, because their arms were among those emblazoned in the lantern of St. Margaret’s church. The arms, too, of Captain John Wharton, who defended Lynn against the Cromwellian forces, were also once exhibited in the same building. William Wharton was mayor (1663), and we are tempted to believe that Anne Wharton, a resident at the English nunnery at Lisbon, was a relative.

About this period there was a college of English Jesuits at Seville, where a Norfolk man, Thomas Hunt, was a secular priest. Sent upon a mission to England, he was imprisoned in Wisbech castle, from whence he escaped, but was recaptured and executed (1600). Daniel Platt, *alias* Needham, another Jesuit missionary, laboured in Lynn (1749).

Without placing too much faith in a sailor’s yarn, we think there might be some connection between Lynn and the English sisterhood in Portugal.

LOCAL EVENTS.

1626, March 27. The Corporation submitted circumstances to the Privy Council, tending to shew that the nation is not bound to provide for Michael Gabe, a poor soldier taken by the press and reported to have been wounded in the Low Countries whilst serving under Count Mansfeld, because his hurt was not received in the king’s service.

1626, July 9, Whitehall. Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, writing to Sir Francis Nethersole, states that in a codfish caught at Lynn was found a copy of the *Preparatio ad Crucem* written *temp.* Henry VIII.

1627. A regiment of four hundred Irish soldiers was drafted into Norfolk. Half were billeted in Norwich, whilst one hundred were sent to Yarmouth and one hundred to Lynn (19th March 1627). In July the county was ordered to raise 250 footmen, of whom 25 were to be provided by Norwich, but the citizens refused to send more than one-fifteenth of the number. Seventeen men were sent accordingly to Hull, *via* Lynn, to join the expedition under the Duke of Buckingham to succour the Protestants of Rochelle.

1635. The Vicar-general, Sir Nathaniel Brent, conducted a visitation. He was at Norwich April 6th, 7th and 8th, Swaffham 10th, Lynn 13th, Fakenham 15th and Yarmouth 17th.

1636-7. The divisions of the county were defined. The Commissioners of the Peace for Lynn were Sir William Yelverton, Robert Bacon and Robert Walpole. The information was not agreeably received. The first of the commissioners died about four years before, and the others, though formerly commissioners, were never sworn, and had ceased to act for some time.

1636-7. The Justices of the Peace reported that, among the rogues punished in Freebridge—Lynn and Marshland, were divers persons from Scotland and Ireland, who were afterwards conveyed to their respective countries.

1636-7. An important action at law happened. His Majesty's Attorney-general, and Joseph Gallard, the Recorder-general for Nottingham and Derby, were plaintiffs, whilst the mayor, Joshua Greene, the Burgesses of Lynn, and Christopher Dix, were defendants.

1638, April 4. Owing to the great scarcity of coals in London, the masters and owners were commanded to despatch their ships to Newcastle, where they were to take a full lading at the present prices, to return to the Thames, and to sell the same at 19s. a London chaldron, for this voyage only.

1638-9. Lynn was engaged in carrying timber for the navy. The justices of the peace for the county were instructed by the Lords of the Admiralty to arrange for the transport of 800 loads of timber for the frame of "the ship royal the *Prince*"; 500 loads were to be conveyed from Boddendam Woods (Bodham, near Holt) to Lynn, and 300 loads from Sir Miles Hobart's land to Norwich. Teams for the carriage thereof were to be paid 5d. per mile (31st May 1638); also for the removal of 300 oaks marked for the King's service, in the parish of West Bradingham (near East Dereham). The trees were to be immediately conveyed at the usual rate to the water-side at Lynn, from whence they were to be shipped to Chatham (2nd March 1639).

CHAPTER XXVII.

For King or Country?

As it is quite impracticable to describe minutely the development of the varying causes which brought about a disastrous civil war, we are compelled to assume that the reader is conversant with the trend of national events during this exciting period.

The Queen, Henrietta, the daughter of Henry IV. of France, was a firm Roman Catholic, and Archbishop Laud, a primate with greater zeal than discretion; there was, besides, a tendency in the Church of England towards a more reverent and decorous form of worship. Hence an alarming panic against Popery was engendered, which grew so intolerant and fierce that the slightest provocation threatened to fan it into flame. A strong militant fanaticism which pervaded the Parliament contributed not a little to the terrible catastrophe which ensued.

IN THY NAME.

Early in 1642 the progress of Parliamentary business was seriously hindered by the number of petitions against the influence of "corrupt and scandalous ministers." To investigate these grievances the House resolved itself into more than forty committees. A petition

was forwarded from Lynn, and under what has been stigmatised as a "pretence of neutrality," our Corporation began to put the town into a condition of military defence, for the preservation of its religious liberty and for its better security against foreign invasion. The gates were provided with new drawbridges, and the warders, who guarded the entrances, were strictly cautioned to admit none of the loafing, semi-military adventurers who swarmed the country.

Towards midsummer the volunteers of Boston, Bury St. Edmunds, and other places, were being instructed in the use of arms, ostensibly to resist the aggression of a foreign foe, whilst Captain Slaney was busy drilling "the trained bands" (horse and foot) recently organised at Lynn. Mindful of the strategic importance of our borough and the value of its stock of gunpowder, Parliament ordered special vigilance to be observed, lest the place should unwittingly fall into the enemy's hands. Charles was at this time engaged in raising subsidies, and the burgesses, imbued with loyal patriotism, generously subscribed £100 in money and plate. Later, the Council paid John Percival and Alderman Nicholas Maxey, the treasurers of the Parliamentary committee, a similar sum of £100, as a loan already promised (18th November).

A ship from Holland sailed into a creek near Skegness and landed five heavy trunks, on Tuesday the 29th of August 1642. The cavaliers, surmising they contained arms, seized the vessel and threatened to invest Boston. To help the Bostonians in their distress the people of Lynn, who had recently received some brass cannon on loan, and exchanged their stock of old powder for new, sent over a thousand volunteers and five pieces of ordnance.

Thomas Toll arrived the 24th of October with important orders; the town was to be put into a state of military efficiency, and the authorities were warned not to admit any vagrant soldiers without express permission from Parliament. Our members, Messrs. Percival and Toll, accompanied by Francis Parlett and William Leek, are next found attending a special meeting at Norwich, convened by the deputy-lieutenants of the county, "for consulting and considering of some speedy course to be taken for the trained bands of horse and foot to be fitted in a readiness to oppose foreigne forces much feared to be sodainly landed in some parts of the Coastes of Norfolke, Suffolke and Essex" (5th November). Greater attention was to be observed at Lynn, and although much needed in the city, the cannon, borrowed from Norwich, were retained, for the use of which one-third of our sequestration money was to be paid. To further strengthen our hands, seventy-two soldiers, impressed in the city, were sent to Lynn (8th). A few days later the Corporation selected officers, and began a thorough reorganisation of the borough forces, "soe that they might be fitted for the defence of the kinge and kingdom upon one howers warnynge" (11th).

Though striving to protect themselves against the movements of an imaginary foe, the greatest secrecy was observed by the burgesses. Their right hand must be perfectly ignorant of the manipulations of their left. The captain of the volunteers, cautioned to make no

display of military strength, was to impart instruction to the raw recruits in the Artillery yard within the borough, and not in the adjacent meadows. Neither the volunteers nor the trained bands were to parade in public, nor go "in soldierly fashion," beyond the bounds of the town. Armed with a recommendatory certificate from the deputy-lieutenants, the Assembly boldly petitioned the Commons for ten pieces of ordnance, and for an allowance of £500 out of moneys already advanced by the townsfolk, in order that the fortifications might be finished (12th December). The next week Francis Parlett and William Leek were again in Norwich, so that "a mutual correspondence and communication of all affairs and intervening passages, tending to the good and safety as well of the county as of this town, might be signified by the lieutenants to Mr. Mayor, before the determinate resolution by them of any act to be performed."

On behalf of himself and Thomas Toll, John Percival delivered the subscription money, £525 15s. 6d., collected within the borough, which, after being carefully "numbered," or counted, was placed in the town coffer to be used according to the terms of a previous resolution (30th December).

THE BONDS OF UNITY.

An important federation was formed in the eastern part of the kingdom, which embraced the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Hertfordshire, and Cambridgeshire, to which Huntingdonshire, and lastly Lincolnshire, were subsequently added. The object of the Eastern Counties' Association was to secure peace in this particular district. "It was one great historic unity, which was destined to keep its own borders free from the worst evil of civil war and to furnish these stout sinews of war which carried the parliamentary victory on in other fields." (Kingston.) * The proceedings of this coöperative movement, regulated by an Act of the 16th of January, 1643, and another passed the next year, were to provide money for the maintenance of forces (14th May 1644). The preamble of the last of these statutes relating to "the Seven Associated Counties" is too startling a literary curiosity to be lightly thrown aside:—

Whereas, the counties [aforesaid] out of their loyal respect to his Majesty, their pious disposition to Peace and Happiness in this Kingdom, in obedience to the orders of Parliament, have raised and maintained to the number of Fourteen thousand horse, Foot and Dragoons or thereabouts and with them within five moneths last past have done many services against the Common Enemy and tending much to the safety of the kingdom. They have bought many arms and much ammunition, but want a train of artillery; they have established several garrisons, erected fortifications, magazines, &c., in different parts, and are greatly in debt; money is therefore urgently needed to sustain the movement and to advance the public safety.

Oliver Cromwell, in whom may be recognised the future Lord Protector of the Commonwealth, became the leader of the disaffected. He had been a farmer and a grazier at St. Ives, a collector of the tithes and a charity trustee; and by stubbornly opposing the proposed schemes for draining the surrounding marshes he grew so popular

* Read *East Anglia and the Great Civil War*, by Alfred Kingston, F.R. Hist. S. (1897).

with the fenmen that they styled him "the Lord of the Fens." Returned as member for Cambridge, he accepted a colonelcy in the Parliamentary army. The safety of Cambridge, which he selected as his headquarters, was entrusted to him, from whence he struck out with his horsemen in whatever directions the Royalists threatened. His movements were as uncertain as the wind; he appeared when least expected, sometimes at Norwich, sometimes at Yarmouth, sometimes at Lynn.

1643: AN EVENTFUL YEAR.

The large estates of the Earl of Arundel at Castle Rising, South Wootton and elsewhere in the neighbourhood had been denuded of timber for the minor defences, but the work at the fortifications, in the hands of an expert engineer named Christian, was at a standstill for lack of funds. In this dilemma, remembering what untold sacrifices the town had made to pay the exorbitant, ever-recurring "Parliament rate," the Corporation felt justified in applying, as before recounted, for a grant to help in finishing the undertaking. From John Percival's letter we learn exactly what happened.

They (the Commons) fell in the end to consider how to get money for their present and urgent occasions, and then they came to say there was much money to come from Norfolk and some from Lynn. I took occasion [the writer continues] to tell them what I had received in plate and money upon the propositions and what plate was sent up and what money was ready to be sent up [$\pounds 525/15/6$], and what we had begun to do according to their command touching the fortifying the town, and what a great deal of money that has already cost and would cost to finish it, and delivered in your petition; and it was presently ordered we should have $\pounds 400$ out of the said money towards our fortifications, and I believe I had got $\pounds 500$ had not a member of the House that Mr. Robinson and Mr. Kirby (aldermen) spake with stood up and said that they said $\pounds 400$ would content them, or words to that effect (11th January 1643).

Cromwell, at the head of 1,000 horse, set out from Cambridge on Sunday the 12th of March for Lowestoft, where, as he learnt, there was "a great confederacy amongst the malcontents." He entered the town, after a very narrow escape of being captured, and, having subdued the rising, returned to Norwich with his prisoners on Friday (17th March). Hurriedly despatching the Lowestoft captives under an armed escort to Cambridge, he allowed himself one night's rest and a few hours on Sunday to attend service; then, as the evening twilight deepened, he and his brave troopers mounted their horses and were soon galloping Lynn-ward, "because the malevolents began to raise combustions there, and to declare themselves against Parliament." On Monday morning the 20th of March, Cromwell and his men entered by the East Gates; he promptly disarmed the "malignant" burgesses, secured the town and seized a small barque, with arms from Dunkirk, then at anchor in the harbour.

Before quitting Norwich, Cromwell wrote to Thomas Gurlin, the mayor, apprising him of his intention. The Mayor immediately replied, courteously offering hospitality to the colonel and his equipage. At a meeting of the Town Council on Monday, Gurlin's action was agreeably confirmed, and he, at a later date, received $\pounds 5$ from the borough fund to defray the cost of the entertainment (17th April).

Leaving the town, as he thought, in a satisfactory condition, Cromwell was surprised a week later at the arrival in Cambridge of a deputation, comprising John Spelman, deputy-lieutenant, Alderman Edmund Hudson and two members of the Common Council, namely, William Williams and Jonas Skott. They were the bearers of a letter from the Assembly "much purporting the peace of the town and the general peace of the King and Parliament." Having obtained a written answer from the doughty colonel, they were, after being joined by our recorder and Walter Kirby, to proceed at the town's expense to the Parliament. The urgency of their mission brooked no delay. The specific nature of this complaint is not given, but trouble was by no means over in Lynn. As Alderman Hudson received £4 12s. 3d. for their expenses to Cambridge, it might be concluded that the deputation, seeing the futility of their negotiations, went no further (27th March).

About this time the Commons decided that the inhabitants of Norfolk should contribute £1,250 every week for their use. The assessment comprised these items:—

The City of Norwich with the Liberty of Christchurch	...	£53	0	0
Great Yarmouth	... ..	34	16	5
KING'S LYNN	... ..	27	11	10
Thetford	... ..	5	11	9
The rest of the County	... ..	1,129	0	0
		<hr/>		
March 31st, 1643.		£1250		
		<hr/>		

Through the near approach of the Royalists under William Cavendish of Kimbolton, Earl of Newcastle, Lynn was believed to be in imminent danger (1st April). It was thereupon agreed that Sergeant-major Livewell Sherwood should proceed with his company of volunteers in order to retain a place of such vital importance. "Captain" Sherwood, at the head of a hundred dragoons, marched from Norwich on "Easter day" (2nd April). The next day, Monday, the detachment approached the town by St. Catherine's wall, and Sherwood demanded admission at the East Gate.

In the mean time, Sir Hamon Le Strange, of Hunstanton, a veteran sixty years of age, had been chosen governor of the borough. He was a pronounced Royalist, and the Mayor, influenced by what he said and acting at his instigation, refused to raise the drawbridge and unfasten the gate. Seeing that any effort to cross the moat and scale the wall would be fruitless, the captain, after threatening to report Thomas Gurlin and the defiant people of Lynn to the Association, wheeled his men to the right-about and departed. Arriving in Norwich the following day, Sherwood was paid £20 for the services rendered by his men at Lowestoft, where Sir John Pettus and Sir Edward Barker and others vainly endeavoured to start a counter association on behalf of the King. It was here, the courageous men of Norwich rescued Colonel Cromwell from the clutches of the Royalists. The Parliamentary committee at Norwich now thought it advisable to strengthen the garrison at Wisbech, commanded by

Colonel Palgrave. It was therefore arranged for Sir Miles Hobart and Sir John Palgrave to have two pieces of brass ordnance, with their carriages, and two dozen bullets (10th April).

For some time strangers had been flocking into Lynn. In a letter to Sir John Lambe, when Newcastle was beleaguered, William Roane says: "Northern news are very various, but most certain it is that 500 families are come to Lynn from Newcastle." This he it remembered was in 1640, and year by year the kingdom was growing more and more unsettled. At length the mayor and aldermen (the common council being once more ignored) forwarded a summary of their troubles to Miles Corbet, of Sprowston, near Norwich, a member of the County Committee and chairman of the Committee for Information, asking him to use his influence in obtaining an order authorising the Mayor to examine all strangers who had recently invaded the borough and any who might in future come, and that if he suspected any among them of being "malignants" or in favour of the King, he might, with the concurrence of his fellow justices, apprehend or eject such unwelcome intruders (5th May). Corbet, however, failed in getting the coveted order, as is clear from a paragraph in the Hall Book under the 7th August, which will be transcribed in the proper place.

Ignorant of the action the Corporation had just taken, the Royalist news-letter, *Civicus Aulicus*, boldly announced how at length our borough had declared "for the King" (13th May). The statement was premature and inaccurate, because to accentuate the inhabitants' sympathy with the propaganda of the Association the Assembly actually desired Thomas Gurlin to invite the deputy-lieutenants to dinner one day every week at the town's charge (26th May).

Apprehensive that "the Popish northern army" might attempt a passage through Lincolnshire and Norfolk, fresh orders were issued to strengthen the fortifications. Now, there was a powerful enemy in the camp, who laughed when the behest of the Association was obeyed. Surely the burgesses were imperceptibly nearing the parting in the road; the tension between the King and the Commons could not continue much longer. Hence, on the 10th of July the committee of the six counties determined to raise not only £2,500, but 2,000 more men, thus:—

Eastern Counties' Association.	Men.	£
Norfolk	528	660
Suffolk	480	600
Essex	480	600
Hertfordshire	160	200
Cambridgeshire	160	200
Huntingdonshire	80	100
Isle of Ely	80	100
Norwich	32	40
Total	2,000	£2,500

Alarmed lest another influx of suspicious strangers might prejudice the Corporation in the eyes of the Parliamentary Association, the following passage is entered in the Hall Book :—

Whereas in these dangerous [times] it is informed to this House that not only a great companie are now come into this burgh, but that an overmultitude of such strangers will suddenly pester the said burgh ; it is therefore ordered and thought meete by the maior, recorder, aldermen and common counsell heer present that generall and spetiall notis shalbe given to all and everi howshoulders and inhabitants of this burgh that henceforth they receive not, or presume to entertaine into their howses any person or persons whatsoever, before first they acquaint Mr. Maior with their purpose in that behalfe and therin receive his direction : and in the meane time it is further thought meet and so ordered that this matter, now in debate before us, shalbe communicated by Mr. Maior unto the Committee of Parliament to be assembled one (on) the morrowe next within this borough to the end that such further course may be taken in the premises, as thereby no hurt or hinderance may happen to our Assotiation latly made, with and concerninge the parts adjacent to the said burgh, touching ther entertainment therin for ther and our better saffetie in these times of danger (7th August).

It was then reported, how the Royalists were approaching Norwich ; the castle was immediately invested with soldiers and a message sent to Cromwell (12th August). The enemy turned out to be certain treacherous friends, who were repulsed on Sunday 13th by Captain Poe, and again on the 18th when the Parliamentary lieutenant and three men were taken prisoners by troops from Lynn ! Again was it rumoured that the borough had decided in favour of King Charles. The next day, William Leek, an influential burgess, through some unexplained offence, was compelled to enter into a recognizance to John Hunt, the sergeant-at-arms, for £500 ; probably he was the leader of the detachment from Lynn, because he appeared before the Committee of Examinations, who accorded him liberty to return to Lynn for a fortnight on condition of his appearing before them at the expiration of the time or upon further summons. If he did this the bond would be cancelled, otherwise it would remain in force.

Whether through fear of the King or the Association—or the much-magnified foreign foe—it would be hard to say, but the Assembly were sure it was expedient for all the lanes leading to the water side to be “paled up with deale bordes.” Doors, however, were provided “to be locked up all night longe and stand open all day longe.” A sub-committee (Messrs. Simans, Wharton and Skott, of the Common Council, with Alderman Robinson and the borough chamberlains) was chosen to superintend the work. The town’s stock of slightly-deteriorated gunpowder was sent to London to be exchanged for new (21st August). The next day King Charles raised the Royal Standard at Nottingham.

(1) GOD SAVE THE KING.

Force of circumstances at last compelled the people of Lynn to take sides in the internecine conflict just starting. For months they had been playing “fast and loose,” and now they could vacillate no longer. Notwithstanding their decision, the spirit which prompted

our forefathers to petition Parliament against "the Popish party" was not dead; in a measure it was quieted and subdued by goodwill and friendship for their influential neighbours, who rushed to the town for safety. Long had the hesitant mayor been "struggling at desperate odds," but the climax was reached when he and the justices of the peace were strictly ordered to send Sir Hamon Le Strange, knight, and his two sons—Sir Nicholas Le Strange, first baronet, and Roger Le Strange, esquire—also Sir Charles Mordaunt of Massingham (the fourth baronet), *Lord Allington of Allington in Ireland, Sir Robert de Grey, knight, Robert Bacon, Anthony Hevingham, esquires, as well as Captains Goodman, Naunton and Havers, besides "all such strangers and lodgers . . . as are popish recusants or that have endeavoured or shall endeavour to put in execution the Commission of Array . . . to the castle of Wisbeach, there to be kept till further notice." The "Virgin Troop," raised by the maidens of Norwich, left the city "upon some design" (23rd August). The company, under Captain Swallow, comprised eighty "honest men and good soldiers." A few days later other troops were drafted to Wisbech.†

Unnerved by a paroxysm of fear, Thomas Gurlin turned piteously to the masses. It would be fatal to waver any longer; they must make their choice—for King or country—at once, and he would faithfully carry out their wishes. And the fateful *vox populi*, if we may judge by future events, was the outcome of loyalty to their friends, rather than loyalty to their sovereign. How could they betray those who had come to succour them in distress; who had opened their purses when they were almost penniless; who had fed their children when lacking bread? What could Tom Gurlin be thinking about—to ask them to send Sir Hamon and dear Lady Alice to that wretched dungeon at Wisbech? Who ever heard of such ingratitude! Had not the Governor given a thousand pounds towards the town's defences, and had he not moreover pledged his word to prevail with twenty of his friends to provide a like amount? And Lady Alice, too—the guardian angel to whom they went in every time of trouble. Never, no never should their children blush with shame at the remembrance of this day! Adhering with pathetic tenderness to those they knew and loved so well, the good folk of Lynn shouted as with one voice, "For the King!" and thus, after a while, the royal banner, floating from the hoary tower of St. Margaret, silently reiterated "For the King!"

(2) BLOCKADED.

Whilst Oliver Cromwell was purging the district around Peterborough, Edward Montagu (otherwise Kimbolton), second Earl of Manchester, whom Parliament had lately appointed Major-general of the Associated Counties, with authority to impress 20,000 men, arrived at Norwich, on his way to relieve the north of England, for

* The Mordaunt and Le Strange families were allied by marriage. Robert, the eldest son of William Mordaunt and nephew to Sir John Mordaunt (the first baronet), married Barbara Le Strange. He died 1572.

† For the warrant to our mayor, see *East Anglian Notes and Queries*, Vol. III., p. 212.

which he was commissioned (10th August). Hearing of a serious defection in Lynn, he sent a message to the mayor demanding an explanation. Receiving an evasive reply, he addressed a letter to the members for the burgh, but the second messenger was arrested and the Earl's communication taken from him.

Assisted by a band of disaffected seamen, Thomas Gurlin apprehended Sir Thomas Huggins, Master Coke and several others of the Parliamentary faction; then wheeling out various pieces of ordnance, he prepared to defend the town. As the burgesses were known to be amply provided with ammunition, the Earl ordered two brass demiculverins, weighing 3,400 lbs., and two brass fauconets, weighing 600 lbs.—four old cannon then in Norwich—to be hauled across the country. Two other pieces, weighing 700 lbs., which the citizens had received on loan from the Tower, and which they had lent to the Wisbech garrison, were brought with all speed to Lynn. Captain Sotherton guarded the inoffensive weapons, with the necessary powder, shot, sponges and ladles, as far as Setchy.

The fortifications, if not wholly completed, were at least considerably strengthened. St. Anne's fort, built in 1626, had already been furnished with a number of guns from the Tower. The garrison consisted of enthusiastic townsmen, reinforced by several county gentlemen and their stalwart retainers, some of whom had sought the place from motives of personal safety rather than an exuberance of loyalty.

The town unquestionably possessed 1,200 muskets, 50 barrels of good powder and 40 or 50 pieces of ordnance, besides others procurable from the vessels in the haven. Over and above a contingent of lusty volunteers and the Corporation militia,* there were eight troops of horse and eight troops of foot soldiers, commanded by Sir Hamon Le Strange, Sir Horatio Townshend, of Raynham, Lieutenant Porter and Captains Kirby, Davy, Morse, Gurlin, Wharton, Brady and March. The number of defenders approached five thousand.

As soon as the Earl arrived, he summoned the burgesses to yield, but they were obstinate and replied in "an hostile way," afterwards forwarding an impudent message, appended to which were twenty-five signatures, "so that he should not forget to plunder them when he had taken the town." Whereupon Manchester, assisted by Colonel Cromwell and Sir Miles Hobart, commenced the siege (Monday, 28th August 1643). At first the Earl's force numbered only 3,000 horse and 1,500 foot, yet this his initial exploit, as we shall see, proved a successful one. All the bridges between Lynn and Downham had already been secured by an Essex detachment under Captain Poe, who was quite convinced the town could not hold out more than five days. The Long bridge, spanning the Nar, was destroyed by the burgesses to intercept the movements of the besiegers. So great was now the demand for troops in Norfolk and Suffolk, that the ingathering of the harvest was seriously impeded. The *Scout* (31st August) informs us, that 4,000 horse and 7,000 foot soldiers would

* "Norfolk was the first county to supply a local militia." (Mason.)

soon be available,—a statement plausible enough, because immediately the siege was raised a formidable array appeared which afterwards achieved some famous work. In the vicinity of Lynn, the Earl's ubiquitous agents were busy commandeering every horse and cart they could lay hands on, thus it was impossible for the country people to garner their corn. A Royalist organ sarcastically describes the misfortune as "a new blessing bestowed on the associated counties."

Commenting upon the tactics of the burgesses, the same newsletter observes :—

Like honest subjects and true Englishmen (the inhabitants) have kept his lordship out of their town, telling him flatly they kept the town for His Majesty, and by the help of God would so keep it against whomsoever, which they are able to do, being so strongly fortified that Kimbolton (the Earl of Manchester) may as soon raise his father from the dead as force his entrance into Lynn. . . . His lordship has as much hope of Heaven's gate as to enter into Lynn. [*Mercurius Aulicus*.]

Guards were prudently stationed before our members' houses, hence Messrs. Percival and Toll discovered, to their no small surprise, that they were virtually prisoners. This the Governor was justified in doing, because both were stanch Parliamentarians, and the first, if we mistake not, was distantly related to Cromwell.*

The Earl of Manchester blockaded the town on the land side, whilst he entrusted to his father-in-law, Robert Rich, second Earl of Warwick, as Lord Admiral of the Fleet, the haven and tributary waterways.† Egress from the town was thus entirely cut off. To assist the besieging army Captain Sherwood received orders to proceed with his volunteers to Lynn (7th September), whilst Yarmouth sent "such mortar pieces, granadoes, petards, and other necessities," as could be spared. A supply of provisions valued at £314 3s. 3d. was also forwarded.

It was much disputed [by the besiegers] whether it were not better to proceed by blocking up rather than take it by force, the town being of that strength that no ordinary power could take it had they that which was fit for defence; but it was at last resolved to take it by force, and for that purpose it was thought good to seize the town of Old Lynn, which is in Marshland, which by a party of my Lord's forces was securely taken and ordnance planted, which kept the town in continual alarm and did so terrify the people with their shot and grenadoes that they durst hardly abide in any of their houses that were towards that side; the shot flying daily into the houses, into the Tuesday Market-place, and other places. The town was approached in several other

* In a friendly letter written by Cromwell to his brother-in-law, Valentine Wauton, the governor of Lynn (5th July, 1644), he adds a postscript: "Love to your daughter and my Cousin Percival, sister Desbrow and all friends with you." (*Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, by Thomas Carlyle, 1845, Vol. I., p. 252.) "John Persevell" was apprenticed to Alderman Thomas Boston, but as he died, Percival was placed under Thomas Clayborn, another Lynn merchant. In 1608, wishing to "exercise merchandize," young Percival did not produce his indenture of apprenticeship, but paid 25/- for his freedom. Whilst admitting "the consynry of Oliver Cromwell to be most perplexing," we venture to ask whether Percival, our member's father, did not marry one of Cromwell's aunts.

John Desborough, otherwise Desbrow (1608-1680), married Cromwell's sister Jane in 1636, whilst Oliver's uncle, Henry Cromwell, of Upwood, Hunts., married Margaret, the daughter of Thomas Wynde, of South Wootton, who died in 1630.

† Anne Rich, the daughter of the Earl of Warwick, was second wife to Edward Montagu, Earl of Manchester; she died in February 1642.

Robert Rich, the grandson and heir of the Earl of Warwick, married Frances (1638-1720), the Protector's daughter; he died of consumption, leaving his widow a jointure of £3,000 a year. Charles II. wanted to marry her,

places, two of which were on the side next to the moat, the one by the Causey [causeway] that leads to the south, the other to the East Gate. [*A Brief and True Relation.*]

An alarming incident is thus quoted by Richards from an old manuscript:—"On Sunday the 3rd of September, in the afternoon, and in the middle of the sermon, came a shot of 18 lbs. weight in at the window over the west door of St. Margaret's church, and took the middle pillar a great part off and broke it in many hundred pieces, dispersing them in all directions all over the church. One piece of the stone fell into a seat at the lower end of the church where five men sat, split the board before them, on which they laid their books; but no harm was done to them. The preacher, a reverend divine named Mr. Hinson, left his sermon and came out of the church, and all the people departed in a most confused manner, some leaving their hatts, some their books, and some their scarves; but, praised be God, no further hurt was done to any person."*

Fighting went on daily (Mason), yet were there no signs of yielding. Several ships were secretly despatched for a further supply of ammunition and coals, but they were pounced upon by the Admiral's vessels riding in the Deep. On one occasion the townsmen made a brisk sally beyond the East Gates, intending to destroy "the town of Gaywood," which might, as they feared, afford shelter to their enemies. Two houses were burnt, besides the Hospital of St. Mary Magdalen. (Rushworth.) With the loss of ten men, the townsmen were driven back. (Mason.)

Manchester's forces now amounted to 18,000 men, for he had enlisted much help from the neighbouring villages. He therefore determined upon storming the place. The town was protected on the north by the now almost forgotten Fisher fleet and extensive earthworks. Beyond the Ducehill Gate, with its drawbridge, was the usual mound, upon which a temporary wooden tower or *bretash* could be erected. Taking advantage of this eminence, the Earl either fixed a block-house or secured one already there, intending to divert the attention of the defenders whilst storming the town in an opposite direction.† Firing from the battery at the sea-end of the town, he

* The west window was unquestionably damaged: "1643-4 (paid) to John Thompson his bill for worke in west window broken by a shott from the weste saide water, 03 : 10 : 00. (Paid) To Robert Stokes for glasinge the same windo, 02 : 00 : 04. [C.W.A.] No mention, however, is made of repairing stone work. The cannon ball suspended in the entrance of Hampton court, Nelson Street, can scarcely be the identical one which caused so much mischief, as according to its measurement it weighs about 47 lbs. That the congregation dispersed hurriedly is a reasonable inference, but that the men rushed out bareheaded is questionable. To worship with the head uncovered was then regarded as an unmistakable sign that the person was "running post to Rome." (See Thistleton Dyer's *Church-Love Gleanings* (1892), pp. 316-7.)

John Henson "late minister of Terrington St. Clements, was of scandal ejected from his living at the prosecution of Tho: Gunville, against whom he afterwards brought an action and obtained a verdict of £80 and costs at the Thetford Assizes (20th March 1655). The Committee of State, not exactly satisfied, requested the Mayor and Corporation, with Major Styles, to re-examine the witness and report thereon (17th October 1665). Their verdict was favourable to the reverend gentleman" (*Calendar of State Papers*). Blomefield mentions him as vicar of the same church in 1661 and rector of North Lynn in 1666, where he was preceded by Robert Henson, vicar 1649. In 1669-70 Mr. Hinson, "minister of Terrington," gave £1 towards the repair of St. Nicholas' steeple. [C.W.A.]

Thomas Gurlin, thrice member and mayor, died (3rd August 1644), and was buried in Snettisham church.

† The *Block-house* stood "there at the Doucehills" (*Calendar of State Papers*, 1652-3, p. 286). It was also known as St. Agnes' Gate. In 1722 the building was leased to William Quash, a mariner, for a term of 99 years as a dwelling-house at 10/- per annum, the Corporation reserving the right to use "the common way and passages as usual" (Richards). Variants of the old name—*Block'us* and *Blockers*, survived until the making of the Alexandra Dock (1869).

gradually brought his men "within half musket shot," round towards the east.

A Parliamentary correspondent, in one of the many miniature newspapers then circulated, writes:—

We resolved upon storming the town upon Saturday morning [16th September], and to that purpose had called in many boats, with which we intended to take it by water, and many cartloads of ladders, which we intended for the land side. . . . During this hot service we lost four men. . . . One lieutenant had his arm shot off. . . . It was with a cannon shot through the porthole; so skilful were they that they would shoot three times into one porthole. In this violent playing with cannon and small shot we believe above eighty lost their lives on both sides. [*Certain Informations*, 7th September.]

(3) THE CAPITULATION

is thus described in the journal, entitled *Certain Informations*:—

The Earle of Manchester sent three severall summons to yield up the Towne in a peaceable way to the King and Parliament, but they answered obstinately and in a hostile way, and one of their answers were sent subscribed with twenty-five names, as the Maior, Recorder, Steward, &c., with a message to this effect: "We send our names lest you should forget to plunder us when you have taken our Towne." That some of the Townsmen issued out, and began to cut the bankes to let out the water, whereof seven were slaine by the beseigers, and set up naked against a gate near the Towne, whom the Lynners may see, but dare not come out to bury them. Some of the beseigers went up to the wall of the Towne, and brought away thirty six Cowes, without losse or hurt, though many guns were shot at them. One ship is gotten in to their reliefe, thought to be laden with men & provisions, the Lynners shot at her (nothing but powder) as if she had been an enemy, she vailed bonnet to the Parliament's Ships, as a friend, and slylie slipt into the haven before she was discovered. But now all passages are stopt by Sea and Land, so that there is no getting out or in. The pipes that carried them fresh water are cut off and the fresh river by Kettle Mills is turned another way That the Earle of Manchester's Army is lately come within pistoll shot of the Town, and that they run up to the gates with their naked swords in their hands. (15th Sept. 1643.)

The same authority observes:—

Colonel Cromwell hath battered them sorely from Old Lynn, the shooting of whose ordnance hath slain divers men, women and children; and that the lamentable shrieks and cries of women and children are heard a great way out of the town, and that the townsmen are so cruel and hard-hearted to them that they will not suffer them to depart the town; that the army's forces have cut off their fresh water, and that the townsmen have felled all the trees about this town to bereave the Earle's army of approach and shelter; that the Lynn ships are in league with Newcastle.

Under the same date the *Mercurius Civicus* speaks of Colonel Cromwell having "battered down part of the market-place and some houses in New Lynn.* He, however, left the neighbourhood before the capitulation, with his regiment of a thousand men, who were needed for "pressing business in Lincolnshire."

The final preparations for the momentous *coup de main* were completed, when the Earl humanely advised the removal of the women and children before the attack began. Hostilities were therefore suspended and a treaty accepted. The burgesses not

* The borough was styled *New Lynn* in 1474-5 (Blomefield). "West Lynn took the name of *Old Lynn* about the time of Edward IV. (1461-83), being as antiently as South and North Lynne comprehended under the general name of *Lena*." (Camden's *Britannia*; Gough's edition 1806.)

objecting to the demolition of their fortifications, yet demanded pardon for those guilty of "magnanimity," and the retention of local government. The Earl courteously replied, reminding them of the enormity of their crimes, how they had sheltered the disaffected, and disarmed and imprisoned the well-affected, even members of the House of Commons; how money and arms collected by the Parliament had been misappropriated by them in defying the Parliament. However, to prevent a needless sacrifice of life, if they surrendered by nine o'clock on Saturday morning (16th September) he graciously promised the inhabitants privilege and freedom—but freedom from Ordinances of Parliament, he could neither grant, nor must they expect.

A discussion upon the conditions of surrender began at 7 o'clock on Friday evening and continued for twenty-four hours, "a dinner-time only excepted." During the period of suspense, our unruly soldiers, contrary to the recognised usages of war, cowardly shot at their enemies and attempted to destroy some of the earthworks. In the meanwhile, the Parliamentary forces were marshalled in the meadows, ready for action, and "put in such a posture as might be most terrible to the enemy, making a large front, when God knows what depth they stood." Hour after hour, patiently awaiting the town's decision, Manchester continued to hold his men in readiness, whilst the Mayor was dealing with "explanatory exceptions" as to the method of admitting the foe. At length, "with beating drums and sounding trumpets, as if we (the Parliamentarians) had been presently to march into the town," the van, with Colonel Russell at the head and Colonel Wauton (Walton) at the rear, advanced towards the East Gates, when they were told that the great gate must on no account be opened at so late an hour, but that the soldiers might enter in single file through the narrow wicket. To this the others assented, but just as they were about to pass through a commissioner came back and informed them of "a rude multitude . . . that swore none should enter there, and, if any did, they would be the death of them." Another tedious altercation ensued, "some saying articles must be performed, others that they would not condescend to obey, nor should the Mayor and commissioners' act bind them, crying 'Shoote, shoote!' and one cannoneer they turned out because he would not give fire. . . . At last one of them cried 'Give fire!' which, being in the dead of night [query, 10 p.m.] made some of the countrymen and others on horseback (spectators riding by the side of the foot soldiers) to fall off their horses, and some into the ditch, so terrible was the word 'Give fire!'"

Colonel Russell and his men were at last permitted to enter. From St. Catherine's Gate they marched through the Damgate and the Grassmarket to the Tuesday market-place, and were not a little surprised because "no one man appeared, only women, who for the general cried 'God bless us!' whether for fear or love you may guess."

Early on Sunday morning, Manchester, at the head of "his life guard—a brave troop," entered the town and attended divine service

at the church of St. Margaret, where Simeon Ashe, an army chaplain, preached a thanksgiving sermon. He was one of the doughty champions among the Westminster Assembly of Divines who incited the populace to rise in their own defence. Whilst in Lynn the Earl made his headquarters with our member, Thomas Toll, whose residence during the siege had been strictly guarded by musketeers. Alderman Toll was so roughly handled that he was forced to escape from thence through a window, dropping "into the arms of the sea."

Commenting upon the appointment of Colonel Wauton as Governor of Lynn, the same writer exclaims: "Thus we see how Providence orders; he that was lately locked up three days and three nights at Oxford in a poor chamber without food, is now governor of as great and strong a town as Oxford." [*A Brief and True Relation of the Siege and Surrendering of King's Lyn.*]

(4) CONDITIONS.

Submission was inevitable; it was only a question of time. Whilst daily expecting the arrival of promised assistance from the Earl of Newcastle, the burgesses suffered severely, and in the end were convinced there was no reasonable chance of help. Fearful consequences might attend a prolongation of the conflict; therefore, reluctantly yielding to the dictates of prudence and wisdom, they secured an honourable recognition of their bravery. As soon as the town acknowledged its readiness to capitulate, eight persons on each side were selected to arrange a treaty:—

For the *Parliamentarians*—Sir John Palgrave, Colonel Francis Russell of Chippenham, Colonel Valentine Wauton, Philip Calthrop, John Pickering, John Spilman (or Spelman), William Good and Gregory Gosset (otherwise Gawsell), one of the treasurers of the Association.

For the *Burgesses*—Sir Hamon Le Strange (the governor), Sir Richard Hovell of Hillington, Francis Parlett, Edmund Hudson (the mayor elect), William Leek, Walter Kirby, Robert Clench and Mr. Dereham.

After a long and stormy discussion these terms were accepted:—

(1). That the Town, with the ordnance, arms and ammunition, be delivered to the Earl and he to enter the town.

(2). That the Gentlemen Strangers in the Town shall have liberty to depart, with every man a horse, sword, and pistols.

(3). That the townsmen shall enjoy all rights and privileges appertaining to them, with free trading, so far as may consist with law.

(4). All prisoners on both sides to be set at liberty.

(5). That the desires of the town, touching certain of their ships taken by the Parliament's frigate, shall be represented by the Earl to the Parliament, and (Robert Rich) the Earl of Warwick (the Lord Admiral).

(6). That neither the persons nor estates of any inhabitants or Strangers now residing in Lynn, shall be hereafter molested for anything past, or done by them since the Earl of Manchester's coming into these parts.

(7). That for preventing of plundering, the town shall raise and pay ten shillings a man to all private soldiers under the Earl's com and, and a fortnight's pay to the officers.*

* The *Civicius Mercurius*, which Mackerell follows, gives a month's pay to each officer, and estimates the indemnity at £30,000; whereas, Richards modestly put it at £3,200.

(8). That Sir Hamon le Strange, Sir Richard Hovell, Captain Clench, Mr. Recorder (Francis Parlett), Mr. Dereham and Mr. Leek remain as hostages until (the) conditions be performed. (Rushforth.)

Moreover, the masters of the Lynn vessels captured by the Earl of Warwick agreed to pay £300 as an indemnity. After patiently waiting six months the Lord *High* Admiral (for Warwick succeeded Northumberland the 7th of December 1643) wrote to Captain Richard Crandley, one of the Navy Commissioners, desiring "that the bonds entered into, be with all speed put into suit, that those interested may receive satisfaction" (5th April 1644). Some of the masters apparently refused to contribute to the indemnity, hence the ships taken in the haven and Yarmouth roads, together with the goods of the ill-affected persons, were ordered to be sold for the service of the navy (28th September 1643).

On Saturday, the 16th of September 1643, the town surrendered "without shedding blood," and the Rev. Simeon Ashe preached, as hath been told, in St. Margaret's church. The Earl of Manchester supplanted Sir Hamon Le Strange as governor (21st), and the temporary appointment was duly ratified the next day by the members of the Committee of Lords and Commons, including Fielding the Earl of Denbigh, William Fiennes the Lord Say and Sele, Nathaniel Fiennes and John Pym.

After the fall of the town five hundred men were shipped to Hull, and in less than ten days the whole of the Eastern Counties Army were at Horncastle, where Manchester suffered a defeat. The next year he stormed Lincoln, routed the King at Newbury and compelled him to retire to Oxford. He was once more in Lynn, when Robert Hart and others received 3s. 4d. for ringing a welcome on St. Margaret's bells (15th November 1644).

Valentine Wauton, "the new governor," accepted the freedom of the borough (20th November 1643), and chose Robert Rabye, a tailor, as his servant. Later "the right worshipful colonel" paid ten shillings for Rabye's freedom (1648). Without curtailing his own direct influence, Wauton appointed Colonel Hobart governor and Guybon Goddard deputy-governor (1645). When, however, Wauton was present their power was temporarily suspended. Totally ignoring what had happened, the King issued a warrant from Oxford appointing Colonel Jervase Hollis governor of Lynn (6th April 1644).

(5) GLORIA IN EXCELSIS !

The downfall of Lynn was the prelude to inordinate rejoicing on the Parliamentary side, and their publications were glutted with pæans of hysterical exultation. Let us give ear to what John Vicars has to say in his *Jehovah-Jireh* (1644):—

See, I say, how the Lord hath already in a great measure revived our spirits and requited our late losses in so easie winning of that strong castle of Ecclesal and the happie surrender of the most strong Towne of Lyn-Regis. . . . It being a most impregnable place by naturall situation and a Maritime or Sea-Towne, which having in it a brave Ship harbour and had in it at the time 'twas taken 50 pieces of ordnance, 20 barrels of powder and a store of ammunition, and was at that time a mighty and onely interruption of the Noble Earl of Manchester, opposing of New-Castle's Popish-Army in those

Northern parts, which now, by God's great mercie and goodnesse, he hath a very brave and considerable Armie to atcheive in God's due time.

The spleenish editor of a printed news-letter, termed *Mercurius Civicus*, *London's Intelligencer*, or *Truth impartially related from thence to the whole kingdome to prevent missinformation*, gives vent to a similar vehement ejaculation :—

The taking of this Towne is of extraordinary consequence. . . . For that he (the Earle) had many thousand men with the trained bands of Norfolke and Suffolke at the seige of the Towne of Lyn, into which the said Earle was admitted on Saturday last at night, and Master Ash preached there the Sunday following notwithstanding the boasts of *Mercurius Aulicus* [the rival news letter conducted on Royalist lines] that he (the Earle) might as soon get into Heaven, as into Lyn ; and no question he shall when please God to take his Lordship from doing Him any further service in this life, enter into Heaven, whither *Aulicus* and the rest of the blasphemous, atheisticall, dam'd Cavaliers, unless they amend their lives shall never come.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Reaping the Whirlwind.

It has been hinted, that the part taken by our borough in the Great Civil War constituted but a paltry episode, the interest of which was tremendously exaggerated by the biassed writers of the Stuart period. Although briefly mentioned by Mackerell and Richards, and silently ignored by Blomefield and Parkin, yet remembering what little authentic information the papers in our national collection yield, we are more than inclined to excuse our local historians, who apparently reticent, unquestionably placed on record all they knew.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A GARRISON.

The adhesion of the burgesses to the King's cause proved terribly disastrous ; no town perhaps suffered in consequence more severely. When first called upon to aid the Parliamentary forces with a contribution of £1,000, the Corporation demurred, pleading inability through stagnation of trade ; yet they are said to have voluntarily offered £10,000 rather than have a garrison established in the town. When Wauton became governor, their hopes were irrevocably blighted, because having surveyed the fortifications, he at once set about strengthening the weak places ; besides, he ordered armour for 800 harquebusiers at the rate of 33s. per head ; each man was to be provided with a high pistol-proof breast- and back-plate, and " a pott heade peece with three barres " (1644). Early the next year, Wauton received a grant of £300, towards perfecting the defences. This was welcome news to the almost destitute inhabitants, who were further relieved by a reduction in the number of soldiers billeted in the town ; yet were they in too penurious a condition to support even 500 of the Norfolk forces, which were retained. Hence a question arose as to the advisability of drawing money from the Excise. The

Commons, adverse to the proposal, politely requested the Committee of the Association to devise means, whereby money might be obtained without endangering the public safety (21st May 1645). As far greater issues were at stake, the Association coolly deferred the business until the dawn of a more convenient season, leaving the distracted townsfolk to cope with the difficulty as best they could.

A few months afterwards, the City of Norwich was contributing towards the support of the Lynn garrison. As secretary of the Association, Miles Corbet addressed a severe remonstrance to the Mayor, Sheriffs and Aldermen of Norwich, reminding them, how remiss the City was in providing pecuniary assistance. He writes :—

I am alsoe to signifie unto you, that the moneys raised in yo'r City shall hereafter be employed to maintayne the Guarrison that is next adjacent to you, whereof it is hoped that you and ye City will be most sensible: And to that end this Committee have lately made an order, that the proportion laid on ye City is appoynted to maintayne ye Guarrison of Lynn R., and the three companeys of floote att Boston, and that the moneys hereafter be payd out of ye City are to be payd to Edward Robinson Esqr, Maior of Lynn and to Bartholomew Wormal, one of the Aldermen of the said Towne, who are from henceforth to be the Treas'rs to receive the moneys to be raised in ye City for the paym't of the Guarrison of Lynn R., and to three Companeyes att Boston, and to noe other use. I am further comanded to desire you for the time to come to take care that the moneys due from ye City may be duly raised and payd to the said Treas'rs; and if there be any obstruct'n in this service that you acquaynt the Committee therewith. (20th November, 1645.)

The prosperity of Lynn, dependent upon the fishing industry and a coasting trade, both alas ruined by the Dunkirk "pickeroons" or robbers, had given place to appalling poverty. Though assisted by the inhabitants of Norwich, the constant drain upon the town's resources told with direful effect. Wherefore the Corporation petitioned the House to be relieved of the garrison, which proved so insuperable a burden, offering at the same time to guard the town most faithfully themselves. Their humble prayer was answered by a curt refusal (July 1646). What happened in the interim is left to the fertile imagination of our readers. The Assembly is next found begging that Thomas Toll, the mayor and member, might return at once to Lynn, because his presence was most urgently needed. But the Commons, greatly annoyed, told Thomas Toll by means of a vote of censure, that he ought not to have been mayor without the sanction of the House. However, "considering the present condition and the necessity of the service," he was graciously granted not only leave of absence, but permission to appoint a deputy whenever away in future (1st September 1646).

"The miserable condition that this poor town is in, I suppose is not unknown to you. Where soldiers are, and no money to pay them, the cry of the inhabitants must needs be great. So is it here at present with us." With this apology Thomas Toll begins a letter to the Mayor of Norwich; then, perhaps, fearing, the hint might turn out ineffectual, he goes on gently reminding the Mayor, how a contribution of £400 promised a month since, had not yet been received, and finished by begging it might be sent by the bearer (December 1646).

A better idea of the state of Lynn is gained through a sidelight, thrown upon the scene a year prior to this, by the unpardonable refusal of the officers of excise to pay a tax levied for the maintenance of the army, raised expressly for the defence of the Eastern Counties. The mayor John May, nine aldermen and others sought guidance from the Council of State, who referred the matter to the Committee of the Navy. In the mean time the officers petitioned for ease and relief, although, with incomes of £60 a year, they were asked to pay upon £20 only. The Mayor was advised, that no such tax could be legally enforced. Replying, John May informed the Council of State, how the statute, for raising these amounts, distinctly declared that annuities and offices of profit, without exception, were to contribute towards the sums imposed every week. After presenting a few particulars for serious consideration, he observes :—

The poor and miserable condition of our town is such by reason of the decay of trade and want of employment at sea, besides the insupportable burden of quartering of soldiers upon trust, more than £3,000 being now due to the inhabitants in that respect, that persons who formerly were of ability to relieve others are now forced to be relieved themselves. Further, a great proportion of assessments laid upon us, especially the last, £638 4s. being for four months, constrain us to fall upon any help the ordinance allows, to make good our engagement, whereby the service of parliament may not be retarded as 'tis our duty so to do.

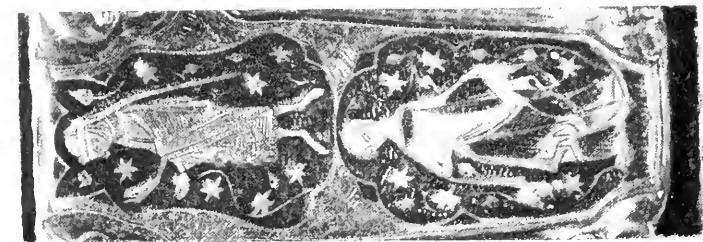
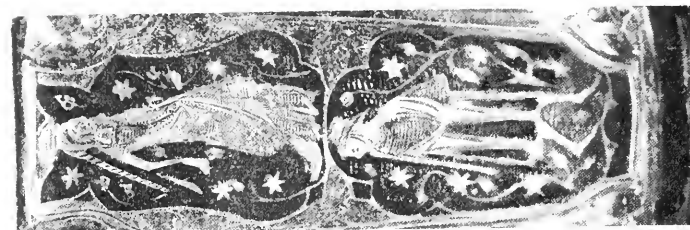
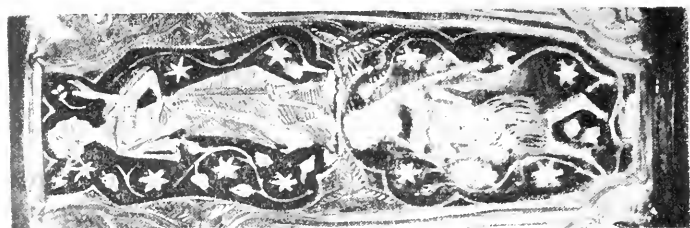
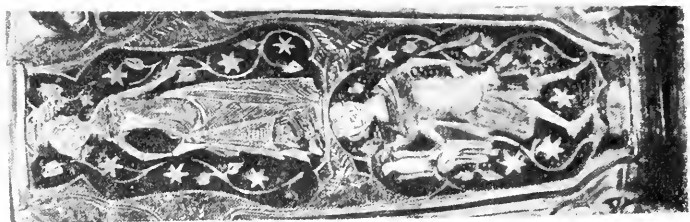
He concluded his letter to "Giles Greene Esq. M.P. at the Committee of the Navy at Westminster," by reasserting, that nothing had been done contrary to the Act, and hoping the respect shewn to the petitioners in undervaluing their offices would induce the Committee to advise them to pay, rather than call in question the sense and meaning of the Great Council of the Kingdom (2nd January 1645).

In 1647 the burgesses, oppressed beyond endurance, were on the verge of rebellion. A newsletter—*Perfect Occurrences or Every Day Journal in Parliament and other Moderate Intelligence*, contains this significant paragraph :—"His Excellency received letters from Norfolk of great danger and mutiny, and fears of bloodshed at Lynn; the townsmen (are) quarrelling with the soldiers, because the latter have not money to pay quarters; the seamen made parties with the inhabitants" (17th-24th September).

DAMAGE TO PROPERTY.

An order of restitution, issued by the Lords and Commons, dated 9th of December 1643, reads thus :—

That such Persons as did take any of the Goods of the well-affected by themselves or such as they appointed, or did any Damage to their Houses or Mills or any other Ways, shall make restitution to all such well-affected Persons as have been damnified according to the Greatness of their Losses and that Colonel Walton [otherwise Wauton], Governour of King's Lynn, Mr. Percival and Mr. Toll, Members of the House of Commons shall examine what Damage hath been done to the well-affected, and appoint such as have done them Injury to make them Reparation accordingly. And if any of them shall refuse to make such Reparation, That the said Governour, Mr. Percival and Mr. Toll shall have power to Sequester so much of the Estates of such malignants, as will make them Reparation, and Assign it to those that have been damnified.



"KING JOHN'S CUP" ENAMELLED PANELS AROUND THE BOWL.

The Assembly appointed a committee, namely, Aldermen Bassett, Maxey and Robinson, besides Joshua Greene, Robert Thorowgood and Thomas Greene—or four of them, to consider the damage done to property during “the late desertion of this town.” After obtaining the opinion of competent workmen, they were to forward a report to the gentlemen approved by the Lords and Commons, for making good such losses (26th January 1644). We next encounter Alderman Toll, M.P., and Councilman Jonas Skott posting to Cambridge, to interview the Earl of Manchester. They were the bearers of a portentous document, seeking advice about “the breaking of the church windows,” which might have been brought about by the wantonness of Manchester’s fanatic soldiers; the removal of painted glass from our churches and other important matters, and—asking payment for candles and firing consumed at certain courts held by the Parliamentarians (16th February 1644).

What a supreme abomination was “the storied window” with its painted glass, to the strait-laced Puritan, who could see neither beauty nor utility in artistic ornamentation. To prevent the superstitious adoration of the magnificent scenes depicted, an Act was expressly designed. The windows were reglazed with “white glass,” and “the dim religious light” driven from the sacred fanes (28th January 1642). A re-enactment, “for the utter demolishing, removing and taking away of all Monuments of Superstition and Idolatry out of all Churches and Chapels in the Kingdom of England and Dominion of Wales,” was passed the 23rd of August 1643—the day the siege began. This ordinance, however, was not published until the 11th of October, and did not take effect before the 1st of November.

A year later, the parishioners started, or rather continued, removing “the offensive painted glasses in the windowes.” To thoroughly complete the vandalic desecration, they agreed to tax themselves to the tune of £100. “for the beginning of the work,” and further sums when needed. Anticipating how some might refuse to contribute, our members were “entreated” to obtain an order from Parliament for enforcing payment.

And we doe declare (the vestry minute goes on) that there shall be noe future president to make the p'ishioners of St. Margarette Liable to reparation of St. Nicholas church or chappell. And lastly we appoint and authorize the churchwardens of both churches aforesaid together with the p'sons here under named to be assessors in this behalfe [*Eighteen Signatories*].

It was, however, discovered that the decision of the meeting:—

Doth seem to be offensive to many by reason that the Inhabitants of the Parish are charged towards the said Rate for their goods and personall Estates (Contrary as they think to all former Rates) These therefore at p'sent are to give satisfaction to all whom it may concerne that wee the Maior, Aldermen and the rest of the Parishioners, whose names are here vnder described, doe this day Order and Agree that this foregoing Order shall not stand or be of any force as a President for after times to make any Rate, Levie or Taxation by, In testimony of the Promises we have subscribed our names [*Twenty-two signatories, including Valentine Wauton, Governor of Lynn, Friday, 20th December 1644*].

An entry in the Hall Book shews the assessment was to be made by the churchwardens assisted by Alderman Maxey and twelve other persons named "with other parishioners that will come," seven of whom were to constitute a quorum. It seems problematical whether an order compelling the refractory was granted, because the glaring *white* substitute was not wholly paid for in 1647—the arrears of the special rate then amounting to £38 9s. 9d. The vestry was in a dilemma. It was therefore agreed that at the next Hall, Colonel Wauton should be prevailed upon to assist by calling out the soldiers to collect what was then due (13th August).

Bearing in mind, that the windows were removed from St. James' chapel to St. Nicholas' chapel; how after refixing they were glazed with "white glass" (1626-7); how they were also repaired with the same material at a cost of £9 (1632-3), and finally that in an inventory of goods at St. Margaret's there was included "one chest of broken glasse" (1619), we feel confirmed in the belief, that far more glass was voluntarily removed, than was mischievously destroyed by the Roundhead soldiers.

The reconstruction of the town generally, including the rebuilding of dilapidated houses, was indeed a slow process. Five years after the siege, the Commons were informed "that the town of Lyn Regis did want much repair, being ruined by these times of war. The House (therefore) ordered 2,000 oaks for (the) reparation thereof." (Rushforth.)*

LOSS OF LIFE.

If confidence be placed in the partisan news-letters from which passages have been culled, it must be conceded that the number of lives sacrificed was significant on both sides. Yet are we told, how one or two admonitory shots were fired, and that taking the hint, the burgesses quietly submitted without any great ado. Mackerell states the surrender was effected "with the loss of four men only, and a very few wounded." This is apparently borne out by the death rate, which at the time was abnormally low. No soldiers' burials are recorded in St. Nicholas' register, whilst in the other—*one* in August and *one* in September are all that appear.

Aug. 27. A cannaneere from Richard Nesslings.

Sept. 22. A Soulier from Tho. Nestlings.

Nov. 5. A Soulier at Doctor Parkins.

„ 17. A Soulier in bridwell (gaol).

Dec. 17. A souldier in bridwell.

Two other soldiers.

[P. R., St. M.]

During the next year, that is after the establishment of a garrison forty-five military burials are entered (1644). Carefully weighing the evidence at hand, we believe the mortality *was* great, but that

* Writers often confound Lynn Regis with Lyme Regis (Dorsetshire) to the great discomfiture of the student.

Lynn Regis and Lyme Regis were besieged the same year; the first by the Roundheads and the second by the Cavaliers. John Viscount Poulett (Pawlett) advanced against the Parliamentarians, who held Lyme Regis (20th April 1643). To make atonement for damages sustained a payment of £200 from the Poulett Estate was demanded (1647). The *Weekly Account*, 6th May 1646 (quoted by Richards) and the *Harleian MSS.*, No. 368, fo. 123 (referred to in Rye's *Norfolk Topography*) erroneously associate this circumstance with our borough.

throughout the danger and confusion of the siege no returns were made. Those killed were probably interred without any religious observance.

PAINS AND PENALTIES.

The Parliament laid unconscionable burdens upon the "malignant" Royalists, and special exactions were demanded from Sir Hamon Le Strange, although after his failure at Lynn, to which reference has been made, his life was one of exemplary quietude. How seriously he suffered, through his zeal and loyalty, is exemplified in the *Household Expences*, which Lady Alice recorded with minute care. Among the entries are payments to the mayor Bartholomew Wormell, William Johnson (for the burning of his mill), Mr. Nelston (for the destruction of Setchy bridge), Robert Clarke (for firing stacks of hay), John Johnson (for pulling down a house), John Percival (for unmentioned damages), Thomas Toll and his wife (for imprisonment in their own dwelling), etc. Compensation fines of £34, £37, £90, £2, £11 and £95 appear. The fine of £95 was one-third of £287 is. 6d.—a total levied by the commissioners (Messrs. Corbet, Wauton and Toll) upon the heirs of the late Thomas Gurlin, mayor, Robert Clench, one of the town captains and Sir Hamon Le Strange (13th March 1644). After waiting a year for the money, the Corporation were compelled to assent to the carrying into effect of the commissioners' order (18th March 1645).

Let us now examine a few extracts from Lady Le Strange's neatly-written manuscript:—

1643.	We payd to the Rebels for our 5th & 20th part [ordinary assessments for the War]	li.	
		300	0 0
1643.	We were plundered by the Rebels of 1,600 sheep, all our corn and divers horses	—	— —
1644.	We payd to the advance of the Skottish Rebels	200	0 0
1645.	Payd to May, Wormell etc. for their pretended losses	225	11 2
1646.	Payd to Stileman upon a sute, pretending the false imprisonment of his Father, when he refused to pay the money appoynted for him to pay by my Lord Martiall, in the Court of Honour	385	0 0
1647.	To Mr. Percivall for pretended imprisoning 86 0 0	334	4 10
	to Mr. Toll for the like in part ... 40 0 0		
	payd for the Almes House [Gaywood] ... 883 4 10		
1648.	To Mr. Toll upon his pretended imprisoning 50 0 0	92	11 8
	to William Johnson upon a Second Order... 12 11 8		
	To John Johnson for composition ... 30 0 0		
1649.	To Mr. Toll for Mr. Jegon's part uniously	136	8 0

Upon another page is the summary:—

Payd an spent in sute by the uniust and tirannicall oppression of Mr. Toll and others of his faction in Linne, concerning the seige	1088	0 0
Received by Stileman in an Uniust Sute, being overpowered by the times	385	0 0
Beside our greate losse when we were plundered of all our sheepe and corne	—	— —

The Hospital of St. Mary Magdalen, destroyed during the siege, was rebuilt (1649). The payment of £883 4s. 10d. must be an error; possibly £208 4s. 10d. is meant.

The estates of Colonel William Cobbe of Sandringham, who married a daughter of Sir Henry Bedingfeld, were sequestered in 1643, probably because of assistance rendered to the people of Lynn.

RELIEF OF THE POOR.

A duty of two shillings per chaldron on coals imported by strangers is said to have been designed to assist those who sustained loss or injury during the siege. But grave doubts were entertained as to the probity of the Corporation, who distributed the money; hence at the suggestion of the attorney-general, the Court of Exchequer issued a commission of enquiry. An investigation was held at the *Globe*—an important hostelry, under the management of Edward Kniveton. Among the witnesses were Richard Clampe, Thomas Downey, Malathy Scott, John Symes, Thomas Huggins, Thomas Denman, William Howlett, Benjamin Wormell and Owen Barnes. Evidence was adduced to prove a coal tax had been collected for ten years; that the income amounted to about £1,000 per annum; that the Corporation were the recipients of the money, but to whom it was afterwards paid none would venture to say. A remarkable witness was Richard Clampe the engineer, who, having greatly assisted the Parliament during the war, petitioned for and obtained the searcher's place in our Customs. He insisted that large arrears were due to him for services rendered. The tax, as he computed, came to £1,200 a year, of which only a half was paid away, yet he could not say whether "the remainder was employed or discharged towards the relief of the poor, or by what order it remained in the hands of the Mayor and Burgesses." As he was in pressing need of money, he desired payment for what he had done (14th October 1650).

CONNECTING LINKS.

The Scots advanced as far as York, where they were joined by the forces under Manchester. Charles, greatly alarmed because his army was shut up in the city, thought the capture of York would mean the loss of the northern counties. Prince Rupert was therefore ordered to attempt its relief. Just before his arrival, the Parliamentarians withdrew to Marston Moor, where the two armies engaged in a deadly encounter. Cromwell and his Ironsides were victorious (2nd July 1644). Prior to the battle, it was announced that the King was marching against the Association, and knowing how important it was for Lynn to continue obedient to Parliament, Wauton was advised by the Committee of both Kingdoms to exercise the utmost care, and to promptly disarm and secure any of the burgesses, whose fidelity he mistrusted. For his encouragement, he was informed how Sir William Waller with a considerable force was dogging the King's footsteps, whilst Major-general Browne with a large contingent from Middlesex and London was anticipating His Majesty's approach. The message concludes:—"We do not think they (the

Royalists) can come anything near your parts, yet we desire you so to secure the town, that they may be no invitation of their march that way" (24th June).

Early the next year, another alarm was sounded, when the Royalists with a large body of horse were reported upon the border of the eastern counties. To prevent irruptions, all the fen passes near Lynn were strictly guarded; the deputy-governor sending as many men as could be spared to protect Wisbech (28th February 1645). In the mean time, William Botterell forwarded the following supply of arms and ammunition to Cambridge castle:—"448 New musketts, 553 fixt musketts, 700 New Bandeliers, 320 Old musketts, 210 new snaphanes musketts,* 73 payre of holsters, 250 payre of pistolls without holsters, 63 spanners, 580 pikes . . . 100 barrells of powder and 80 bundles of matches" (5th September 1644).

The Royalists were defeated by "the new-modelled army" under Sir Thomas Fairfax at Naseby, Northamptonshire, when Charles retired into Wales (14th June 1645). Before this engagements, guns and ammunition from our already depleted magazine were forwarded to Cromwell, who acted as lieutenant-general, although disqualified by "the self-denying Ordinance," whilst the Lynn foot-soldiers joined Lord Halifax at Tadcaster (29th May). As soon as the King's army sighted Huntingdon, our town was immediately provisioned, because fears were entertained that the Royalists might retaliate and beleaguer Lynn. Instructions, too, were given, that upon a nearer approach, all available forces should be despatched to strengthen the garrison in repelling an attack (25th August).

During the siege of Newark, the Associated Counties expressed willingness to furnish seven thousand men (of whom four thousand five hundred foot were to be withdrawn from various garrisons) if the Parliament would promise to provide for them. Of this number, a thousand were expected from Lynn—500 from the garrison and 500 from those recently drafted to the borough. A warrant was accordingly issued for the delivery of 500 swords and bandoleers here, as well as at Boston (21st October). A letter from the Committee of both Kingdoms states that the taking of the castle at Newark, where the King was watchfully blocked up, would not only check plundering in the adjacent counties, and the frequent and unchangeable alarms, but in all probability put an end to these unhappy troubles (31st October). As the season was far advanced, detachments were ordered to hasten thither, so that the final and decisive blow might be struck. Our men were to meet at the rendezvous at Grantham the 7th of November, and march as directed by Colonel-general Poyntz. In the mean time the reduced garrison at home was to be filled with the best-affected of the trained bands. A slight hitch, however, upset the preconcerted programme. In vain did the enraged general scan the horizon: the expected troop were not yet started. The reason is not difficult to discover: the Assembly

* The *Snaphance* or *Snaphaunce* (Dutch *snaphaan*, a firelock), superseded by the wheel-lock, fell upon a movable piece of steel called a frizel, which was placed vertically above the pan.

forwarded an apology, asking the Committee for money to provide for incidental expenses. In August, the House had been importuned to consider a bill, the object of which was to provide for the support of the soldiers stationed at Lynn, Cambridge, Boston and the Isle of Ely. The "dumping" of garrisons, wherever the Parliament thought fit, was known to be the cause of suffering and vexation. Instead of relief, the inhabitants of Lynn and Newport Pagnell were permitted to borrow £2,000 wherewith to satisfy their garrisons. The burgesses, being reminded how they were to repay themselves out of their assessments, found to their cost the remedy as bad as the disease (25th August 1645). The Committee once more shirked their responsibility by referring the application to the Committee of the Eastern Association (7th November).

Another wail of despair! Poyntz still lacked assistance, and could not give so good an account of himself as he wished; he particularly bemoaned the non-arrival of the contingent from Newport Pagnell and Lynn (19th December). The command was reissued for the 400 men from Lynn and the 200 from Boston to set out immediately for Newark (27th December). Far easier was it to give orders, than provide an equipment for 400 soldiers. In the middle of January 1646, our governor, Lieutenant-colonel James Hobart, received another remonstrance, which was not quite so unreasonable and severe as others of the series. "Notwithstanding necessary provisions have now been supplied," the troops from Lynn and Boston had not yet put in an appearance. Such inexcusable conduct was indeed "a great disservice to the public," because the reduction of Newark was impossible without the aid of foot-soldiers. Besides, the surrounding district was so wasted, as the writer asserted, that, without reinforcements came at once, the army must either retreat or perish. The Governor was asked, in conclusion, to certify the cause of this inexplicable delay, and to let the forces march thither with all speed.

DOUBLE DEALING.

In 1644, Sir Hugh Cholmondeley was stubbornly holding the castle of Scarborough for the King; the garrison being provided with arms by Lieutenant-colonel William Sandys, the Royalist agent at Dunkirk. The supply, however, was precarious, because the ships were so often intercepted. The town being sorely pressed, a letter from Sir John Mildrum was, at the suggestion of Sir Hugh, the governor, forwarded to the Assembly at Lynn, piteously begging a supply of victuals and ammunition to enable the loyal inhabitants to withstand the enemy (8th March). This important subject was debated *in camera*; at length the Assembly ordered Messrs. Maxey and Robinson (aldermen), Skott and Murford (common councilmen) to "make fitt such provision of beare and victualls, as they shall think good and fittinge. and send the same to Scarbrugh to the said Sir John, not exceeding fower hundred powndes." The inconvenience and humiliation through which they had passed seem to have so hardened the hearts of the Assembly, that they were now, though uninfluenced by wealthy neighbours, sincerely repentant and loyal to

King Charles. Having passed this resolution and entered the incriminating evidence with the rest of their business—a procedure “no fellow can understand,” they as stanch Parliamentarians must forsooth send copies of Sir John Mildrum’s communication to the committees of the Association, meeting at Cambridge and Norwich.

Not until the 26th of August did Lord Fairfax arrange the terms of surrender, although Manchester was sent to reduce Scarborough the 9th of July.

STRANGER THAN FICTION.

Decemb. 18: 1644 (Paid) To the Ringers at the thankesgiueing for a great deliuerance of this towne of Lyn from a Strange designe, 00 : 04 : 00. [C.W.A., St. M.]

Now the unambitious author of the above extract was an exceptional humourist, who having won the palm deserves to bear it; he eschewed inverted commas, underlining and such tricks for denoting emphasis; he said just what he had to say, like the great Charles Mathews, in a quiet unobtrusive way, without belabouring the gate of anyone’s stupidity. Drying his quill and sanding the neatly-written page, to which, after two hundred and fifty years, particles are still adhering, he silently passed away without making sign, leaving the pleasing discovery of any *double entendre* to the perceptive acumen of the reader.

Sir Roger Le Strange (1616-1704) the adventurous offspring of our sometime governor was born at Hunstanton and educated at Lynn. He accompanied King Charles into Scotland, and returning assisted Sir Hamon during the leaguer of Lynn. After the surrender, being of a resourceful disposition, he conceived the idea of retaking the town by surprise. He accordingly travelled to Oxford, where he obtained from his sovereign a “commission for reducing Lynn” (28th November 1644). Embodied in the commission were the following terms:—

(1). That in case Attempt shall be gone through withal, he, the said Roger Lestrangle shall have the Government of the Place.

(2). That what engagements shall be made unto the Inhabitants of the said Place, or any other Person capable of contributing effectually to that service by way of Reward either in Employment in his Majesty’s Navy or Forts, or in monies not exceeding the Sum of 5,000 pounds, the service being performed shall be punctually made good unto them.

(3). That they shall in this work receive what assistance may be given them from any of our nearest Garisons.

(4). That when our said Town shall be reduced unto our Obedience we shall further send thither a considerable Power as shall be sufficient to relieve and preserve them, we being at present (even without this) fully resolved to send a considerable power to encourage our faithful Subjects in those Parts and to regain our Rights and Interests therein. (Rushworth.)

Having secured the coveted document, Roger Le Strange hastened to Appleton, where from the solitary residence of Mr. Paston, he despatched a trusty servant to Lynn, with a message to a seaman named Thomas Leman imploring his attendance upon important business. Soon afterwards Captain Leman was announced at Appleton Hall.* During a private interview, Le Strange outspread

* The mansion of the Paston family was burnt to the ground in 1707.

the royal commission, expatiated upon his daring project, and assured his humble visitor that he would find £1,000 in his pocket—if the work succeeded. Inexpressibly charmed with a prospect so dazzlingly auriferous, the ancient mariner returned, promising “to bring another with him the next day to assist in the design,” but the first thing this unscrupulous fellow did was to expose the stratagem. Colonel Wauton was delighted; he desired Leman to strictly observe the appointment, at the same time, taking Hagger, a corporal from the garrison, with him. Eager to participate in the counterplot, Leman and his martial companion, disguised as a sailor, presented themselves at Appleton. When questioned, Hagger said “he was a poor man, living in Fishers’ End in Lynn, and kept an alehouse, and was £40 the worse for the Roundheads.” The piteous recital of his imaginary grievance restored confidence. After searching under the canopy of the bed, Le Strange brought out the King’s commission, which he slowly read and then put into his pocket. The crafty corporal played his part remarkably well, so that after exchanging promises of inviolable secrecy, Le Strange generously offered him £100, and an appointment as cannoneer, should the enterprise be crowned with success. Thoroughly entering into the spirit of the conspiracy to outwit the other, this genuine “old soldier” prolonged the interview, explaining how such a surprise could only be brought about with the assistance of two hundred friends. To such a practical hint, the arch-conspirator was forced to admit that at present “he knew not where to get the men.”

Whilst those in the upper room were weaving a net in which to ensnare the half-repentant borough, a curious incident was transpiring in the court-yard below. Around the door was a group of “poor old seamen,” importunately craving alms. The gentlewoman of the house, who knew not what to do to rid the premises of these undesirable visitors, ran at last to Mr. Le Strange’s room to acquaint him with their sad demands. Requesting them to be gone, Roger sent them twelve pence; but Lieutenant Stubbings and his five comrades, who had come “to assist in the design,” rather than to receive charity, rushed past the affrighted woman upstairs. On entering the apartment, Stubbings and the other pseudo-mariners pounced upon the trembling schemer, who, seeing he was betrayed, slyly handed the incriminating document to Leman, thinking that of all men the worthy captain might be trusted.

Another comical mishap connected with this interesting melodrama must not be forgotten. Now, although the Lieutenant knew Hagger, he was unacquainted with the other “jolly tar”; wherefore in the execution of his duty, Stubbings demanded what he did there, conspiring against the State. Leman was instantly searched, and the King’s Commission found upon him. In custody with Roger, he was hurried off to Lynn and placed before the Governor. Having faithfully obeyed Wauton’s orders Leman was of course discharged, whilst his companion was detained a prisoner.*

* See *The Loyal Observer or Historical Memoirs of the Life and Actions of Roger the Fidler alias the Observer* (1683) or a reprint in the *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. ix., p. 57; for Le Strange’s trial see John Rushworth’s *Historical Collections* (1692), vol. v., pp. 804-7.

Immediately "the strange lying Roger" entered the East Gates, the bells were rung, at the instigation no doubt of the exulting Governor. Soon after, the Royalist conspirator appeared before the Commons: on the 26th of December he was tried by court martial at the Gildhall, London, where Sir John Corbet presided. The prisoner boldly admitted "he was always of the King's party, and had so declared himself, and conceived that Leman and Hagger were likewise of the same party;" moreover, "as a 'listed soldier in Major Cartwright's troops in the garrison at Newark," he went from thence to Oxford. This, however, was considered no answer to the charge of having "come from the enemy within the quarters of the Parliament as a spy, and plotted and contrived and endeavoured the betraying of the towne of Lynne, in the power of the Parliament, to the enemy." Found guilty, Sir Roger Le Strange was condemned to be hanged by the neck until dead (28th December); the sentence was to be carried into effect on Thursday the 2nd of January 1645, at Smithfield. Through the well-directed efforts of powerful friends, a reprieve was granted. After being incarcerated four years at Newgate, the culprit was permitted to escape to the Continent, and then—but, no matter, we shall meet again!

Associated with Le Strange, in the intended rising, was Sir Charles Mordaunt (the third baronet) of Massingham. In consequence of the sequestration of his estates, he retired to London, where he died (15th July 1648). His body was interred in the church at Little Massingham.

THE LESTRANGE FAMILY.

(a.) *Sir Nicholas Lestrange*, Knight, of Hunstanton and Lynn; M.P. for Norfolk 1547; brought an action against the Corporation for the recovery of the House of Corpus Christi (1562); his son Roger was christened in St. Margaret's church (1st November, 1584).

(b.) *Sir Hamon Lestrange* (son of a); Knight, of Hunstanton; Governor of Lynn during the siege 1643; died 1654. He had three sons:—

(1.) *Nicholas*: his successor.

(2.) *Hamon*, of Pakenham, in Suffolk.

(3.) *Roger (Sir)*; born 1617; present at the siege 1643; escaped to the Continent after failing to recapture Lynn; he returned at the dissolution of the Long Parliament, giving bail for £2,000. He was "a man of good wit and a fancy very luxuriant and of an enterprising nature" (Lord Clarendon). After the Restoration he wrote books, pamphlets, etc.; Knighted; M.P. for Winchester, 1685; died the 11th December, 1704.

(c.) *Sir Nicholas Lestrange* of Hunstanton (son of b); created *Baronet* by Chas. I. (1st June, 1629); present at the siege 1643; died 1656. Several sons—*Nicholas* was his heir.

(d.) *Sir Nicholas Lestrange* (grandson of c); 2nd *Baronet*; at the siege; died 1669. *Nicholas* was his heir.

(e.) *Sir Nicholas Lestrange* (grandson of d); 3rd *Baronet*; died 1725.*

Arms:—Gu. two lioncels guardant arg. Anciently over all a bend az. for difference.

* Dorothy Lestrange the daughter of William Lestrange was christened at St. Margaret's church 23rd November, 1589. [P.R., St. M.]
For further particulars consult Burke's *Extinct Baronetcies*.

A FLYING VISIT.

To Norfolk, King Charles was almost a stranger. In 1636, he wrote to his "loving uncle, Mr. Framlingham Gawdy, Esqr., at his house at Harling," expressing an intention of visiting the county with the Queen, but the design was never carried out. During the later days of his career Charles was within a few miles of Lynn. Choosing *le très petit*, Dr. Michael Hudson and the army paymaster John Ashburnham for travelling companions the King escaped from Oxford (April 1646), determining to pass through Norfolk, in hope of being able to take ship for the North. Leaving Royston, he arrived with Ashburnham at a small village (probably Bottisham) about seven miles from Newmarket. Here the fugitives stayed the night. Proceeding the next day through Brandon, they entered Downham and lodged at the *Swan* in the market. From thence the King is believed to have gone to Fordham about three miles off, where in Snore Hall—an old manor house belonging to the Skipworths, he remained concealed for some time. In the mean time Hudson met the French ambassador at Southwell, from whom he learned the proposals made by the Scots. These terms were placed before the King (1st May). Whilst the perplexed trio were debating whether to proceed by sea or land, a news-letter arrived, describing how the King fled from Oxford disguised as a servant. It was forthwith decided, that Charles must assume another character. Having purchased a black cassock and a clerical hat, and after having his hair trimmed by an inquisitive barber, the fallen monarch and his friends rode to Crimplesham, where, at a wayside inn, the King donned the garb of a clergyman. Hudson then returned to Downham to see whether he could obtain a boat to row them to Lynn. In this he was unsuccessful, but whilst reconnoitring he chanced to meet Ralph Skipworth, with whom he exchanged horses. Skipworth not only directed the traveller across the treacherous fen, but gave him "a gray horseman's coat for the doctor," as he termed his sovereign. On the return of the prelate, the party continued their flight. Passing through Southery Ferry, Ely, Earith and Stukeley, they arrived about ten o'clock on Saturday night at Coppingford, near Stilton, where they secreted themselves during the Sabbath. . . . From Huntingdon the weary, dejected monarch rode to Stamford and from thence to Newark-upon-Trent, where in helpless despair he gave himself up to the Scots (5th May 1646), who offered, upon receiving £400,000, to surrender him to the Roundheads and to withdraw at once from the country. A moiety was soon paid and a promise given for the payment of the other half within two years. As a guarantee of good faith, hostages were appointed, our neighbour, Sir Ralph Hare, of Stow Bardolph, being one selected.

Particularly busy at this period, rumour boldly asserted, that the King when in Norfolk, was concealed at Hunstanton. The residence of Sir Hamon Le Strange is said to have been thoroughly searched; though this may be an exaggeration, there is enough evidence to shew how Miles Corbet summoned Le Strange's sons to Lynn in order to examine them closely upon the subject.

On the 19th of January the royal prisoner was brought from Windsor to London, where he was tried by "a high court of justice," to whose jurisdiction he sternly objected. The fatal sentence, pronounced the 27th, concluded with these words: "For all which treasons and crimes, this court doth adjudge that he the said Charles Stuart, as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy to the good people of this nation, shall be put to death by severing his head from his body." Three days later "the greatest of Kings and the best of Men" (*Prayer Book*), was executed, before his own banqueting house at Whitehall. No disrespect was shewn the remains of the fallen monarch, for his funeral expenses amounted to £229 5s. 2d.

Turning to the parish register, it may be noted that two persons were buried in St. Margaret's churchyard the 30th of January 1649—Mary, the wife of Robert Calthrop, and "King Charles, King of Great Brittain." * The rest of this chapter is "gospel truth."

CHAPTER XXIX.

Welding the Broken Chain.

A FEW days after the King's execution, the Commons voted the House of Lords "useless and dangerous," and the office of King "unnecessary, burdensome, and dangerous to the liberty, safety and public interests of the people and kingdom." The House of Lords was accordingly dissolved (7th February 1649) and Oliver Cromwell subsequently created "Lord Protector" (1653). Like the unambitious Cæsar he refused "the kingly crown," yet appointed a successor in the person of his son Richard.

* * * * *

During the ensuing Interregnum, the obnoxious system of impressing was never relaxed. Through the Commissioners of Customs, "press and conduct money" was awarded the agents employed in this nefarious business. For 40 men taken in Lynn and sent to London, Anthony Sharpe received £30 (24th May 1649). The Mayor, who seemed to have been somewhat negligent, was ordered to impress his proportion of men (4th August 1651), but many seamen, knowing what was likely to befall them, kept away, and several of our vessels being in London, Joshua Greene experienced difficulty in obeying instructions. Notwithstanding, he rejoiced because the Parliament offered to pay the men 24s. per month, thinking, as he confessed to the Committee of State, that so liberal an inducement would "bring them in more willingly." On the 27th of December, he forwarded a list of 73 men already "sent by ticket to the Navy Office," and mentioned the names of 50 more captives, who would

* Obsequies for persons of distinction were often performed in places with which they were connected. Sometimes a wax effigy of the deceased (*corpus fictum*) was employed. Such special services were entered as actual burials in the parish register. In this way, Queen Elizabeth appears to have been interred in all the churches in London, and Charles I. at Windsor and Lynn. A laurate statue of the martyred King may be seen in a niche at the office of Inland Revenue, King's Station Square.

arrive in a few days unless 23 of them accompanied Captain Hawley of Lynn, who paid their conduct money. Concluding, he expressed hopes of sending a third batch of 30, in a day or two. Anthony Tutchter, an active agent employed by the parliament, paid the Mayor £21 12s. to cover the expenses incurred through taking 36 seamen, giving a bill of exchange for £51 12s. (24th March). A year later, the said Anthony, accompanied by Ambrose Dennison, was here once more. What an unprecedented run of luck—they bagged no less than 190 men. The area of sport included Lynn, Wells and Wisbech (April 1653). In May 1657, Ensign Leake was quartered in Yarmouth with 30 Lynn seamen, but lacking money, he was unable to convey his consignment any further. These men were probably caught early in the year by Captain Robinson of the *Weymouth*.

A vessel belonging to Lynn—the *Sea-venture*, was visited by the emissaries of the press, when Simon Ransby and others were apprehended and placed on board the *Victory*. Robert Ransby, who was, for aught we know, a brother, petitioned the Admiralty Committee for Simon's immediate release, pointing out how illegal was his detention, because the seaman held a master's certificate and how, through non-delivery, the *Sea-venture's* cargo was spoiling. The prayer was not merely heard but answered (1653).

THE DUTCH REPUBLIC.

For more than half a century, commercial rivalry existed between England and the Dutch Republic. By almost imperceptible degrees the Dutch obtained the ascendancy, thus securing the carrying trade of Europe. Mercantile disputes were common enough, between the two countries, and the Navigation Act (1651) was expressly devised to upset what was considered an unfair monopoly. Henceforth all imports were to be brought by English vessels, except in the case of foreign vessels bringing goods produced in the countries to which they belonged. As the Dutch refused to comply with these restrictions, war ensued, and several stubborn battles were fought by the contending fleets. In February 1653, Blake was signally victorious; but an attempt to blockade the enemy's ports proved unsuccessful. Although the war was practically ended, the Dutch continued for years to harass the Eastern seaboard, so that the Lynn vessels and those of other ports could not put out to sea, except protected by gunboats. The State Papers for this period contain much information respecting the convoying of ships to and from Lynn.

At the meeting of the Council of State on Sunday, the 12th of September 1652, the Dutch fleet was reported to be off South Sand Head. Warning was instantly despatched to Lynn and other places along the coast. No ships were permitted to leave and those which might arrive were to be detained until reassurances of safety should be received from the Council. The same day, the Mayor was ordered by the Navy Commissioners not to hinder the departure of two vessels, laden with rape seed, belonging to John Hersen of Ostend and Dirick Swartz of Hamburg. Both, bound for Ostend, therefore set sail, as others carrying no guns had done the previous year.

The appearance of two Dutch men-of-war was a signal for extravagant rejoicing, although captured by Yarmouth men (19th May 1653). The incident was reported to the Admiralty by Robert Harmer and John Arnold, bailiffs of Yarmouth. "We find the English taken by the Dutch are put into chains, kept close prisoners and inhumanely used, and they have," the writers continue, "upwards of 70 Yarmouth men in prison at Amsterdam, whose pitiable condition may be seen by a letter we send you, for whose deliverance we beg some means may be used." Prior to this, Captain Sanson captured a man-of-war, carrying 15 guns, belonging to Flushing. This prize was also brought to Lynn. The modest captain, who was convoying the Lynn traders to Newcastle, says: "It was easily taken, for that very day the Dutchman had taken so many English ships coming from Yarmouth and other places towards Newcastle, that he had put all his seamen excepting about 10 or 12 on board his prizes and most of them got away, so the Flushingier yielded without giving one shot for his 30 soldiers aboard and his 10 or 12 seamen durst not fight" (11th January 1653).

At the termination of the war, our Corporation was instructed not to detain any foreign vessels except those engaged in the Newfoundland fishery or bound for the Isle of May in the Firth of Forth. This order was to prevent disputes with other fishermen, and to check the Lynn traders who might be tempted to carry cargoes of arms and provisions to the assistance of the Scots, with whom the nation was then at war (1653).

The "well-affected" John Noll and others petitioned the Council, praying that Dennis Mason (the master and owner of the *Margaret and Jane* of Lynn) and his boy, taken prisoners early in August whilst bringing coals from Sunderland, and who were now languishing upon bread and water in a foreign prison, might be exchanged for Dutch prisoners (28th September 1653). Two days before, a Dutch Ostender secured a vessel from London and one belonging to Lynn; the former being comparatively of little value was scuttled in Burlington Bay. Captain John Smith, of the *Pearl* instantly gave chase, and in the end overtook and captured the Dutchman. The prize was brought to Burlington quay and the 53 sailors confined in the school-house. Afraid lest the prisoners might escape and do more mischief, the Admiralty ordered their exchange (2nd October 1653).

Whilst Captain Robert Colman of the *Elizabeth* of Harwich was sailing towards Iceland to convoy our fishing fleet from thence, he boldly attacked a Hollander plying between Lynn and Rotterdam. Great was his surprise, when, on boarding the vessel, he discovered goods to the value of £300 not stated in the coquet. Meeting an English vessel, he sent the Hollander to Yarmouth, and continued his voyage. On his return he learnt how the merchants of Lynn and Norwich, taking advantage of his absence, had cleared away not only the barrels of contraband tallow, protesting the consignment was butter in other than a prime condition, but all goods not properly notified. To cover their own delinquency, they charged the crew with stealing bales of stockings worth £100. The captain was

arrested, but having detected some of the plunderers himself, he wrote to the Admiralty entreating that the pay due to them might be stopped and the money used to obtain justice, so that the burden of guilt might be removed from his shoulders (21st April 1657).

For the protection of our trade, the Admiralty despatched the ketch *Roe* to cruise in the Yarmouth Roads (1656). In July, a Dunkirk frigate, with four guns and a crew of five-and-thirty was seized near Lynn. As Captain Jeremiah Country was then convoying certain of our ships southward, his prize was left at Yarmouth. Seven of the sailors escaped, three of whom were caught; whilst the hue-and-cry was put in force to secure the others. Major William Burton complained that over fifty Dutch prisoners were in his charge, whom he earnestly wished to exchange (1st August 1657). During the winter the *Roe* was riding in the Lynn Deep, "where no vessel rides, but through necessity." On New Year's Day, a Dunkirk man-of-war was encountered. A severe action ensued and Captain Country was dangerously wounded. The enemy escaped, carrying off a Boston hoy,* which the *Roe* was then convoying. In this dilemma, the intrepid captain prudently dropped anchor in the Lynn haven.

A few days after, the deputy mayor Bartholomew Wormell and four others forwarded an important communication to General Desborow. "In times of peace," they write, "we trade with those of Flanders, so that they know our creeks and will spoil our trade, for rich vessels come from London, etc. [to Lynn] and now Captain Country is disabled there is no convoy." For the attention bestowed on the wounded captain, the writers desired repayment, and, as some time must elapse before he could resume duty, they urge the necessity of at once protecting the interests of the port (6th January 1657). Four months passed and the captain was still an invalid. As there was little prospect of his recovery, Robert Thorowgood and five other sympathetic burgesses addressed the Admiralty on his behalf, pointing out the necessitous circumstances in which he was placed, how faithfully his service to the nation had been discharged and stating how "with much willingness and care" he always convoyed the vessels of Lynn (4th April). Edward Grove was, therefore, appointed captain, and successfully convoyed our fleet of fishing ships to Iceland; he was, however, far inferior to his unfortunate predecessor. In December, the mate Francis Pile, the surgeon John Fiffe and others made complaint to the Admiralty about the conduct of the new officer. From their depositions, we learn how he declined to have religious observances on the Sabbath and how he remained on shore drinking, thus neglecting to put out to sea with the vessels awaiting him in the haven. Writing from Lynn, the foolish fellow attempted to shew that the delay was through sickness and the unreadiness of our seamen; he referred to the malicious wickedness of his accusers and concluded, "hoping the Committee would pardon all offence and employ him again, as he would rather chose death than displease

* A hoy (from the German *heu*) was a small vessel generally rigged like a sloop; hence "ahoy!"

them and those who recommended him." . . . On the 4th January 1658, Thomas Bowry was commanding the *Roe*.

IRELAND.

Soon after the execution of the King, Charles II. was proclaimed in Ireland. To frustrate the design of the English Royalist Protestants and the Irish Catholics, who had coalesced with the intention of overthrowing the Commons both in Ireland and England, Cromwell landed at Dublin (15th August 1649). Two thousand were cruelly slaughtered at Drogheda, whilst another unpardonable massacre happened at Wexford. In the spring of 1650, Cromwell returned, leaving Ireton and Ludlow to complete the conquest. The conveying of vessels was then relegated to what was termed the Irish and Scotch Committee, Lynn being one of the twenty-six places, where agents were stationed to carry this into effect (28th March 1651).

John King, the captain of the *John Pink*, seized an Irish pirate boat, whilst conveying vessels between Lynn and London. He was, however, overtaken by an Irish man-of-war. A sharp fight, which lasted three hours, was the result. Captain King was slain, and the master Richard Smith besides fourteen of the crew were seriously wounded. The English vessel, of which King was part owner, was carried off. The Captain's widow, left with two small children petitioned for assistance. The Admiralty accordingly voted her £50, also Richard Smith £10 (18th October 1650).

SCOTLAND.

On the 20th June, Charles II. landed in Scotland. Faithfully promising to be a Presbyterian, he won the support of that nation, but the Scottish army was utterly vanquished at Dunbar (3rd September 1650). There were, however, multitudes of disaffected persons, who combining formed an army of foot-soldiers. Taking Charles with them, they suddenly invaded England, hoping to raise an insurrection before Cromwell could check their movements. On the anniversary of the previous defeat, they were absolutely destroyed at Worcester (1651). Those not slain were made prisoners and sent, in many instances, as slaves to the Barbadoes. Charles, after a series of misfortunes, succeeded in escaping to France.

The day before the final overthrow of the Scots, Colonel Wauton was handed an important communication from the Council of State. The enemy was at Worcester; the army of the Lord General was on this side of the river, whilst Lieutenant-general Fleetwood and his men were on the other; moreover, within a few days the King was expected to fight or fly. Great danger was apprehended, if any of the enemy's horse should break away and pass through the Isle of Ely, because many discontented prisoners, transported from the north, were then at work upon the drainage of the Level. Special attention was therefore to be bestowed upon "the entrance of that isle," and upon the town of Lynn, the inhabitants of which were regarded as none too loyal to the Roundheads. Wauton was directed to seize a man named Hemond at Ely, who had played a conspicuous part in the recent rebellion in Kent. A few days later, Wauton was

appointed commander of a militia regiment in the hundreds of Freebridge Lynn and Freebridge Marshland (6th September 1651).

To the poverty-stricken town of Lynn this war was indeed a blessing in disguise, and well might the townsfolk have echoed the words of the son, who, proceeding to rob the body of his own father whom he had unknowingly slain in battle, exclaimed—"Ill blows the wind that profits nobody." The State's commissioner, Robert Cadwell, came to buy provision for the army in Scotland. Enormous quantities of hay, oats, wheat and food, including biscuits and butter, were bought and shipped on board our vessels for Scotland. Thus, although the ordinary fishing industry was at a low ebb, our seamen, protected by convoys, which during this national emergency, were promptly provided, reaped a rich harvest. Payments, through the customs, for goods, the freight of provisions and the passage of soldiers abound in the pages from whence this information is derived. The deputy treasurer at Newcastle paid the Lynn shipmasters for the freight of provisions £1,029 (19th March), £466 13s. (16th May) and £812 15s. (20th June 1651). Minute particulars are given in the State Papers.

The manufacture of saltpetre was established; John Semaine being commissioned to make 8 cwts. every week, so that the army might not lack gunpowder. This he was to continue doing, according to the time specified in the Act of the 9th of February 1653. The Corporation were to render him every facility; whilst he was empowered to pay for assistance, so that the directions in the Act might be minutely obeyed (26th January 1654). To secure a supply of ropes, etc., for the navy, the Government encouraged the cultivation of hemp in the Fens, offering to buy all that could be grown during a series of years at 3s. per stone delivered at Lynn or Wisbech. (3rd February 1653.)

A season of prosperity was at hand. The number of corn meters was increased from six to ten; the stallage at the Mart was hired by strangers at tenpence and by townsmen at sixpence per square foot, and the tolls at the East and South Gates were leased at £15 (read £180) each per annum (1657), whereas they realised only one-ninth and one-twelfth of that amount respectively in 1653.*

PARLIAMENTARY MISCELLANEA.

For two years after the ignominious expulsion of Edmund Hudson from the Parliamentary Eden, our borough was partially disfranchised. When, however, the naughty electors had sufficiently purged their contempt and worn idealic sackcloth and ashes long enough William Cecil, the second Earl of Salisbury—

(1) A DEGENERATE PEER,

and one of the three, who condescendingly accepted seats in the "Lower" House, humbly offered his services to the electorate. Aggrieved at the treatment to which they submitted, the Assembly

* Tolls for the carriage of goods through the town gates was suspended for one year (23rd Nov., 1722); and "the market tolls declared to be the mayor's." 1st March, 1723.)

eagerly acceded to the proposal. Thomas Revett the mayor was instructed to apprise the noble applicant, that he was indeed "a Burgess of the Parliament." The indispensable municipal franchise was presented by the grateful Assembly, whilst the community, "the burgesses at large," adopted him as their representative.

To the Mayor's letter, the Earl politely replied :—

Gentlemen, As the President you have made in choosing of me to be your burgess is unusuall (I beleieve) if not the first amongst you, so doth it lay the greater obligac'on uppon me, neither is that favour a little heightened by my being so much a stranger unto you as indeede I am. And as you have heere an open and free acknowledgment from me of your kinde and good affections in so unanimous an elec'ion of me to serve you in Parliament, as your letter doth expresse, so cannot they merit, or you expect more thanks then I do really retorne unto you for them; you have bene pleased cheerefully (as you say) to conferre your freedome upon me, I shall ever be as zealous in maintaining of yours. And as I am not ignorant of the great trust you have placed in me, so shall you never be deceived in it. For the addresses you are to make unto me (as your occasions shall require) they shall not be so many as cheerefully received, And whatsoever may concerne the publique good or yours shall ever be pursued with all faithfullness and diligence by him that is———

Your very loving friend,

SALISBURY.

Hatfield, 15th Sep. 1649.

(2) THE PEOPLE'S SUFFRAGE.

Although freemen enjoyed the privilege of voting when Messrs. Percival and Toll (1642) and again when William Cecil sought the suffrages of the burgesses (1649), yet their existence was wantonly ignored when Messrs. Desborow and Skippon were returned. This incident caused the greatest dissatisfaction, which culminated in a conflict between the members of the municipal "house" and the outside burgesses, who were determined at any cost to exercise their right of voting. The Assembly were quite as obstinate in their decision to conserve to themselves this privilege, excluding of course all other freemen. Hence they engaged John Horsnell, a London solicitor to attend the Committee of Privileges in order "to make good this House's ancient custom of electing burgesses" (26th September 1656). The following shrewd persons were chosen to prepare a brief. Mr. New-elect (that is the new mayor), Joshua Greene, Benjamin Holley (aldermen), Francis Rolfe (town clerk), besides Messrs. Robinson, Pope, Clampe and other members of the Council if they felt inclined. Four or more were "to draw up instructions and state the business of the election clearly, between this House (the Town Council) and the Commons of the borough. On the réassembling of the House three days later, Horsnell was asked to interview Mr. Clarke of Bury St. Edmunds, who was then in London (29th September). Two heads, especially if they belong to counsellors, must be better than one. Guided by subsequent events, let us conclude that the Assembly was successful in its suit. When General Desborow resigned in order to represent the county of Somerset, the Assembly selected Sir John Thorowgood, knight of Kensington, Middlesex (19th December 1656). At the next election,

when Messrs. Thomas Toll and Griffith Lloyd were returned, the freemen were still clamouring for the franchise (3rd January 1659), as we see by the following notable entry:—

Whereas severall Burgesses of this Burrough of the Commons at large have this day made their requestes to this house, that they might be admitted to joyn with this house in the Election of Burgesses to sett in the next Parliament to be houlden at Westminster the 27th day of this instant January, It is thought fitt and ordered that the resolves of the Committee of Priviledges of the last Parliament and the Parliamntes Orders thereupon concerning Elections be first read unto them in the open hall which is done accordingly. This day alsoe upon further debate of the aforesaid business of Election of Burgesses to sett in the next Parliament for this Burrough, it being adjudged by this house that the right of election of the said Burgesses is at present in this house according to the aforesaid order. It is therefore ordered that this house doe proceed to an election accordingly, And that in case the said Commons at large shall after such election persist in their desire to have the precept for election of Burgesses to be read unto them, that the same be read unto them for their satisfaction.

But the reading of the precept did not reconcile the burgesses-at-large with their electoral position—an utter exclusion from the parliamentary franchise. In April 1660, their demand was renewed with greater vehemence, so that the Assembly “decided to waive for once and without prejudice to them and their successors in the future, the right of keeping elections of members of parliament to themselves.” Hence the next minute:—

Whereas Mr. Mayor hath this day (16th April 1660) caused a Common Hall to be warned in order to the election of Burgesses to serve in the next Parliament to be houlden at Westminster and severall of the members of the house being mett together in this house divers of the free Burgesses of this Burgh came and requested that they might be admitted to elect Burgesses for the said Parliament as their right, which being taken into consideration this House doth think fitt, for the present satisfaction of the people, to suffer the Commons to elect and to wave the election in this house for this present election.

Not through love, not through justice, but because of their irritating and unbearable importunity, the dominant classes were contented just for once to forego the pleasure derived from an exclusive exercise of their choicest privilege. The obstinate oligarchy yielded “for this present election,” but from that memorable occasion the *right* of freemen to vote at parliamentary elections was never seriously opposed. “Admitted to the vote on sufferance and by the special grace of their municipal betters for a single turn in 1660, the burgesses-at-large ever afterwards voted at the elections from which they had been so long excluded. In practice, if not in legal theory, they were admitted to the parliamentary franchise without an act of parliament for their parliamentary enfranchisement.” (Jeaffreson.)

THE MISSING CHARTER (C. 23).

Religious questions, supposed at one time to be correctly and authoritatively settled by the Church, now assumed a political complexion, not merely national but local. Undeviating uniformity in method of worship, obedience to the behests of those in authority and implicit confidence in His Highness the Lord Protector were essential traits in the character of a loyal subject. As a test of sincerity, various towns were called upon to surrender their charters,

with a view to securing new and more advantageous ones. Colchester, Leeds, and other places complied, but some were greatly disappointed with the results. Our borough also surrendered its Great Charter, accompanied with a petition. With other documents it was submitted by order of the Council of State, to Desborow, Lambert (majors-general), P. Jones, Sydenham (colonels), W. Strickland, and the Lord Deputy—all members of the Protector's Council (3rd July 1656). After having not only perused the basis of our liberties—the 6th John (C. 1), but a series of charters including the 16th and 29th Henry VIII. (C. 15 and C. 16), the 4th and 5th Philip and Mary (C. 20) and the 2nd James I. (C. 22). Besides, having considered the terms proposed "for the good government of the borough," the committee advised Cromwell to renew the charter with these modifications.

(1). That the power of imprisoning for not obeying bye-laws be restrained and the Corporation left to lay reasonable fines not exceeding £40, for such offences, to be levied by distress or otherwise.

(2). That if there occur cause to remove the mayor, the Corporation have power to elect another, as in the case of death.

(3). That the power of summoning parties concerned in Admiralty causes within the limits mentioned in King James' charter (C. 22) and compelling obedience thereto may extend to the maritime towns adjacent to these limits.

(4). That the Corporation be empowered to erect any trade or mystery or manufacture within the Corporation by a common public stock to be managed by the Mayor and Burgesses, and the benefit devoted to the poor,

(5). That during the pleasure of His Highness the hamlets of West and North Lynn be annexed to the borough, and—

(6). That the report be agreed with and that His Highness advise the Attorney General to prepare a grant accordingly. [*Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, 1656 7, p. 5.]

The Cromwellian Charter (C. 23) holds no place among our treasured documents. Although it has vanished like a dream, the astute reader will surmise its untimely fate. After the Restoration, when a strong reaction set in, it was unquestionably destroyed.

ENCOURAGEMENT OF LITERATURE.

An unusually significant grant is recorded in the Hall Book under the 7th of August 1657. A stimulus had some year before been given to the study of the Oriental languages. "The King (Charles I.) considers there is a great scarcity of Arabic and Persian books in the country, wherefore he requires that every ship of the Turkey Company at every voyage shall bring home one Arabic or Persian manuscript to be delivered to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who shall dispose of them as the King shall think fit, provided that the books, so to be brought, be any others than *Alkarons*, because there is great choice of them here already" (State Papers). The Lynn Corporation voted a gratuity of twenty shillings to Mary Wheelock (or Willock) the widow of Abraham Wheelock, late professor of Arabic and German at the Cambridge University, in consideration of a book presented by her to the Assembly. The work, entitled, *Quatuor Evangeliorum Domini nostri Jesu Christi versio Persica Syriacum et Arabicam*, etc., was a polyglot version of the Four Gospels—Latin and Persian in parallel

columns, as translated, *per Abrahamum Whelocum*. London: Typis, Jacobi Flesheri, MDCLVII (1657). As the payment of the grant and the printing of this remarkable work happened the same year, the learned professor probably died before the issue of his book. The copy in St. Margaret's library is perhaps the identical volume presented to the Corporation. Mary Wheelock, his widow, who lived in South Lynn, deposited "the writings" relating to her house, in the church chest for safety (27th December 1659).

COMMOTION IN NORFOLK.

Great fears were entertained that a conspiracy engendered by mischievous Royalists was likely to reveal itself, when the Mart should be thronged not only with genuine traders, but with scores of "malig-nants," gathered together for quite a different purpose. The Governor was to keep an eye upon certain ships at anchor in the haven, to apprehend Cornelius Forney, the master of Hugh Farrar's vessel, and finally to avert the threatening danger (18th February 1650). Two days afterwards the mayor, Bartholomew Wormell and Lieutenant-colonel Underwood informed the Council of State how a Dunkirk vessel detained in port, escaped through the connivance of some of the inhabitants. In reply, the Admiralty Committee desired Thomas Toll to thoroughly investigate the circumstances and to forward an examination upon oath of those supposed to have been implicated. Wholly ignorant of what was before the Assembly, some of the burgesses ventured to plead for the removal of six cannoneers stationed in the town. This ill-advised request was submitted to the army officers (19th April). Though nothing of moment happened during the Mart, yet the utmost vigilance continued to be maintained. The Council of State determined that the garrison at Lynn and Crowland should have "the companies of the colonel, lieutenant-colonel and four captains; 750 soldiers, besides officers; one master gunner, fourteen matrosses, * one storekeeper and his man for Lynn and Yarmouth; one quarter-master, one surgeon, two mates, one minister and one gunsmith for the whole regiment" (4th May). A grant of £100 was next voted to each town for the repair of their defences (3rd July).

Towards autumn a spirit of rebellious dissatisfaction suddenly manifested itself in Norwich and elsewhere. To complete measures for its suppression, troops were hurried into the county, and the militia commissioners warned to be on the alert. One hundred foot soldiers were drafted into Lynn. The attempt was doomed from its very inception. Blomefield gives the names of the victims who suffered. *One* at Thetford, Fakenham, Walsingham, Holt and Dereham; *two* at Downham, Swaffham, Wisbech, and Lynn, and *six* at Norwich—were condemned and executed within a week. *Four* only of those implicated were pardoned. Here, a poor shoemaker and Colonel John Saul, "a worthy gentleman," who captured Crowland

* From the Dutch *matroos*, Danish and Swedish *matrose*, a sailor; subsequently applied to soldiers.

"Matrosses in the train of artillery are a sort of soldiers, next in degree under the gunners, who assist about the guns." (Bailey.)

twice for the late King, were hanged as rebels on the Tuesday market-place. A grant of £20 was voted for Wauton to distribute among such of our garrison as had been active in suppressing the insurrection (9th December 1650). To prevent a similar outbreak, the Governor pleaded for a troop of one hundred dragoons to be quartered *near* the town. The army officers were accordingly asked, whether a troop already in pay might not be available.

But a more serious rebellion against the Protector was discovered in East Anglia (1655). The following persons were apprehended and sent as prisoners to Yarmouth:—Captains William March, Walter Kirby, John Moss and William Wharton (each of Lynn); Mr. Gamball, John Disney, David Dobbs and Jarvice Ashton (each of Downham); Dr. Bradley (Swaffham); Sir Edmund Mumford (Wretton); Richard Martin (Ashill) and Ralph Piggott (Stradsett). Twenty-five other conspirators were lodged in the gaol at Lynn. They were ultimately required to enter into a bond in order to regain their liberty, and to promise not to conspire against the Protector or the present government, but to reveal any plots in their knowledge. Each however was to “appear on summons for one year” (3rd October 1655).

OUR GARRISON.

In 1652, it was arranged to draft the Lynn soldiers to other places, to demolish the Blockhouse and to remove our military equipment to the Tower. In February William Fenn informed Colonel Wauton, that the brass cannon were unlimbered and ready to be shipped. Orders were accordingly given for their removal. They were placed on board the *Happy Entrance* and were safely landed, the Master, Henry Girston, receiving £11 as payment (19th April). This appears to have been the first consignment, because Captain Edward Shooter, the garrison store-keeper, loaded two small vessels the next year with ordnance and ammunition from Lynn and Boston. Afraid to put out to sea, he waited some time for the protection of a man-of-war. At length, he wrote to Colonel Wauton, Sir Walter Strickland and Thomas Lister (or the Ordnance Committee) asking whether he might venture to despatch the vessels without a convoy (21st April, 1653). The answer was probably a negative, because on the 29th, Captain Thomas Wilkes of the *Swan* convoyed two ships from Lynn to London.

Before the military stores had left the haven, rumours of the approach of the Dutch, threw the town into a state of indescribable excitement. Pleased indeed were the burgesses to be rid of so expensive a military establishment, but now a sudden reaction set in. Mindful of the crushing defeat administered by Blake off Portland, when the Dutch lost eleven ships of war, thirty merchant vessels and two thousand men, besides fifteen hundred prisoners, the enemy was more than ever revengeful (18th February). Well, well, under the circumstances, the townsmen would do their best. David Bellford drew out a few guns and planted them along the shore for the protection of the ships in port, and John Hosier, the captain of the convoy *Magdalen*, supplied the defenders with two barrels of gunpowder before

sailing for Grimsby (13th April 1653). Feeling the alarming insecurity of the town, a humble petition was placed before the Admiralty who forthwith ordered Edward Shooter to produce from his store eighty shots and four barrels of powder. In the mean time, an edict reached the Corporation for the demolition of the Blockhouse; but the terrified inhabitants prevailed with Colonel Wauton and the Council of State to let it remain a while longer (15th April 1653).

Finding their occupation gone, Robert Rabye and John Whitworth ensigns of the dispersed garrison, petitioned the Committee of Parliament for some slight recognition of past services. The application was approvingly endorsed by Colonel Wauton (21st January 1653). When two years later the garrison was reorganised, and the town again burdened with the maintenance of soldiers, the utility of the despised Blockhouse was apparent. During the Mart in 1657, special guards from the foot companies were stationed at the gates, when Commander Bacon solicitous for the welfare of his men, obtained eight metts of coal.* Colonel Salmon's regiment was here the 26th of August 1658.

"THE GREAT RIVER."

The drainage of the Great Level met with the approval of the government, who assisted "the adventurers" in their prodigious undertaking, by providing navvies. The Scottish captives at Newcastle and Durham were offered the same terms as had previously been offered to the prisoners at York and London. Many to gain their liberty willingly accepted remunerative work at the Bedford Level and were accordingly shipped to Lynn. Fearing the waterway of the port might be endangered, our Corporation enunciated their views at the Sessions held at Lynn (January 1654). But the Committee of State advised the justices of the peace and the grand jury to make their complaint to the Committee of Adventurers, namely Messrs. Lambert, Pickering, Cooper and Wolsley, rather than to them (31st March). Obtaining no redress a polite letter was sent to the Protector. He answered, as a "loving friend," but took no further interest in the matter:—

To the Mayor and Burgesses of Lynn Regis.

Gentlemen, I received yours; and cannot but let you know the good resentments I have of your respects,—assuring you that I shall always be ready to manifest a tender love and care of you and your welfare, and in particular of that concernment of yours relating to navigation.

Commending you to the grace of God, I remain
your loving friend,

OLIVER P.

IN LETTERS OF BRASS.

"There are more brasses in Norfolk than in any other single county, in all England north of the Mersey and the Humber, or on the whole continent of Europe." (Cotman.) Those in St. Margaret's church—"the largest and finest in England" (Suffling)—are the pro-

* Mett, mete from the Anglo Saxon *metan* to measure.

A ton of coals = 13 metts, ∴ one mett = about 12 stones.
" " = 30 bushels ∴ two metts = " 5 bushels,

duction of an unknown artist, whom Gough designates "the Cellini of the 14th century." Many of the choicest sepulchral monuments were destroyed immediately after the Reformation; during the reign of Edward VI. too, the senseless havoc wrought among the tombs is incredible. Superb portraits were recklessly "torn away and for no small matter sold to the coppersmiths and tinkers; the greediness of those, who then hunted after gain, by that most barbarous means being such as though the Queen (Elizabeth) by her proclamation (1560) . . . taking notice thereof strictly prohibited any further spoil in that kind; they ceased not still to proceed therein till that she issued out another (1571-2) charging the justices of assize to be severe in the punishment of such offenders" (Dugdale). The Puritans also of the Commonwealth were not only inveterate enemies of stained glass, but of incised brass. To pacify the religious scruples of those in authority, this wanton profanation constituted the chief relaxation of the Roundheads, who were often quartered in churches. Coming to more recent times, mercenary motives, rather than religious fanaticism, tended to complete the sacrilegious desecration of our churches and the almost entire demolition of these magnificent specimens of mediæval workmanship. As a local instance, reference may be made to the churchwardens, who sold brasses weighing 10 stone to John Coward at 5 pence per lb., and the stone from which they were torn to Messrs. Start and Eldridge for £4 10s. (1787). William Willblood, appointed sexton and grave-digger at St. Margaret's (April 1804), purloined many beautiful brasses, which he broke up and sold for a few pence to a brazier. Accused of the theft, he hanged himself in the belfry (1808). Mackerell mentions more than forty brasses, which in 1738 adorned the church, and were intended to perpetuate the memory of those "gone before." To the student a few pithy notes on the more important of the Lynn brasses may be useful:—

(1) ST. MARGARET'S CHURCH.

Robert Braunche, with his wives Letitia and Margaret; he was mayor in 1349 and 1359; died 15th Oct. 1364. Thereon is incised a sumptuous feast in which the first dish—a *peacock*, "the food of lovers and the meat of lords," is being presented to a royal guest, hence called "The Peacock Brass." Covering the *whole* slab (and not pieces let into matrices) it is of Flemish workmanship (107 by 62 inches). An engraving thereof may be found in *Cotman's Sepulchral Brasses of Norfolk* (1838), though unaccountably omitted by the Rev. Charles Boutell, rector of Downham, in his *Monumental Brasses of England* (1849).

Adam de Walsokne and his wife Margaret; he was mayor in 1334 and 1342; died 5th June 1349. This Flemish brass (120 by 67 inches) represents a vintage harvest. Until 1738 it was in the chancel; but now beside that of Robert Braunche under the south-west tower. Mr. E. M. Beloe, junr., includes this and the one above in an excellent series of *Photolithographs of the Norfolk Brasses* (1889-90).

Robert atte Lathe with his wife Johanna; mayor in 1374; died 12th Nov. 1376. A rubbing of this Flemish brass in a collection made by Craven Ord and Sir John Cullum, may be seen at the British Museum. It was engraved by Cotman from a copy by Gough, also by William Taylor. When Stothard visited Lynn (1813) this brass "had been given out of the church by the churchwardens to a person who sold it for 5/- to a brass founder." (Cotman.)

Walter Coney, mayor in 1453, 1460, 1469 and 1470; alderman of the Holy Trinity Gild for 14 years; died 29th Sept. 1479. This "faire brasse to his

memorie" was placed in the Trinity Chapel, which he built. After being moved, the Purbeck slab (110 by 54 inches) partly reaved of its beautiful brasses was replaced (1898). Engraved by William Taylor.

(2) ST. NICHOLAS' CHAPEL.

William de Bittering and his wife Juliana; mayor in 1351, 1352, 1358 and 1365; mayor-elect in 1353, but excused to go on a pilgrimage to St. James', Galilee. This brass (120 by 72 inches) disappeared a century ago.

Thomas Waterdeyn with his wife Alice; mayor in 1397 and 1404. The stone was inlaid with a tree, under which were two hearts. Joseph Howard Jackson discovered a slab at the west end of the chancel, with indents agreeing with Mackerell's description (*Archæologia*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 505). A drawing made by Thomas Martin (1737) is preserved (*Rye's MSS.* Vol. III., No. 17).

(3) ALL SAINTS' CHURCH.

After the falling of the tower, nine brasses, weighing 1 qr. 26 lbs. at 6d. per lb., were sold to J. Richardson for which the wardens—Matthew Horsley and James Culham received 27/- (1765). The brass to the memory of the Rev. John Norris and others, suggested by Mackerell, are supposed to have been included in this act of vandalism.

CLEANSING THE WAYS.

When in Lynn, "His Highness," the Lord Protector, was infinitely disgusted with the filthy, insanitary condition of the place. Whereupon he issued an order for "the amending and reforming the defects and annoyances in the streets, lanes and fleets" within the borough (31st March 1654). At a meeting of townsfolk in the nave of St. Margaret's church, it was decided for the bellman to give immediate notice for the inhabitants to thoroughly cleanse the streets, channels and fleets near their houses and to remove accumulations of "filth and muck" to the common muck-hill or forfeit 3s. 4d.; also within fourteen days to "well and sufficiently amend, raise and repair broken, sunk, or defective pavements against their respective houses to the satisfaction of the surveyor." "St. Margaret's muck-hill" was near Nelson Street. For non-compliance the penalty of 4d. per square foot was to be enforced. The surveyor was then to do what was necessary and levy double charges upon seizure of goods. The parishioners agreed to raise a fund for the improvement of the common ways and passages, "which lye not in particular charge." A tax, therefore, of twopence in the £ was laid upon the occupiers of houses or land, and upon the dead goods and stock of those, chargeable to the poor.

At a parish meeting the 21st of April 1656, these orders were again confirmed, and it was agreed that they should be rigidly enforced during the current year. Scavengers were now employed to carry away the reeking heaps of decomposing refuse at the street corners. Such spasmodic spells of cleanliness did not prevent the reappearance of the plague.

MUNICIPAL "COLLECTIONERS."

Peter Heylyn described the people of Norfolk as being "notably industrious both for plough and manufactures; inasmuch that one shall hardly see a beggar throughout all the countrey" (1652). An intimate acquaintance with Lynn at this period would we opine have caused the historian to somewhat modify the above statement.

To assist Robert Greene, to whom the care of the poor was entrusted, and to prevent malingering and imposition, strict inquiries were to be made. Only *bona fide* cases were to be relieved, and none without badges might "go a-begging." Children able to work were to be apprenticed by the parish. The collectioners or pensioners, those who took relief, were compelled to attend church on Fridays to be instructed in the principles of religion. If any, without reasonable cause, were absent, they lost their week's pension, "according to an order of the Hall, 12th of December 1656."

It was further agreed by the Mayor and Justices:—

(1). That the said Robert Greene in officiating this worke shall be vindicated by Mr. Mayor and the Justices against such as shall anyway abuse him either in word or deed.

(2). That the said Robert Greene doe not alone judg what is fitting to give to this or that p'ty that this is in want, but to certifie and be an assistant to the Mayor and Justices or other overseers in that p'ticular.

(3). That the other overseers doe not neglect theire office in meeting at the Church notwithstanding such an assistant to bring in their money and assist in making assessments, if neede be.

(4). That the said Robert Greenes sallery be paid out of the hall for service as above,

Robert Thorowgood, Mayor.
Guybon Goddard, Recorder.

Josh : Greene.
Tho : Greene.

Bearing upon this subject, though of a later date, are the minutes of the Allsaints' vestry:—

Ordered, that onely the third bell shall be rung at the death or buriell of those who receive collection.

Ordered, that none shall have any allowance from this parish besides those who frequent theire parish church and that theire allowance be giuen them every lord's day in the afternoone, after evening service.

Ordered, that all poore children be put to schole by the overseers, whose parents are unable to give them education and that they be brought, to be catechized by the Vicar or his Curate (6th April 1686.)

LOCAL ESPIONAGE.

In the City Library, Norwich, is an interesting vellum-bound paper manuscript of 81 pages (11 by 7½ inches), termed the *Scarch Boke for Lynn, Swaffham, Walsyngham, Fakenham, Holt*. It covers nine years, 1651 to 1659, the first entry being dated the 1st of April 1651. The names of those indicted by "the searchers," who carried on a system of espionage, are arranged in alphabetical order. With the offender's name is the date and the crime for which he was cited to appear before the justices of the peace. The five areas did not, however, correspond with the hundreds, because Market Downham, in the hundred of Clackclose, is placed in the Lynn division. What a varied assortment of indictable offences, some of which appear in a Latin guise; for example, felony, insult, riot, assault and battery, forcible entry, trespass, blood-draft, *fornicatio et meretricium*; keeping a jumart, using greyhounds; snaring hares, shooting partridges, doves or pigeons; being a cheat, a loiterer, a nuisance, a drunkard, a common swearer or a recusant (*absent ab ecclesia*); brewing beer without a licence, delivering beer to an unlicensed person, selling beer without a licence or selling less than

a quart for a penny ; suffering tipping upon the Lord's day ; permitting unlawful games and for " keeping an inmate " ; possessing unjust weights and measures, as a defective bushel or false pots and jugs ; neglecting to repair the church, road, bridge, tunnel or sea-bank ; encroaching upon the common way ; diverting a watercourse ; erecting a cottage ; forgetting to maintain a foldgate or to restore broken-down fences ; taking bribes ; ignoring a justice's warrant and finally allowing an apprentice to beg.

As the burgesses of Lynn were amenable to a distinct local jurisdiction, their names appear only when the offence was committed beyond the bounds of the borough. John Westall of Lynn was indicted at Swaffham for delivering beer to an unlicensed person (July 1657) ; Bartholomew Wormell was reported for having " insufficient fences " around his land near the town (April 1657) and " the dike-reeves of Old Lynn " for neglecting to repair the sea bank " across the water " (January 1659). From this curious manuscript a few quotations, relating to those dwelling in Lynn, are appended :—

Oct. 1652. Adam Thomas of Thompson, digging Turffe.

Ap: 1656. *vx* (the wife of) Steplain Browne de Gressenhall, not ringing her swoyne.

Oct: 1656. Twygdom Dorothy *vx* John Twigdom of Walsoken, A Comon Skold.

Oct: 1659. Squire Tho: of Elm, enclosunge ye comon.

Jan: 1661. Dove Johes de Stoake flerry, *ingrosseat frumenti*.

The cunning tricks of the old purveyors were not quite forgotten, and great suffering was still brought about by the unscrupulous " cornering " of the grain markets. The old ballad, *A warning-picce to Ingrossers of Corne*, describes how Goodman Inglebred, a farmer, returning from the Linn market, was met by an affable gentleman who bargained for a large quantity of barley at 8s. a bushel. But when the greedy farmer attempted to load the waggons, a terrific storm tore the barn to pieces, scattered the corn in every direction, devastated the country for miles, translated the Mephistophelian stranger cunningly disguised in black upon the wings of the wind and left the engrosser in a state of unenviable collapse !

By means of an Act (20th July 1644) the digging of turf was restricted. Certain persons were officially chosen to procure turf for redistribution from uncultivated land. The supply of coal from Newcastle being stopped, the inhabitants of London, etc., were wholly dependent upon peat and turf for fuel.

NOT WHAT THEY SEEM.

A remarkable manuscript, received from an unknown correspondent and published by Thomas Carlyle, was supposed to contain thirty-five Cromwellian letters. They were addressed to Samuel Squire, an Ironside subaltern, the ancestor of the person who communicated with Carlyle.* The publication caused a literary sensation ; whilst some regarded the entire manuscript as a clever

* See Thomas Carlyle's article in *Fraser's Magazine*, Vol. XXXVI., pp. 631-654 (Dec. 1847), or reprint in *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches* by Thomas Carlyle (1850), Vol. II., pp. 339-378.

Chattertonian hoax, the renowned philosopher placed implicit faith in its genuineness. In his own relentless way, Mr. Walter Rye has pitilessly demolished the whole fabrication, which apparently sheds light upon the local history of this period, and has proved them to be the unprincipled emanation of "William Squire (1809-1884), a son of Matthew Squire, a corn and coal merchant, and maltster, of King Street, Norwich, head of the firm of Squire and Edwards, who built the malthouses there." Totally ignorant of this, the reliability of these documents was further tested. Though, indeed, unnecessary, the ordeal to which they were subsequently submitted tended to "make assurance double sure."

The "Squire Papers," as they are called, incidentally furnish the names of 98 men, "who joined us," writes the unscrupulous manufacturer, "at the Siege of Lynn, and came riding in, full armed, and went into our second regiment; and who left us many of them at Marston Fight, on fancies of conscience and turned Quackers (Quakers); and such like left us at Newmarket and went home with Eastmen's foot to garrison Lynn and Yarmouth." They came riding in full armed . . . and went *home* to garrison Lynn and Yarmouth. Some of these deserters unquestionably belonged to Lynn, and a few at least ought to be found enrolled with other burgesses. A careful search for these 98 names in the manuscript list of the freemen for this period has resulted in total failure. There is—Edward Ellis (1638) and Jos. Ellis (1641), but no *John Ellis*; and Thomas Goodwyn (1622) and Daniel Goodwyn (1643), but no *Robert Goodwyn*; and John Dowyng (1634), but no *Samuel Downeing*. Besides, uncommon surnames such as *Vankamp*, *Tizack*, *Keckwicke*, *Ypres*, etc., are altogether missing.

ARMY VERSUS PARLIAMENT.

Fearing that the eleven majors-general, appointed in May 1655, might eclipse him in authority, and being as he conceived inimical to the liberties of the people, Cromwell withdrew their commissions. The hitherto unpublished original, "For Major Generall Lambert" is in the possession of Sir William Ffolkes: its transcript needs no comment:—

Sr.

I haue sent this bearer Mr. William Jessop to you, for yo'r Comission as Major Generall, as alsoe yo'r other Comissions, to whom I desire you to deliuer them, enclosed and saled (sealed) vp in a paper, I rest
 yo'r loueing frend

OLIVER P.

Munday 13th, July 1657.

Quarrels between the parliament and the army were common occurrences. Just before the assembling of the new parliament, Lambert succeeded in escaping from the Tower, to which he had been committed. Hastily gathering together his scattered forces, he was defeated by Ingoldsby near Daventry (21st April 1660). The hopes of the Republicans already shaken, were now irrecoverably blighted. On the 30th Lieutenant-colonel John Stiles in command

of the parliamentary garrison at Lynn, was accosted by the Commissioner of Norfolk. The attempt of the Army to gain possession of the town may well be told in the words of the letter Stiles immediately sent to General Monk:—

This day the Commissioner of Norfolk came and demanded the keys of the town gates—wishing them to be kept by the mayor, and likewise requiring to see our commissions, which they did. I desired them to excuse my delivering them the keys until I should receive orders from the parliament or (privy) council. I also acquainted them, that it was usual for the officer in command to keep the keys of the gates in all places. I, therefore, desired them to wait till I knew your excellency's pleasure therein. [*Popham MSS.*]

* * * * *

Worn out with toil and anxiety Cromwell's enfeebled constitution succumbed to an attack of gout, followed by the tertian ague (3rd September 1658). Neither before nor since has England witnessed such a spectacle as the Protector's obsequies. "The estimate of £150,000 can hardly be too large for the entire expenses of the funeral." (Mary A. E. Green.)

Summaries of his character vary according to the quarter from whence they come. Compare Lord Macaulay's eulogium with the opinion of Robert Southey. To bitter opponents, Cromwell seemed indeed a hypocrite, whose "cloak was worn so threadbare, that he had nothing left to cover his knavery," but to his faithful friends "he had a high, stout, honest English heart."

ANOTHER PROTECTOR.

The official announcement of Cromwell's death reached Lynn on the 8th of September. Here is a transcript of the document:—

Whereas it hath pleased Almighty God in his wise and over-ruling Providence to take into his mercy the most serene and renowned Oliver late Lord Protector of this common wealth, And whereas his said late Highness did in his life tyme, according to the humble petition and advice, appoynt and declare the most noble and illustrious lord, the Lord Richard Eldest Soun of his said late Highnes (then living) to succeed him in the government of these nations, We therefore the Mayor and other magistrates of this burrough of Kings Lynn in the name and with the consent and concurrence of the comonalty of the said burgh doe with one full voyce and consent of tongue and hart publish and proclayme the said most noble and illustrious Lord Richard to be the Rightfull Lord Protector of this common wealth of England, Scotland and Ireland and the dominions and territories thereunto belonging, to whome we acknowledge all fidelity and constant obedience according to law and the said humble petition and advice, with all hartly and humble allections beseeching the Lord by whome princes rule to blesse him with long life and these nations with peace and happines under his government.

God save his Highness Richard Lord Protectour of the common wealth of England, Scotland and Ireland and the dominions and territories thereto belonging.

He. Lawrence, Presid't.

Cromwell's third son Richard (1626-1712) was at once declared Protector; unlike his father, he was incapable of coping with the cares of state, and when on the 22nd of April 1659, he dissolved parliament, he virtually surrendered his power, though nominally Protector a few weeks longer.

CHAPTER XXX.

Unstable as Water.

THE restoration of the Stuart family was celebrated by public proclamation at Whitehall (8th May 1660). Charles II. entered London on the 29th—the anniversary of his thirtieth birthday. A season of national rejoicing ensued because it was generally acknowledged, that the Commonwealth was other than a panacea for a State financially exhausted by internal commotion. All the taxes levied by the Protector's extravagant governments, as the people knew to their sorrow, were neither sufficient to tide over current exigencies, nor to pacify a host of clamorous creditors.

Charles was married the 21st of May 1662, in a private room at Portsmouth, to Catherine of Braganza (the infanta of Portugal, daughter of John IV.), according to rites of the Roman Catholic as well as the English Church. The King had no children by his queen, but his illegitimate children were numerous.

* * * * *

Sieges at any price, whether short or protracted, are dear luxuries, and the experience gained by the people of Lynn was as unpleasant as costly. It convinced them, however, that to insure local prosperity, they must cast in their lot with the stronger faction; no matter how adventitious the circumstances, their future policy must be to adhere to the principle just enunciated by ranging themselves on the winning side. Unstable as water? Apparently so, yet like the good Vicar of Bray, of whom many had perhaps heard, they would pride themselves in their consistent inconsistency!

How the burgesses rejoiced, how loudly they shouted, when their whilom enemy the Parliamentarians were victorious at Devizes and Exeter, at Bristol and Bridgewater; and as soon as Charles was decently despatched and the Roundheads in the ascendancy how the Assembly, with pleasing alacrity, ordered the removal of the obnoxious Royal Arms from the churches and the scabbard of the mayor's sword (1650); and when £59 9s. 6d. was voted for the purchase of four new maces, how particularly anxious they were that the *Arms of the State* should be plainly engraved thereon (1654). Again, to adequately express their unbounded joy at the deliverance of their old enemy, His Highness the Lord Protector, from an immature plot, the resonant booming of the bells was needed.

TO THE "RIGHT ABOUT."

"Never was there such a restoration," declares John Evelyn, "since the return of the Jews from Babylonish captivity," and the impetuous inhabitants of Lynn, so delirious with joy at Cromwell's victories, were now on the tiptoes of eagerness to share in the nation's exultation. To demonstrate their joy by presenting the King, who had recovered his father's throne without shedding one drop of blood, with £1,000, as their neighbours at Norwich, proposed doing, was, of course, beyond the question, yet was there no insuperable

reason why the anniversary of a royal birthday should not be devoted to triumphant festivities. A special feature in the day's programme should be a procession of three hundred "young maids" dressed in spotless white as emblematical of the purity of their Sovereign's cause. To foster the design, two of the newly *restored* aldermen, Captains Wharton and Kirby, who held the town, as long as they were able, for His Majesty's father, generously provided immaculate clothing for two-thirds of those who paraded the streets.

The Assembly next insisted upon having "the kinges Armes sett vp as formerly they were." The wardens agreed, paying Daniel Shaw £16 for the carving and for replacing timber removed and burnt by Alderman Wormell. For painting and gilding Daniel Wattson charged £10. These were other than ordinary every-day expenses, but it was excusable on such an extraordinary occasion. A rate, for, say, £40, would cover the whole, but the assessment was postponed until £60 was needed (1662). Resplendent in colour, Shaw's handiwork, with the names of the wardens, Matthias Twelles and Thomas Thetford, and the date 1660, may be seen above the chancel arch, in St. Margaret's church. The Corporation, moreover, decided that the fee-farm rents lately purchased and amounting to £41 6s. 2d. "should be *restored* to his majesty," that is paid once more to the Crown (16th June 1660). A few days later, the King received a copy of a congratulatory resolution, unanimously passed by the thirteen aldermen and common councillors, who were present:—

Whereas the mayor and burgesses of this borough have lately, during his sacred Majesty's interregnum in the Government, being drawn by a kind of necessity and overawed thereunto in the time of the Government of Oliver, Lord Protector, procured by letters patent under the great seal of the said Oliver, then called the great seal of England, a confirmation of their former liberties and privileges granted unto them by several Kings and Queens of this nation. And now forasmuch as it hath pleased God most miraculously to bring back his most sacred Majesty to the exercise of his Government, being his undoubted birthright, we, therefore, the Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council of the borough aforesaid, being very sensible of the great goodness and providence of God herein, and in order to the vindication of our loyalty and obedience to his most excellent Majesty, do order that the said letters patent of the said Oliver, be forthwith made null and void and the same are this day cancelled accordingly (23rd June 1660).

With an eye to business John Crofts (the son of Sir Henry Crofts) who, at the Restoration, was appointed Dean of Norwich, approached the Privy Council, praying that the King's right to the public money and rents still remaining in the hands of the Corporation, which amounted during the usurpation to £360, might be transferred to the Dean and Chapter of Norwich for the reparation of St. Margaret's church (25th June 1664).

THE LORD OF LYNN.

In nearly every county schemes were devised by influential Royalists for seizing one at least of the important towns. Lynn, the custody of which had been entrusted to Lord Willoughby of Parham, Sir Horatio Townshend of Raynham, Sir Robert Walpole of Houghton, Sir Charles Mordaunt of Massingham and others, was the place

selected in Norfolk. Not only was the haven secretly strengthened, but forces were drilled to be in readiness. The county gentry too, were on the alert and waited for a preconceived signal. During the interregnum Sir Horatio Townshend and Sir Charles Mordaunt were essentially serviceable to the dispossessed Royalists; they went to the Hague; entreated Charles to return to his dominion and were foremost in helping the King to achieve that object. When, at last, the time came, a terrific storm frustrated the design by preventing their friends from repairing to the rendezvous; whilst to add to the general dismay, the Lords Willoughby and Townshend were arrested by order of the Commonwealth, but Sir Charles Mordaunt persevered and success at last crowned his efforts. The King landed at Dover the 25th of May 1660.

Such devotion, such valuable assistance, could not well be overlooked, hence when Sir Charles Mordaunt (the fourth baronet) returned the second time, he carried in his pocket a patent from the grateful monarch, creating him Viscount Avalon. Besides, the King addressed a letter to Lord Townshend, the reinstated governor, expressing hopes that no seditious persons would dare to disturb the peace of the borough; he desired him to live in Lynn and urged him to be vigilant, to strictly search for concealed arms and to prevent tumults, insurrections and unlawful meetings, "lest it (the town) should be seized in the conjuncture" (September 1660). To the dwellers in the Royal Borough, who had suffered through fealty to the King's father and who, a month before Charles landed, refused to hand the keys of the town to the Commissioner of Norfolk, such precautionary measures were as unacceptable as ill-judged. It does not appear that the governor felt it incumbent upon him even to reside in the town for any length of time, because whenever he came as in 1660-1, 1665-6, 1671, 1683 and 1685 his visit was celebrated with much bell-ringing. Coming periodically, he resided no doubt in the magnificent mansion at Raynham, built by his grandfather, Sir Roger Townshend (1630).

The rise of Sir Horatio Townshend was meteoric; he was created *Baron Townshend of King's Lynn*, and was known as "The Lord of Lynn" (20th April 1661); he was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Norfolk (15th August), and Commander-in-Chief of the royal forces along the coast of Norfolk; High Steward of Lynn (25th November 1664), and was further advanced to the dignity of *Viscount Townshend of Raynham* (11th December 1682). As a staunch adherent, he accepted a grant for twenty-one years of a royalty upon all coals exported for a yearly rental of £2,000 (June 1664) and the privilege of levying a duty of 4s. a chaldron on all coals exported from Newcastle at a rent of £1,000 per annum also for twenty-one years (March 1666-7). His Lordship received besides a flattering communication from the King, acknowledging the zeal he had displayed in cajoling loans from the people of Norfolk (30th June).

(1) THE TOWNSHEND FAMILY.

(a) *Roger Townshend* built Raynham Hall 1630; M.P. for Norfolk 1628; created a *Baronet* (16th April 1617); died 1st January 1636.

(b) *Roger Townshend* (eldest son of a); died during his minority.

(c) *Horatio Townshend* (son of a; brother to b); M.P. for Norfolk 1656, 1658-9, 1660; freedom of Lynn conferred 1665; created *Baron Townshend of King's Lynne*, 15th August 1661; Lord Lieutenant of Norfolk 1661-78; High Steward of Lynn, 25th November 1664—6th August 1684; advanced to dignity of *Viscount Townshend of Raynham* 11th December 1682; one of the Commissioners sent to Breda; married for his second wife Dorothy Walpole, sister of Sir Robert Walpole, the prime minister; her ghost—"The Brown Lady of Raynham"—is said to haunt the Hall.* He died December 1687.

(d) *Charles Townshend* (eldest son of c), 2nd *Viscount*; High Steward of Lynn, 21st April 1701 to 1738; Lord Lieutenant of Norfolk 1701, resigned 1730; Secretary of State and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 1717; Secretary to Charles II.; introduced the cultivation of turnips into England; brought the seed from Hanover; first grown at Raynham; died June 1738.

(e) *Charles Townshend* (eldest son of d); born 11th June 1700; 3rd *Viscount*; M.P. for Yarmouth 1722; Lord Lieutenant of Norfolk 1730, resigned 1739; summoned to parliament as *Baron Lynne of Lynne Regis*; appointed Lord of the Bedchamber; died 12th May 1767.

(f) *George Townshend* (eldest son of e); born 28th February 1724; 4th *Viscount*; godson of George IV.; freedom of Lynn, 29th August 1760; advanced to dignity of *Marquis Townshend* (Norfolk), 31st October 1786; he commanded at the taking of Quebec 1759; died 14th September 1807.

George Townshend, the 2nd *Marquis*, was created *Earl of Leicester* in 1784; extinct 1855.

Arms:—1st and 4th: az. a chevron erm. between three escallops arg. (for *Townshend*); 2nd and 3rd quarterly gu. and or, in the 1st quarter a mullet arg. in the centre of a crescent sa. (for *Vere*).

(2) HOW THE WIRES WERE PULLED.

As the grateful recipient of many favours, to whom even more were promised, Lord Townshend was always eager to parade his loyalty. In 1672, he was found tampering with our Corporation, by thrusting upon their notice Sir Francis North (1637-1685), the King's solicitor-general, as "a person of great worth and honour and (one) upon all occasions fit and useful in important concerns," in other words—a firm and uncompromising royalist. By so doing Lord Townshend was pleasing the King as well as Lord Henry Howard, and prospectively benefiting himself. But the story of this political intrigue is best revealed by the letter Samuel Pepys received from the Treasurer of the Commissioners:—

Sir, I had this morning full discourse with the Lord Howard [Duke of Norfolk in 1677], who was telling mee how hee finds himself oppressed with his prerogative of recommending on elections; and how hee stands engaged to the King for Sir Francis North, to [Barbara Villiers] the Duchess of Cleveland [one of the King's mistresses] for Sir John Trevor, hir councill and feoffee, and to [James Stuart, the King's brother] the Duke [of York] for you; telling me by what circumstances the Duke attacked him; and I find not that hee hath any hesitation in the complying with the Duke of your behalf; though hee bee in much distraction how hee shall accommodate the other 2 persons. The present expedient is the putting what interests and force hee can for the getting the Solicitor elected at Lynn. Yet in that particular hee conflicts with a great dilemma; because Cook [Robert Coke, Esq., of Holkham] a youth of the principall estate in Norfolk, stands at Lyn, and his Lordship is tender of giving him an opposition there, because the gent. (gentry) of the countie doe alreadie murmur at his disposing those places, upon which hee hath a full and perticular

* See *There is no Death* (1893), by Florence Marryat, pp. 8-11, and *The Night Side of Nature*, by Mrs. Catherine Crowe, p. 96.

influence, upon strangers and courtiers, neglecting gentlemen of the countrie, who hold themselves disobliged thereby; and are more reasonably perhaps dissatisfied, that he concerns himself at Lyn alsoe where hee ought to leave them to a free competition, without concerning himself.

I took noe notice that I had heard anything of his concession to the Duke [the writer goes on] but my advice is, that you goe on Monday to give him a visitt at Arundell House, where I am sure you will not find him; but you are to see the porter, to write down your name and not forget the acquainting his Lordship, that you were to waite on him. Hee goes on Monday into Surrey, to return on Tuesday; and perhaps to goe with the King on Wensday to the Fleet, where hee will receive your letter. It is not doubted but Sir Robert [Paston] will have his promised title, though I cannot yet heare that any thing is yet don in it. I shall enquire more closely and you shall receive what can be collected by, Sir ———

T. Povr.

August 31 : 1672.*

After promises of hearty support from the *élite* of Lynn, Sir Francis North regaled his friends "with a very handsome treat which cost him above one hundred pounds." From the first he was a popular candidate, being well known as an eminent advocate, as chairman of the commissioners for dividing the fens, and as judge of the royal franchise of the Isle of Ely. Moreover, he promised faithfully to use his influence at court in procuring guard-ships to protect the local shipping. Having already qualified himself by accepting the freedom of the borough (7th August 1671), he awaited a vacancy. In the summer of 1672, Sir Robert Steward (or Stuart), the recorder, one of the town's representatives, happened to die, † when Sir Francis at once declared his intention of contesting the seat. Owing to important business, he was unable to be present at the election; he therefore sent his brother "to ride for him," and Matthew Johnson, afterwards clerk in parliament, to act as "an œconomist."

The rule they observed (writes his biographer) was to take but one [public] house and there to allow scope for all taps to run. Nor was there need of more, for, as had been foretold, there was no opposition, which was a disgust to the common people, for they wanted a competition to make the money fly; and they said Hobson's choice was no choice. But all passed well and the plenipos returned with their purchase, the return of the election, back to London. [*Lives of Lord Keeper Guilford (Francis North), &c.*, by Roger North, 1826, Vol. I. p. 174.]

At the meeting of parliament both our burgesses were "dis-membered" and a new writ issued. Whereupon the election agents returned to Lynn. There was every appearance of an easy walk-over the second time, but on the eve of the election Sir Simon Taylor, a wealthy wine merchant, announced his intention of contesting the seat, producing at the same time a potent auxiliary—a butt of sherry! Sir Francis, as before, permitted the taps in one house only to run during the contest, which cost his Lordship above £300. This, as may be discovered further on, was a very modest item. The bribing and treating were, nevertheless, described as "more than usually flagrant" (Jessopp). This election was, of course, challenged, but

* See *Diary and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys* (1851), Vol. V. pp. 290-1.

† Omitted in *Lestrange's Official Lists*. John Coke, Esq., of Holkham, died 1661 (*Blomefield's Hist. Norfolk*, Vol. IX., p. 238).

Sir Simon Taylor had acknowledged defeat by signing his opponent's return. Sir Francis North was therefore allowed to take his seat (14th February 1673). When, however, he became Attorney-General, he was threatened by a storm of opposition, because in that capacity he was an assistant of the House of Peers. This he disregarded, but resigned when appointed Lord Chief Justice of Common Pleas. The event was the harbinger of a remarkable contest between Robert Coke, Esq., of Holkham, and the Lynn wine merchant (21st April 1675). Referring to this incident, Roger North observes:—

Mr. Coke of Norfolk succeeded him [Sir Francis] in the burgess-ship of Lynn, but not so easy and cheap; for his managers did not keep in due bounds, but let loose the tap all over that large town, and made an account of 7,000£, or more, resting due to the town, besides what had been paid for the expenses. Sir Simon Taylor opposed, and thought he had the return, and being resolved to petition was courted by the Earl of Danby, at the price of all his charges, which were not trifles, to forbear, as he did, else his lordship's son-in-law, Coke, at that conjuncture had been turned out.

From another source we learn how a majority of 70 votes cost the successful candidate £10,000. The victory was celebrated by two effusions from John Greene, the local poet, entitled, *The Countryman's discourse upon the Lynn Election* and a string of heroic *Verses upon the same*.

Treasurer Povy was right in his prognostication. Sir Robert Paston was raised to the peerage as first Earl of Yarmouth, whilst Samuel Pepys was returned member for Rising (January 1673). Six years later and just before the general election, there was a change in the Lieutenantancy of the county. Lord Townshend was succeeded by Lord Yarmouth, who using his influence against the party, with whom he ardently coöperated three years before, issued a circular letter giving the following advice to the electors, "Such persons are to be chosen as are of unquestioned loyalty and will be serviceable to the King, the church and the country." Referring to our borough, he observes: "For Lynn stands the mayor Captain Turner, a very honest man, and one Mr. (Simon) Taylor, a merchant of the place, not so much a fanatic, as I suspected. I am told he will prove right and I shall be bold to advise him to do so." Both were returned the 5th of February 1679.

(3) THE LAST STRAW.

In the Record Office, is a peculiarly interesting communication, professing to give "an account of the affairs in the City of Norwich and the County of Norfolk" (1681-2). It throws considerable light upon the retirement of Lord Townshend. The writer insinuates, that Thomas Osborne Earl of Danby was instrumental in getting Lord Townshend removed, because as lieutenant he discarded Mr. Robert Coke, the Earl's son-in-law, for Sir Francis North. After spending £20,000 in furthering the King's restoration, Lord Townshend considered the injury done him a great one, especially as he was supplanted by a person of "mean fortune," whose interests he helped himself to advance. This is what *one* party states, but Owen Hughes in a letter to Lady Yarmouth discreetly reveals "what some of the

other party say"—that the "laying aside of Lord Townshend was through the introduction of popery." What an ingenious exhibition of *suppressio veri*!

Yet were there unmistakable signs of activity among the apparently dormant recusants. To Protestant as well as to Roman Catholic, the contemplation of a profligate monarch, who often ridiculed religion, was a curious enigma which filled their souls with dismay. In what was he better than Vincent Bourne's *cornicula*? Although supreme head of the Established Church, yet like the cawing jackdaw "perched upon the steeple," religion was truly "no concern at all of his."

The ingenious plot concocted by Titus Oates, in which the Earl of Danby was implicated, resulted in a miserable fiasco, but the Duke of York, the prospective King, was, however, an inflexible Roman Catholic, and might not even His Majesty have secret tendencies that way? Then the Popish recusants began to shew their predilections. The good folk of Lynn found themselves once again in a quandary. Which now was likely to be the winning side? At last veering round, they established a night watch to counteract any dangers, which might arise through the secret meetings of the recusants (11th November 1678). Besides, it was arranged to return no more of the court party but two honest burgesses. Now Robert Wright, of Wiggenshall St. Germans, a member for Lynn, was indeed a royal favourite; he was one of the twenty persons in Norfolk upon whom Charles desired to confer the proposed new order. The value of his estates is given at £1,000, and he was to have been "a Knight of the Royal Oak." Afraid lest jealousy might foster enemies, the King prudently abandoned the idea. Robert Wright, having gained his freedom (1666-7), was returned at the decease of Sir Edward Walpole, Knight of the Bath. When he expressed a desire of again offering his services, the Assembly politely intimated their unanimous averseness to any candidate other than an inhabitant of the borough. He, with his colleague, Robert Coke, Esq., was dismissed, and two resident burgesses, namely, John Turner and Simon Taylor, were elected (5th February 1679).

REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS.

The Statute of Indemnity and Oblivion was indeed passed, but a considerable number of persons were excluded. Special pardons under the Great Seal were sent to Sir John Palgrave, Sir John Hobart, Thomas Toll, and others, who opposed the Earl of Manchester at the siege, but the delinquents who had taken part in the trial of the late King were ordered to submit to royal clemency within fourteen days, "on pain of being excepted from any pardon or indemnity as to their lives or estates." Whilst disloyalty was, as a rule, severely punished, distinctions were as freely conferred upon the adherents of the royal cause. Hence Charles became the recipient of innumerable petitions from all sorts and conditions of men—and women too, every one of whom was and had been superlatively loyal to him and his father of blessed memory. The era of reparation was at hand and each strove to be foremost in the field. Men, who had borne the fierce brunt

of the battle or had sacrificed their fortunes in raising troops, turned instinctively to their sovereign for sympathy and assistance. Those, who had received wounds or lost limbs, whose estates were sequestered, whose loved ones were gone never to return; and those too, who, at imminent risk, had sheltered the martyred King in a hopeless struggle, or his more fortunate son in a romantic, yet hazardous adventure to regain a lost kingdom—all, buoyed up by hopeful expectancy, could discern relief at hand. Some indeed were raised from the abject poverty into which they were fallen, but hundreds of meritorious applicants were unheeded.

Edward Bromley, a Lynn stationer, suffered imprisonment six times; besides sacrificing £1,000, he had been twice tried for his life. This flagrantly loyal subject applied for help, forwarding with his petition a recommendatory certificate signed by Sir Horatio Townshend and ten other influential persons (1660.) Another townsman—Edward Schouldham—having endured many losses at sea, through his adhesion to the Royalists, begged the Treasury Commissioners to grant him the controller's or searcher's place at the Custom House (23rd June 1660). The appointment was made the next month, but it was given to Edward Bromley. Several charges were, however, brought against Bromley, who produced certificates of character signed by Sir Jacob Astley, etc., hence Laurence Withers, anticipating a dismissal, solicited Sir Ralph Hare to secure the position for him. Thomas Raymond, too, who "ventured skin and all for the martyred king" at Lynn, would gladly serve his gracious son (27th October 1662); and Rose, the widow of George Towers, prayed that permission might be given the mayor to confer the freedom of the borough upon her son John (30th May 1663), the grandson of Colonel John Saul, who was executed at Lynn because of his sterling loyalty (1650). On "receipt of the king's letter," John Towers, mercer, was presented with his freedom (1663-4).

During the civil war, Colonel Thomas Bedingfeld, son and heir of Sir Henry Bedingfeld of Oxborough, raised and maintained a regiment; taken prisoner at the storming of Lincoln, he was detained two years. By an order of parliament, his estate, as well as his father's, was sold (25th September 1645) and he was compelled to go into exile. Whilst abroad his health gave way; he therefore asked permission to return, so that he might try the curative effect of the waters at Bath, for he was suffering from "dead palsy." Permission was accorded him, but he had first to give security not to act in anywise prejudicial to the parliament, either when in England or not; to leave the kingdom as soon as his health should be restored and not to return (3rd May 1649). From the petition the ex-colonel presented to Charles II., we learn how Sir Henry Bedingfeld's estate was sold for £60,000; how the son paid £21,000 to repurchase part of the estate; how the manors of Eriswell and Chamberlain in Suffolk had been subsequently sold to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England, and that he never received one penny from the proceeds of the sale. The association being unlawfully constituted, Sir Thomas prayed that in

any future charter "the company" might obtain, care should be taken to preserve his title to the two manors (November 1660). The Eriswell estates, now estimated to be worth £7,000 per annum, were, however, lost to the Bedingfelds, who never received any compensation. Several years since they were sold by the New England Society to His Highness Dhuleep Sing. (Mason.)

FATE OF THE REGICIDES.

Of the twenty-nine persons implicated in the death of the King's father, who voluntarily surrendered, ten were condemned and immediately beheaded (October 1660). The government, not content with destroying the living, attempted to wreak its vengeance on the remains of the dead. The bodies of Oliver Cromwell, Henry Ireton and John Bradshaw were dug up and hanged in their coffins on the gallows at Tyburn (30th January 1661), whilst those of Elizabeth Cromwell the Protector's mother and Jane Desborough his sister were taken from their tombs in Westminster Abbey and buried in a neighbouring churchyard. A great reaction set in, and all were anxious either to undo or obliterate what Cromwell had done. The council at Lynn agreed, that Oliver's charter confirming the liberties of the borough should be cancelled (23rd June 1660). Who will say the Corporation had not received direction to pursue this course, for at the King's suggestion the city of London decided to expunge from their records all acts "which savour of the disloyalty of those times and may continue the sad remembrance of them to posterity to the reproach and dishonour of this city?" In vain may the antiquary search among the fading treasures of our archives for the Cromwellian charter; in vain too may the curious endeavour to find any memorial of Cromwell's sister Margaret, who bereft of "the passing tribute of a sigh," sleeps peacefully in the graveyard of St. Margaret.*

Now, among those "deeply guilty of that most detestable and bloody Treason, in sitting upon and giving Judgment against the Life of our Royal Father," were two persons whose faces were familiar. We refer to the sometime governor and the recorder of the borough—Valentine Wauton and Miles Corbet. Having signed the death warrant, they were cited to appear within fourteen days, because having fled, they "could not be apprehended and brought to a personal and legal trial for their said Treason according to Law" [*Royal Proclamation*].

(1) OUR GOVERNOR.

Valentine Wauton was descended from Sir Thomas Wauton, or Walton, speaker in the reign of Henry VI. He married Margaret Cromwell (baptised 20th February 1600), the sister of the Protector, the 20th of June 1617. Wauton was returned for Huntingdon and sat in the Long Parliament with Messrs. Percival and Toll (1640). After preventing the removal of the plate from Cambridge to the King at Nottingham, he raised a troop of horse to serve under Robert

* "1643: March, Margaret Walton the wife of Mr. Valentine Walton Gouverneur 2" (that is 2nd March). *P.R., St. M.*

Devereux, Earl of Essex. Captured at Edgehill (Warwickshire), he remained a prisoner until July 1643, when he was exchanged for Sir Thomas Lunsford. In the mean time his wife, worn out with anxiety, died at Lynn, where she was living probably with her sister, the wife of John Desborow. Regaining his liberty, Wauton accepted the colonelcy of a foot regiment belonging to the Association. After the siege, he was made governor and the celebrated Miles Corbet recorder, each receiving the freedom of the town as a preliminary qualification (1644). Under Wauton's supervision the place was strongly fortified and "reserved, according to the Presbyterians, as a city of refuge for the Independents, in case their party should be drawn to extremity." During a brief sojourn here, the Governor married again, his wife, a Mrs. Austen, being the daughter of Mr. Pym of Bell (Buckinghamshire). Returning "after his new marriage," he was welcomed with "a peale or two," the ringers receiving two shillings from the wardens of St. Margaret's for their exertion (6th December 1644). His namesake, a son by the first marriage, who served as captain in Cromwell's army, was killed at the leaguer of York (1644).

Present at a meeting of the parishioners in the nave of St. Margaret's church, the Governor signed the minutes, spelling his name *Wauton* (20th December 1644). During the Interregnum he held a magnificent suite of apartments in Whitehall. The rooms were most superbly furnished, the walls of one being draped with six pieces of tapestry (worked by royalty), depicting incidents in the lives of Hercules and Elijah. Unfortunately, Wauton was chosen one of the King's judges, and in that unenviable capacity affixed his signature to the fatal warrant.

Suspecting the sincerity of the King's offer, Wauton made good his escape to the Continent. He was unaccompanied by his wife. She died at Oxford, and was buried in St. Mary's churchyard (1662). The disobedience of the exile, "attainted for the murder of the late King," was not to pass unnoticed. On the 30th of June 1661, Augustus Brooke and Charles Porter were authorised to seize any goods or concealed property belonging to Wauton and to deliver them to Lord John Berkeley of Berkeley, afterwards Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The reversion too of his estate at Great Staughton (Huntingdonshire) was granted to James, Duke of York (17th February 1662). A month later warrants were issued instructing Henry Beverley to arrest Wauton, and Sir John Robinson, lieutenant of the Tower, to accept the custody of the miscreant (14th March). But Wauton was not to be favoured with their benign attention.

For two years nothing was heard of him, but suspicion was at length aroused when Mr. Lawrence, a Yarmouth minister, and Mr. Thorne returned from the Continent. They were believed to be emissaries of Sir Michael Livesey, Colonel Wauton and other of the exiled judges in Holland, and were come to further some desperate design against the King. Of Wauton's career, other than he escaped the scaffold, nothing very trustworthy is known. He is said to have quitted Germany and lived disguised as a gardener in

Flanders, yet at one time he certainly moved in good society and was in the secret service of the Dutch. Anthony Oldfield of Spalding, in a letter preserved with the State Papers, recounts an amusing incident to his friend Edward Christian of Westminster. . . . A Lynn merchant, when at Dordrecht, accidentally dined at a house with Admiral Opdam and Valentine Wauton. Although the ex-governor, whom he describes as "one of the scarlet dye," was disguised in a periwig down to his waist, Lane recognised him and foolishly kept it no secret. Whereupon another Dutchman present threatened to knock the merchant's brains out, if ever he revealed aught about their guest (5th February 1664). Through "disappointment, anxiety and dread of a violent and ignominious end," Wauton died suddenly in Flanders.

(2) OUR RECORDER.

Miles Corbet, an eminent counsellor at law, one of the chief commissioners for the civil government during the Commonwealth and Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, was seized with other refugees in Holland, through the instrumentality of Downing the English ambassador, who acted in a similar capacity under Cromwell! Corbet had been not only recorder at Lynn (26th January 1643 to 31st of January 1650), but also at Yarmouth, a borough he represented in parliament. Although appointed a member of the High Court of Justice, he refrained from attending until the day the terrible sentence was pronounced. After his apprehension, he was brought to England, tried, condemned and executed. When at Tyburn, he fervently exhorted the crowd to lead good lives.*

If there be any that I knew I had wronged (he exclaimed) I would ask them pardon and forgiveness . . . I thank God, I came to parliament with an estate, and I spent it whilst I sat in parliament. And I thank God, they cannot find any estate I have to forfeit, for I have none to forfeit. This business that we are here for, I was very far from being a contriver of . . . Truly I thank God, I never got anything, either of King's lands, nor Bishop's, nor Dean and Chapter's lands. I never knew what belonged to the trade of buying or selling lands. I thought I was in a better way looking to that station which God had called me to . . . and I think it is the honour of good Christians and of good people to be obedient to the government they are under, and to uphold it to the uttermost.

After a long prayer Miles Corbet submitted to the executioner. His body, after being suspended with those of Colonel Barkstead and Colonel Okey, was cut down, publicly quartered and carried to Newgate to be boiled, in accordance with the terms of barbarity expressed in the sentence (April 1662).

A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.

Taking advantage of the general Act of Amnesty, Sir Roger Le Strange, emerging from his continental retirement, returned to England (1653), and as Cromwell treated him in a conciliatory manner, his hope of forgiveness was fully realised. He became a

* *Richard Corbet* was member for Lynn from the 11th of February to 15th of September 1553. (Lestrange.)

voluminous writer and an indefatigable pamphleteer. Notwithstanding all he had suffered through his unswerving loyalty, James Whitelock actually denounced him as a traitor, who accepted a douceur of £600 from Cromwell! Whereupon Sir Roger sent, what he terms "an apology," to Lord Chancellor Clarendon, vindicating his own allegiance to the House of Stuart; he served the late king in trying to rescue Lynn, was arrested and condemned to death. Through the favour of his friends he managed to escape, refusing, as he proudly added, to plead for mercy; though in broils before the Restoration, yet had he never spoken when in restraint more than four times to Cromwell (3rd December 1661). As nothing further happened, this infamous accusation was discredited.

Sir Roger published the first *real* newspaper—*The Public Intelligencer and the News* (1663), which was given up to make room for the *London Gazette*. On the 17th of October 1665, he applied for State aid in collecting news, asserting that the venture was unprofitable and the work it involved burdensome. In a letter to Lord Arlington he stated, that he received only £400 a year from his news-book, but was spending more than £500 in entertaining spies for information. Joseph Williamson, afterwards Sir Joseph Williamson, offered to procure him congenial employment with a yearly salary of £100, and relieve him of his editorial anxieties. Sir Roger, however, pleaded earnestly to retain the paper which entailed an annual loss of £100, but his efforts were in vain; he was supplanted by Williamson, whose official position, combined with his methodical habits, well qualified him for the post. By way of compensation, Sir Roger was appointed "Surveyor of the Imprimery," or printing presses, and licenser of all publications.

In order to secure authentic information for the *London Gazette* (1665), Williamson selected correspondents in various coast towns. With his official papers, as secretary to Lord Arlington (Henry Bennet), whom he succeeded as Secretary of State, were found thousands of trivial communications, which strongly exhibited the individuality of the writers. After a lapse of two hundred years, these letters were carefully read and docketed. Whilst Richard Bower of Yarmouth delighted in describing the insolence and encroachments of the Presbyterians, Captain Silas Taylor of Harwich and Edward Bodham of Lynn (1630-1688) contented themselves mainly with registering the state of the winds and weather, and the departure and arrival of the convoys with their fleets of colliers. And what more could be naturally expected of the Lynn correspondent of the *London Gazette*, who was a merchant and the owner of several vessels, whose son, "Captain Edward," if we mistake not, died in Norway, his body being brought to the place of his nativity and buried in St. Margaret's church (1704)—than that he, like the Merchant of Venice, might ever and anon be seen—

Plucking the grass to know where sits the wind,
Peering in maps for ports and piers and roads.

To Edward Bodham let us acknowledge our indebtedness, for the threads of information, which, woven into this historical tissue, enrich

the tapestry of the period with patches of local colour, sombre perchance in tone, but more truthful and less fugitive than others of greater attractive brilliancy.

WAR WITH THE DUTCH.

As yet there was no abatement in the fierce commercial rivalry between the English and the Dutch. Although the two nations were not tacitly at war, hostilities frequently occurred. Sea-side villages were raided; vessels were scuttled and our sailors made prisoners. Being no whit better than their enemies, the men of Lynn returned these unnecessary civilities whenever an opportunity arose. The Government frigate the *Merlin*, with her companion the *Hawk* of Lynn, commanded by Andrew Ashford, was indefatigably alert, cruising to and from "the Lynn Depths," but the wily Dutchmen and their allies the French, who were far too well acquainted with the intricacies of our waters, crept through and did mischief. Seldom could our vessels venture beyond the haven without an attendant convoy. Towards the close of 1660, several traders, bound for Hull, Boston and "the Lynn Mart," were anxiously waiting at Harwich. The convoy, with mounted guns, was there, but her stores had run short, because in November, Captain Edward Grove generously supplied the *Hawk* with a week's provision, and as yet no reply from the Navy Commissioners, authorising him to replenish his depleted larder, was come. Soon after the revictualling, the vessels freighted for Lynn weighed anchor (1st January 1661). The same year our Corporation was requested to provide two convoys. None could more thoroughly appreciate the utility of their services than the burgesses, yet because of pecuniary inability they begged to be excused.

During the year 1665, our military as well as naval forces were continually in a state of apprehensive vigilance, through repeated demonstrations made by the Dutch along the neighbouring shores. At times the greatest alarm prevailed; all classes suffered in consequence, the merchants lost their freights and the mariners their vessels, upon the high seas. Trade was stagnant, and those in humble circumstances suffered not only through the general depression, but through the cruel operation of the press-gang. The local militia assiduously watched every creek along the coast. The stretch from Weybourn Hoop to Lynn was guarded by Lord Richardson and Sir Ralph Hare's foot soldiers; those of the first meeting at Haydon Alland, and the second at Hempton Green. The troop of horse, commanded by Lord Lieutenant Horatio Townshend, Sir William Hovell and Sir Jacob Ashley and patrolling north-west Norfolk, had Holt for their base.

As soon as war was definitely proclaimed, several Lynn ships were secured to assist in victualling the navy. Captain William Hall, the convoy, advanced £10 to Mr. Gauden, the government agent, who was busy purchasing stores in the town. Commissioned to impress as many men as possible and being short of money, the captain applied for the repayment of the loan (5th April 1665). Michael Young, captain of the *Young Lion* of Lynn, also asked for

the settlement of an account incurred by feeding men impressed at Harwich; moreover, he bitterly complained, because all the beer on board had gone wrong (3rd July 1665). Another Lynn victualler, the *Hopewell*, was unfortunately lost, through damages sustained in a collision with the *Resolution*. On board were many packs of shoes, clothes and bedding sent by John Burrows, the "navy slop-seller," who implored the commissioners to indemnify him for the loss, which he estimated at £512 3s. 7d. (1665). In November, the Dutch fleet chased a couple of Lynn ships; unluckily one was captured—the *first* out of the 60 or 70 colliers belonging to the port.

There is reason to believe the enemy was doggedly scanning the eastern seaboard in the spring of 1666. Vague rumours, from time to time, spread consternation among the townsfolk. Towards the end of April the proximity of the Dutch fleet, bearing southward, probably towards the Straits, was undeniably established. Some counted fifty, whilst others, blessed with greater perseverance and keener eyesight, averred there were at least one hundred and fifty sail. Several colliers, however, from Newcastle arrived safely, and twenty more were eagerly expected (4th May).

During the war, marked success attended the efforts of the English. On Saturday, the 3rd of June, the fleet, commanded by the Duke of York, encountered the enemy under Admiral Opdam, a few miles off Lowestoft, when a severe engagement terminated in a signal victory for the English. The Dutch lost 18 ships and 7,000 men, including four admirals, whilst our casualties in slain and wounded did not exceed 800. The firing of the guns was distinctly heard not only in London, but at Lynn, where the greatest anxiety prevailed. Edward Bodham proudly reported "the happy news"—how the English fleet, but little damaged, destroyed eleven ships, drove their opponents into Zeeland and were then skilfully manœuvring off the coast of Holland. A public thanksgiving service was immediately announced. Afterwards, when "the certain account of the victory" arrived, the bells of the churches loudly accentuated our municipal joy. Tuesday the 20th was, however, devoted to national thanksgiving.

Towards the end of July, ten trading vessels from Holland and one from Christiania anchored in the haven. The sailors, communicative fellows, were positive the English would never fight again, because in future their King would be accompanied by forty men-of-war! The French, too, were reported to be hovering near the Wash. Four colliers were chased along the Lincolnshire coast; three ran aground, and were protected by the inhabitants, whilst the fourth reached Boston in safety (16th July). One day, a French sloop impudently entered the Lynn channel. Having gained the consent of Benjamin Holley the mayor and Major Anguish, the shipmasters armed themselves, intending to seize the French vessel. They hurriedly boarded the Customers' hoy, but Mr. Perkins, H.M. Surveyor, ordered them out and "threatened them with a pursuivant." The ardour of these brave volunteers was thus undeservedly damped. During the delay,

the sloop vanished behind a convenient horizon (25th June 1666). A phantom ship (or was it the same?) was observed on the 30th; but when two vessels under Captain Hawley attempted to intercept its passage—"this insubstantial pageant faded, leaving not a *wreck* behind." The inevitable French sloop appeared once more. The "baseless fabric of a vision," laden with a substantial cargo of malt and barley, was at last skilfully entrapped off Wells (15th August).

The enemy, having r equipped a shattered fleet, provoked the English beyond endurance. Another battle, fought near the North Foreland, was the result (25th July). The English again succeeded in pursuing the Dutch to their own ports. The 23rd of August was set apart for another national thanksgiving. Here, the ceremony was "performed with all imaginable solemnity." The Mayor and aldermen in scarlet gowns, with the homely attired councilmen, met at the Town Hall, and proceeded from thence, "the town music playing before them to the great church," where appropriate sermons were preached in the morning and afternoon. During the interim the Corporation renewed its corporeal strength at the humane invitation of Benjamin Holley. Throughout the evening, the inhabitants at large *solemnly* regaled themselves, though with a less appetising *menu*—bonfires, fireworks, the playing of the band and the discharge of the guns on board the ships.

A temporary cessation of hostilities ensued, but De Witt swore his sword should never be sheathed until he obtained revenge. He religiously kept his oath. Sir Ralph Hare's foot company and Sir William Hovell's troop of horse were indeed disbanded (14th September), but the English continued on the alert. Horatio Townshend thoroughly reorganised the militia, whilst the Lynn trained bands were paraded and a strong guard posted round the borough. A diligent search, too, was instituted for the capture of all resident aliens. The general movement of troops began the previous month. The troop of horse commanded by Montague Bertie Earl of Lindsey left Boston and were temporarily billeted here (17th August); another troop, that of Lord Richard Byron of Byron (or Burun) followed, but proceeded to guard the coast towns (27th). In turn, they were succeeded by those of Edward Montagu Earl of Manchester and Viscount Mandeville, which stayed in the town until the 2nd of September.

Believing the coast to be clear a hundred sail quitted Sunderland without a convoy. Four of the number bound for Lynn separated from the main body at Spurn Head; soon after a couple of the enemy's sloops appeared (27th August). One was taken, two were beached, and the fourth escaped by dodging among the treacherous sands. Hearing this, our fleet of light colliers prudently waited until the arrival of the *Little Lion*. The next month the whole Dutch fleet of 90 sail was anchored seven leagues south-east of Dunkirk ready to assail the English. A pickeroon bore up the Lynn channel, whereupon the alarmed oyster-dredgers ran their boats into Thornham haven (26th September). The ketch *Portsmouth* was ordered to cruise along the coast, but bad weather compelled her to seek the port for

shelter (21st October). Three Lynn vessels notwithstanding set sail with provisions for the garrisons at Guernsey and Jersey. The burghesses were disgusted with Captain Willoughby, who invented all sorts of excuses rather than put out to sea. Well indeed might "the people talk lavishly of the ill-management of the King's naval affairs." No fish were caught, and the pessimists bewailed the capture of the colliers from Newcastle (9th November). The *Portsmouth*, with her 10 guns and valiant captain, sailed away on the 12th. Four days later the *Cygnets* arrived, and Captain Smith declared his intention of conveying vessels in a southerly direction.

(1) MILITIA AND TRAINED BANDS.

A monthly contribution of £70,000 was necessary to provide the sinews of war (1662). The clergy were charged upon their spiritual estates. Towards the amount the county was assessed at £3,650. Norwich maintained a separate force, whilst Yarmouth, Lynn, and Thetford contributed £18 13s. 8d., £13 18s. 1d., and £2 10s. every week respectively. The deputy-lieutenants received their commissions and instructions from Lord Townshend (23rd September). Lynn was in the division assigned to Sir Ralph Hare, which met the other three divisions at Swaffham (7th October).

After a general muster (16th July 1666), the militia was not called up for a long time. The next year, however, Parliament determined upon raising an army of 12,000 men in twelve equal companies. In "Regiment II." were included the companies belonging to this part of Norfolk. The officers were:—

Colonel—Lord Townshend.

Lieutenant Colonel—Sir Peter Gleane.

Major—Edmond de Grey.

Captains—Lord Townshend, Sir Peter Gleane, Edmond de Grey, Sir William Hovell, William Cropley, Jo. Anguish, Wm. Bladwell, Tho. Wood, Edw. Barber and Thos. Holland.

Lieutenants—Geo. Townshend, Thos. Fletcher, Jno. Castle, Jo. Johnson, Jo. Greymes, Fr. Thoresby, Rich. Gimbort, Thos. Kinge, John Harris and Wm. Curtice.

Ensigns—Char. Spelman, Wm. Rogers, Wm. Bullock, Fr. Hovell, Wm. Cropley, Thos. Talbot, Miles Hobart, Rob. Read, Wm. Doughty and J. A. Calthorpe.

(2) NOLENS VOLENS.

During the early part of this reign, Captain Stoakes was busily scouring Yarmouth, Lynn, Scarborough, as well as York and other inland places for able seamen. Disgusted with a consignment of sixty-two, which arrived at Chatham, Commander Peter Pett complained to Samuel Pepys, because being made up of all sorts of country trades, they were totally unfit for service; never had he seen such a ragged crew! (28th November 1664). So stringent did the press become, that freighters could not find enough hands to work their vessels. This was severely felt at Lynn, where trade was wholly suspended. The owners petitioned Parliament, for permission to retain two able seamen for each ship; also for an armed convoy to

accompany them because all the able seamen were taken into his Majesty's service, "and they did not think it safe to sail with all foreigners" (December 1664).

There was an astonishing leakage of men, not necessarily through casualties, but because of desertion. Wells, Lynn and the west coast of Norfolk especially were known to afford capital shelter for run-aways. From the squadron at Harwich, eight hundred escaped. Many invalided seamen were stationed at Aldborough, but the agent, after disbursing half the benevolent money, was forced to forbear, because the men were utterly demoralised and refused to go on board. Commenting on this circumstance, Bodham exclaims, "Experience makes devils wise men, much more weak mortals" (23rd June 1666). In the same month one hundred men were entrapped here, and as many more in the villages around. Some were packed off in conveyances provided by Lord Townshend, others were rushed on board a dogger,* for manning the *Fairfax*, whilst the rest were deported by the *Swallow*. In July, sixty were secured in Lynn (13th), and a fortnight later seventy more were betrayed by certain shipmasters, bribed for that purpose.

The last company, escorted to Yarmouth by Major Anguish, are reported as saying they were "ready and cheerful to fight the Hollanders." Perhaps they were at that moment, because the mayor Benjamin Holley, who accompanied them a mile or two on their way, had instilled into their veins a little Dutch courage, in the shape of twenty-shillings' worth of "drink!" (13th July 1666). Oddly enough, our old friend Pepys, clerk of the Acts of the King's Navy, draws a vivid picture of what was happening; a few days before the arrival of the Lynn contingent, he makes this entry:—

To the Tower several times (says the diarist) about the business of the pressed men, and late at it till twelve at night, shipping of them. But Lord! how some poor women did cry; and in my life I never did see such natural expressions of passion as I did here, in some women bewailing themselves and running to every parcel of men that were brought, one after the other to look for their husbands, and wept over every vessel that went off, thinking they might be there and looking after the ship as far as ever they could by moone-light, that it grieved me to the heart to hear them. Besides to see poor, patient, labouring men and housekeepers (householders) leaving poor wives and families, taken off on a sudden by strangers, was very hard, and that without press-money, but forced against all law to be gone. It is a great tyranny. (2nd July, 1666.)

GIVEN IN SECRET.

Towards the end of May 1670, the post left an important letter at the South Lynn vicarage. It was addressed to the Rev. Mordaunt Webster.† After critically examining the seal by which it was fastened, the vicar opened the missive and read these lines:—

You are prayed to take notice that there is delivered to Thomas Brown who driveth Lynn Stage Coach for Mr. Pane . . . a box safely done up and

* *Dogger*, a fishing boat; *Dogger Bank*.

† The conduct of the Rev. Mordaunt Webster, vicar of St. Margaret's (1669-1672) and All Saints' 1668-1689), gave rise to sad complaints, which were perpetuated in a ballad—*The Monk's Hood pulled off* (1670-1). See the *Tanner MSS.*, Bodleian Library, No. 134.

directed, with a letter for yourself, in which box is contained certain pieces of plate given to the Church of All Saints, as by the said letter you will better understand, this being sent you by the post in case of any miscarriage by the carrier, and that demand of him may be made of the box.

Your servant,

London, May 26th, 1670.

PHILOCRATES.

The carriage of the box is paid for, and the box is sealed with the same as this letter is. Pray upon receipt of the box let me have speedy notice, directing your letter to be left with Mr. Thomas Tyllott's house, in Drury Lane, and against the Earl of Clare's, in London.

Can you not imagine the reverend gentleman excitedly pacing his study, anticipating the arrival of the London coach? "Philocrates—Philocrates," he muses, "who on earth is Philocrates!" And then at the first blast of the guard's horn, as the coach speeds through the South Gates and along Coldharn Street, you see him hastily crossing the grave-yard and awaiting the approaching vehicle. . . "I've a parcel for you, sir," yells Tom Brown, suddenly pulling up his horses, "a box of which I have taken great care. Alright, thank ye, Sir—carriage paid—tcick," and smack goes the pliant whip. Ere many minutes the box is open and the contents are displayed. Then comes the perusal of the accompanying letter:—

Sir, there is delivered to Thomas Brown, coachman, servant to Mr. Pane, coach master of Lynn Coach, directed to your self, a box safely done up, in which are two flaggons of silver and one patten of the same, which are given to the Church of All Saints in South Lynn for the use of the Holy Table of the Lord; you may be pleased to receive them into your safe custody for that end, and to give myself by a word or two that you have received them according to the subscription and direction hereunder written. This being what I gave in trust, I shall not doubt of your ready concurrence herein, nor of our mutual prayers to Almighty God for so good a work in this age of words. He in mercy sanctify the same to the eternal benefit of the pious giver and increase the number of such who love the place where his honour dwells. I remain, the Church's and your most faithful servant,

London, May 26th, 1670.

PHILOCRATES.

Pray send an answer to me in a paper sent to Thomas Tyllott at his house in Drury Lane and against the Earl of Clare's house in London. The box is sealed with the same seal of this letter.

With the paper in his hand, the bewildered vicar murmurs, "Philocrates—a friend, a strong friend, a true friend, but who on earth is Philocrates?" Anon the parishioners are called together, to whom the mysterious communication is read. Of solid silver the flagons and paten weigh respectively 63 ozs. 12 dwts., 62 ozs. 5 dwts., and 25 ozs. 4 dwts. Each bears the inscription: "DEO. OPT. MAX. ET. ECCLES. OMN. SANCTOR, IN LENNA D.D.D. A.D. MDCLXX." As the parishioners leave the church, they trouble not their heads with the perplexing letters, yet, with the vicar, they cannot refrain from asking, "Who is Philocrates?" but from that day to this, the identity of the mysterious benefactor has never been established (5th June).

CHAPTER XXXI.

Birth of Nonconformity.

THE "Cavalier Parliament" decided that neither House could make war upon the King or command the militia. It passed the Corporation Act, by virtue of which all—whether Presbyterians or Independents—who held office in any municipal corporation, were to renounce the Covenant, to take an oath of non-resistance, declaring it unlawful to bear arms against the King, and to receive the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England. Thus, by excluding nonconformists or "dissenters," from the corporations, it also excluded them from seats in the House of Commons, because in many boroughs the municipal bodies elected their own members. To exercise

"THE DIVINE RIGHT

—to govern wrong," Charles determined upon bringing all municipal bodies under his direct control. Commissioners were therefore appointed, to report upon the administration of local government in various boroughs. Towards the end of 1662, Lord Townshend, Sir John Tracy, Sir Edward Walpole, John Spelman, Esq., and Roger Spelman, Esq., visited Lynn for that purpose, and were sumptuously entertained. Invested with special power, they expelled Robert Thorowgood (mayor in 1656) from the Council, placing in his stead Laurence Withers, who was more to their liking. A few weeks prior to this and possibly at the secret instigation of the commissioners, Francis Rolfe, clerk to the Corporation since the 29th of August 1654, was summarily "discharged," to make the way for Owen Barnes.* Though a faithful servant, Rolfe perhaps opposed the tactics of the court party to gratify the King. Hence, to prevent the spread of disaffection, his removal was expedient. When, however, the fury of the storm abated, Rolfe was quietly restored to office (5th January 1671). He finally retired on the 29th of September 1678, and was succeeded by his son Edmund, whose faithful services, strange though it be, met with similar questionable recognition at the beginning of the next reign.

"THE CHARTERED RIGHTS OF MEN."

During this reign two charters deserve consideration:—

- C. 24. Dated at Westminster, 9th of March, the 17th year of the reign (1665), counting, of course, from the death of Charles I.
- C. 25. Dated also at Westminster, 9th of July, the 36th year of the reign (1684).

The earlier charter was in the form of letters patent of inspeximus and confirmation. It dealt almost exclusively with our previous charters. The members of the Corporation were to be chosen as before, but if any objected to accept office, they were permitted to

* In LeStrange's *Official List*, "Owen Barnes" is omitted (See C.W.A. St. N. under 1665-6, also Richards' *Hist. Lynn*, vol. II., p. 811) as is also "Mr. Robinson" town clerk in 1656 (See *11th Report Hist. MSS. Com.*, pp. 149 and 183).

escape from the difficulty by paying an adequate fine. To prevent misapprehension the various fines were fixed—the mayor £60, an alderman £40, and a common councilman £20. If the mayor happened to die before being sworn, for every member of the Corporation was compelled to subscribe to the Act of Supremacy, an alderman was immediately to take his place; if, however, the alderman refused to do so, the Common Council were within eight days to select another to the office.

Before the issue of what is generally termed “the Fourth Governing Charter” (9th March 1665), the borough surrendered their *Magna Charta*, granted by King John. “March 31st 1665. Paid for ringing this day, being the day of the Return of the Townes venerable Charter, 00: 03: 00.” (*C W.A., St. M.*) Prior to this, the members of the Assembly were occasionally “discharged” through non-attendance; for example, Gregory Turnall (17th February 1645), Richard Davy, who had removed to Yarmouth (14th February 1647) and Nathaniel Atwood, who was connected with the navy (16th March 1659). Subsequently, too, and without being fined, alderman William Keeling and councillor Giles Alden (28th November 1673) were sent about their business, but alderman Benjamin Holley, refusing to accept the mayoralty, was mulcted of £40 (29th August 1677), whilst Dr. William Bassett was excused serving, because aldermanic duties were regarded as incompatible with those of a medical practitioner (28th April 1679).

Later in the reign, the town was threatened with disfranchisement, by means of a writ equivalent to a process of *quo warranto*. This was, however, followed by the second charter, apparently designed for the harmless reconstitution of the borough; the real object of which was to render every individual member of the Corporation subservient to the whim of the sovereign (1684). “To bring the corporations which returned members of parliament completely under the power of the Crown, the city of London, by writ of *quo warranto*, on very insufficient grounds was declared to have forfeited its charter; and during the rest of the reign the boroughs were compelled, one after another, to surrender their charters. In their stead, they received others, which ensured the ascendancy of the tories.” (J. C. Curtis.)

With few exceptions, every municipal borough in the kingdom was compelled to surrender its charter, as an expression of loyal obedience and confidence. Norwich, Yarmouth, Lynn, and Thetford, each expecting greater privileges, acquiesced in the mandate, and found cause for regret, because their liberties were curtailed rather than enhanced. Our Corporation, “with one assent and consent,” agreed to surrender the town’s charter “fully and freely” to the King (26th May 1684). What else could they do? Yet the way in which they twisted an imperative necessity into a voluntary virtue is amusing. Three days later, having in the meantime received a formal resignation from Lord Townshend, the High Steward, they sealed the deed of surrender. What is styled “the instrument of the deputation” was signed the 9th of June, when the deputies were authorised to

petition Charles to re-grant, renew and confirm such liberties, franchises and powers, as he in his princely wisdom should think proper for his service and the good government, profit and interest of the borough. The charter was accordingly renewed and confirmed under the pervading influence of "princely wisdom," with a minimum amount of regal tampering. His majesty not only conferred upon the burgesses the unbounded liberties therein enumerated, but upon two of their number, John Turner and Simon Taylor, the honour of knighthood (9th July 1684).

Every member of the then existing Corporation was to retain office. The "*first* and present Chief Steward," Henry Howard, Duke of Norfolk, was appointed for life, and was to be rewarded with "the ancient annual fee of £10 every Christmas." * Benjamin Keene, Esq., was acknowledged "the first and present mayor." The recorder Henry Ferrou, the two coroners—Edward Bodham (the local correspondent) and John Kidd, and the town clerk Edmund Rolfe—all, the mayor excepted, were to continue in office *quam diu bene se gesserit*, as long as they behaved themselves, and parenthetically, pleased the King. But why constitute an autocrat of the council chamber in the person of the mayor? His tenure of office, as will be seen, was equally as uncertain. Though "drest in a little brief authority," his robes of office might be demanded at any moment.

The following aldermen were also to hold seats for life, "unless in the mean time the same aldermen or any-one of them be removed from office for any reasonable cause," namely, Sir Simon Taylor, Sir John Turner (knights), Benjamin Holley, Henry Bell, Thomas Robinson, Giles Bridgman, Edmund Tassett, Henry Chennery (esquires), Edward Bodham, John Kidd, Edmund Hooke, and Thomas Pepys (gentlemen). † But the eighteen councilmen were to continue members of the Assembly, in accordance with the ancient usage of the borough. The list included Robert Sparrow, Osbert Backler, John Pulvertoft, William Hatfield, Robert Paine, Thomas Lemon, William Lynstead, Henry Bell, junior, William Holley, Charles Turner, Henry Pope, Robert Few, John Taverner, Robert Awborne, Robert Allen, Timothy Preist, Robert Fuller, and William Stringer—all without exception—"gentlemen."

Verily, the acme of our liberties was attained! Alas, "at one fell swoop" the chartered rights of men, extolled by Edmund Burke, were swept away. Notwithstanding the seductive preamble of the charter, power was reserved to the King, his heirs and successors *at their pleasure*, to remove, by order made in the Privy Council and under the seal of the same Council, any steward, mayor, recorder,

* The first High Steward was Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, 18th June 1572 (Lestrangle).

† Thomas Pepys (1629-1692), married Gratiana (1637-1696); both were buried in St. Margaret's church. He was an attorney at law, living in Lynn; freedom, 1682; alderman for life, 1683; cousin to the celebrated Samuel Pepys, to whom he offered pecuniary assistance at the Rising election (Feb. 1679). See *Diary*, Vol. V., pp. 295-6.

Roger Pepys of Impingham (baptised 1667) was another kinsman who also lived here; he married Anne, the daughter of Sir Charles Turner, bart., by whom he had children, several of whom died young, e.g. Talbot Pepys (26th Jan. 1703-23rd July 1717), buried in St. Nicholas' chapel.

The pedigree in the *Diary and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys, F.R.S.* (1851), is incomplete and the dates appended to "Thomas Pepys" are incorrect.

town clerk, justice of the peace, alderman, common councilman, or other official of the borough. Henceforth the members of the Corporation were flaccid manikins in an uncertain hand.

“REMEMBER ST. BARTHOLOMEW.”

The celebrated Act of Uniformity received the royal sanction the 19th of May 1662. It decreed, that every beneficed clergyman should unfeignedly assent to everything contained in the amended Prayer Book and that they, one and all, should receive special episcopal ordination before the Feast of St. Bartholomew (24th August) on pain of immediate deprivation. Tutors and schoolmasters were also required to subscribe to a similar declaration and obtain licence from the bishop. William Rastrick (died 1752), minister at the Presbyterian church, was the author of a manuscript list of those who sacrificed their livings through this coercive measure. His beautifully written manuscript is preserved in the St. Margaret department of our Public Library; it is entitled—*Index Eorum Theologorum Aliorumque No. 2,257 Qui propter Legem Uniformitatis, Aug. 24. An. 1662 ab Ecclesia Anglicana secesserunt Alphabetico ordine ac secundum gradus suos dispositus. Cura ac opera Gulielmi Rastrick (1734).* The Rev. Edmund Calamy, D.D. (1671-1732), published a list of those who “were silenced and ejected by the Act of Uniformity” in his *Abridgment of the Life of Baxter* (1702); the two compilers were notwithstanding independent workers, because Samuel Palmer, who edited Calamy’s work (*The Non-conformist Memorial*) in 1775 acknowledged his indebtedness to Rastrick’s “curious and valuable manuscript.”

Of those who resigned in Norfolk—58 according to Rastrick (between 60 and 70 according to Calamy), three belonged to Lynn. The Rev. John Horne, A.M. (1615-1676), of Trinity College, Cambridge; and vicar at All Saints’ (1646-1662), who earned the distinctive epithet of “the Father of the Lynn Dissenters”; John Dominick and Mr. Fenwick or Fentwick, who were probably teachers, as their names do not appear in the parish records.

(1) A TRANSATLANTIC NAMESAKE.

Sixteen years after the Pilgrim Fathers set sail the Rev. Samuel Whiting, a Lynn minister, embarked for America. He was born at Boston, Lincolnshire; his father, John Whiting, being mayor of that town (1600), and his brother John filling the same office (1625). Having graduated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and taken holy orders, he acted as private chaplain to Sir Nicholas Bacon and Sir Roger Townshend. Subsequently he spent three years as colleague with the Rev. Nicholas Pryce, “preacher” at St. Nicholas. During his sojourn, complaints of his nonconformity to certain rites reached the Bishop. Through the cordial intercession of Theophilus Clinton, Earl of Lincoln, and the unanticipated death of King James, the charges were not pressed, although the culprit was cited to appear before the Court of High Commission. Shortly afterwards, he left Lynn and settled at Skirbeck (1628 or 1629). The old grievances

were however renewed, whereupon he determined to leave for New England. "I am going (he remarked) into the wilderness to sacrifice unto the Lord and I will not leave hoof behind." In one of his sermons soon after his arrival, he exclaimed:—"We have left our near and our dear friends, but if we can get nearer to God here, He will be instead of all and more than all of us." This faithful minister died the 11th of December 1679 at the age of 82 years, having laboured 43 years in America.

The advance band of indomitable settlers appeared over the rocky north-east hills, where resided certain chiefs (June 1629). With strong arms and hopeful hearts the brave pioneers began to level the ancient forest. From the Sagamore Hill, in the territory of the Third Plantation of Massachusetts, can yet be seen a lovely undulating country to the west, whilst to the east is outspread a commodious harbour, determined on the one hand (south) by the Point of Pines and on the other (north) by the dark, rugged peaks of the Nahants. The town of Saugus had only been incorporated six years, but the name was changed, as is seen by the record of the General Court dated the 20th of November 1637. The entry is singularly explicit:—"Saugus is called LIN," and a mark over the *n* denotes the doubling of the final letter, hence the first spelling was precisely the same as its prototype the older LINN in England. The name was adopted as a compliment to Samuel Whiting—the dearly-loved minister from King's Lynn, Norfolk. The town, of whose origin we have written, has now a population of 75,000, and has commercially and in every way eclipsed its humble parent.

That the people of Lynn were in sympathy with their kinsmen across the Atlantic is apparent from two entries in the records of St. Margaret:—

Collected for the natives and distressed people of Newe England, and that from house to house within the parrish, and paid vnto Mr. Joshua Greene, Ald'n, the 20th of November, 1653 . . . £25 : 13 : 00.

Collected for And towards the propagation of the Gospell in New England, according to an ardnance of parliament in that behalfe and paid the 20th of Nouem., 1653, to Joshua Greene, Ald'n, appointed to receive the same as appears by his receite the summe of £25 : 13 : 00.

Both evidently refer to the same amount; it is to be feared that the "distressed people" never received the help so freely given, because there was added by another hand—"this Collection is plaied about & is misplaced." At first sight, it might strike the reader that the clergy were not particularly pleased with the work of their trans-Atlantic comrade, but a positive misappropriation the same year shews there was great laxity and remissness.

Collected for the poore inhabitants of the Towne of Bungaye in Southfolke for a Losse sustained by fyre and paid —[interpolation] "no man, but was laid out in repaying ye Church" . . . £01 : 15 : 00.

At his summer house in Nahant, Longfellow hears the vesper chimes "borne on the evening winds across the crimson twilight,"

and whilst listening to the melodious bells in the hoary tower of St. Margaret, Mr. John R. Simms, a local poet, exclaims:—

Bells of Lynn, or home, or yonder,
Oneness yours by common name;
So can nations, myriad-peopled,
Oneness like together claim:
Strong the bond that binds us—common;
Were, and still we are akin—
Peal ye of it, and for ever,
O ye sounding Bells of Lynn.*

(2) THE PRESBYTERIANS.

Speaking of the Rev. John Horne, who after his secession from the Church of England, became the founder of perhaps the first body of nonconformists here, Mr. John Brown, B.A., tells us:—"He went constantly to church, yet preached thrice in his own house every Lord's day and on other days, besides lecture sermons, he expounded the scriptures in order, twice a day to all that would come and hear him, as some always did." [*History of Congregationalism*, 1877.]

In 1673 John Horne and Charles Philips were licensed to preach in the house of Charles Peast and John Kingstead. At the beginning of the movement, the attendance was small, the meetings being held up a yard in the Black Goose (St. Nicholas') Street, in a part of the tenement rented either by Peast or Kingstead. After a time the round, disused Glass-House in Spinner Lane (Cattle Market) was converted into a suitable assembly room, and lastly to accommodate the growing congregation a chapel was erected in Broad Street upon a site subsequently occupied by the Albion Hall, and now by the Free Christian church.

Ministers.

- (1). The Room in Black Goose Street:—

John Horne, A.M., 1662-1676.
Anthony Williamson (till 1701).

- (2). The old Glass House adapted:—

John Rastrick, M.A., 1701-1727.
William Rastrick, 1727-1752.
Anthony Mayhew, 1753-1777.

- (3). A Chapel built in Broad Street (40 by 25 feet) with a gallery facing the pulpit; sittings for 300 hearers. Side galleries were afterwards added, and it was lengthened 18 feet:—

William Warner, 1777-1800.
William Richards, M.A., 1802-1803.
[morning service only].

(3) THE FRIENDS.

Although the Presbyterians are generally regarded as the pioneers of nonconformity in Lynn, yet the first organised body of Protestant dissenters was a small society of Friends. As early as 1653, Thomas Briggs visited our town, where his mission was by no means appreciated; he was vehemently abused, and on one occasion a savage dog was let loose, but it at once made friends with him. Two years later George Fox (1624-1691), the zealous expounder of the Gospel,

* *Notes on the Way* (1897) by J. R. Simms. Additional stanzas (1902).

halted here, whilst travelling through Norfolk. To be persecuted for conscience' sake was no uncommon occurrence at this stage of religious liberty. Several times, whilst in the Eastern counties, Fox narrowly escaped being cast into prison. Just before entering Lynn, he and his companion were apprehended on an absurd pretext of being house-breakers. However, as there was no difficulty in establishing an *alibi*, they were "with reluctance set at liberty" (1655).

Having set up our horses (Fox writes) we met Joseph Fuce, who was an ensign, and we wished him to speak to as many people of the town as he could, that feared God; and to the captains and officers to come together; which he did. We had a glorious meeting among them . . . many were converted there. Lynn being then a garrison (he continues) we desired Joseph Fuce to get up the gate opened by the third hour next morning, for we had forty miles to ride next day. By that means we came next day by the 11th or 12th hour to Sutton, near the Isle of Ely.

At the sessions, August 1661, Bartholomew Hewlett, Christopher Goad, and Edward Case were imprisoned for not attending the parish church. There they were to remain, until they should find sureties to answer the indictments against them. Others suffered because of their refusal to pay tithes. The amount demanded in Norfolk for three years (1656-7-8) was £39 os. 5d., for which goods valued at £98 10s. were confiscated. On the 7th of December 1663, a detachment of soldiers from the garrison made a brutal raid upon the Lynn meeting-house and captured nine worshippers—Edward Shooter woolcumber, * Robert Turner glover, John Yaxley, Thomas Waller, Joseph Whitworth, and Joseph Haslewood, respectable townsmen, beside three traders, who annually attended the Mart, namely, Joseph Townsend, of Lincoln, Anthony Preston, whose home was sixty miles away, and Benjamin Townsend, who suffered considerable pecuniary loss; his goods deteriorated in value during his prolonged incarceration, whilst his six pack-horses leisurely "ate their heads off."

Like Christian and Faithful, the prisoners were first exposed for some hours in "the cage," to the great delight of a derisive multitude; they were next conducted from thence to the Mayor, who placed before them the Oath of Allegiance, not that he had any cause to suspect their loyalty, but to extort from them an *oath*, which, to men invariably truthful was an act of supererogation, meriting severe censure.† From the presence of William Wharton they were led to the gaol and treated as vile conspirators. Although the weather was intensely cold, these pious religionists were allowed no fire, and were forced to sleep upon the bare floor. The straw, moreover, brought by their friends for bedding was inhumanely taken away and given to felons. After six dreary months, the prisoners were placed before the judge, when once more refusing to take the prescribed oath, an indictment was drawn up against them (27th May 1664). Their trial was, however, postponed until the next sessions. Examined the 2nd

* At the request of Lieutenant Underwood, he received his freedom, agreeing to give 40/- to the poor (1652).

† "Now I verily believe that it's very well known unto the king, that our denying to swear, is not upon any Popish account, but only in obedience to Christ's command recorded Matt. V. 34, James V. 12." Henry Jackson, a prisoner in Warwick gaol, wrote thus to the King (3rd Sept. 1666).

of February 1665, their answers were again deemed unsatisfactory (*non confessio*); hence the severe sentence of *præmunire* was recorded against them, and most, if not all, were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

The gaoler Ralph Emerton was exceedingly vindictive and treated the Friends far worse than ordinary culprits. He boarded up the windows, depriving them of light, so that they could not see to work, and of air, so that they could scarcely breathe. To the protracted rigour of this man's brutality, Edward Shooter at last succumbed. One day Emerton violently threw back a heavy iron-studded door behind which Anthony Preston was standing, intending to crush the prisoner between the door and the stone wall; but Preston instinctively detecting the malicious design, broke the force of the impact with his hands. Strange to relate the Lynn gaoler died in his chair the self-same night.*

Fox describes his second visit, which happened at this time, in these words:—

Whilst I was in that country (the Fens), there came so great a flood that it was dangerous to go out; yet we did get out, and went to Lynn, where we had a blessed meeting. Next morning I visited the prisoners there, and then back to the inn and took horse. As I was riding out of the yard the officers came to search the inn for me. I knew nothing of it then, only I felt a great burthen come upon me as I rode out of the town, till I was got without the Gates. When some Friends that came after overtook me, they told me that the officers had been searching the inn as soon as I had gone out. So by the good hand of the Lord, I escaped out of their cruel hands. After this we passed through the counties visiting Friends in their meetings. The Lord's power carried us over the persecuting spirits and through many dangers. His truth spread and grew, and Friends were established therein; praise and glory to His name forever.

From a summary of those who were persecuted in Norfolk from 1660 to 1666, a few particulars are taken—113 termed "sufferers" probably lost goods, seized for the non-payment of tithes; 110 were imprisoned; 4 were banished most likely to the plantations in the Barbadoes, and one died in prison at Lynn. Early in September 1666, the High Steward, Horatio Townshend, was abnormally active in sending "fanatics" to gaol; on the 14th he unexpectedly ordered the release of all but three, who were to abide his pleasure. For refusing to pay tithe several Friends were prosecuted in 1672; the incidental expenses "as appears p^r mr. Burrige his bill" amounted to £2 7s. 2d. The brutal inhumanity with which these harmless enthusiasts were treated, the filthy dens into which they were thrust, and the exasperating indignities to which they were subject through the cowardly animosity of their gaolers, prove indisputably that "the glorious Restoration" did neither encourage nor even defend that liberty of conscience so inestimably dear to Englishmen.†

* Anthony Preston, who settled in Lynn, died in 1678. His burial (by no means a solitary case) is recorded in these words:—"Anthony Preston, a quaker, was put into a hole in his own yard (18th Aug.)." An affidavit certifying that the corpse was wrapped up in nothing but woollen (26th) appears in the Parish Register (St. N.). The Act for Burials in Wool (to encourage a declining industry) came into force the 1st of August 1678.

† Richard Ransom, a miller of North Walsham, having joined the Quakers, suffered no less than 15 years' imprisonment. In 1685 he was confined in Norwich castle for the non-payment of tithes.

John Gurney of Norwich, an ancestor of the Gurneys of Runcorn, suffered three years' imprisonment for refusing on religious grounds to take the Oath of allegiance (1683-6).

Since 1655, there has unquestionably existed a Society of Friends in Lynn. It is, however, impossible to say where they first met for worship. A small room in Ferry Street, not far from the Public Baths, was used at one time; afterwards a house, perhaps in Crisp's yard, Stonegate Street, named after Jane Crisp, a quakeress. Richards speaks of three burial grounds; he refers to one in Buckingham Terrace, now a garden; another in New Conduit Street, and the third possibly near the Lady Bridge brewery. In Buck's *East Prospect of Lynn* (1741) a "meeting-house" is marked, which seems to denote the original building in New Conduit Street, rebuilt somewhat later. In the boundary wall a stone may be noticed, inscribed—Q's M. 1774; which being interpreted reads—"Quakers' Meeting (house). 1774." A new Sabbath school was opened (1883) and the committee of the adult school purchased the Gaywood reading room (£37), where gratuitous instruction is given (1889).

SACKCLOTH AND ASHES.

A virulent epidemic, which caused widespread desolation in this country, made its appearance at Yarmouth (November 1664), and is believed to have been brought ashore by an infected crew from Rotterdam. That strict preventive measures were taken to safeguard London is evident, because Captain William Hall, of the convoy *Coventry*, informed Samuel Pepys when writing the 25th of April 1665, that he had carefully observed the precautionary orders previously given. Whilst escorting 30 vessels to Lynn, he put into Lowestoft to obtain a supply of wood and candles. Not permitting his men to land, he went and ordered the goods himself, which were placed upon the shore and subsequently taken on board. Early in June, however, the dreadful scourge was devastating the metropolis. The total number of deaths within the walls of the city—an area then of one square mile—for the year ending the 19th of December 1665, is officially stated to be 9,887. In Norwich, which suffered severely in 1666, as many as 3,012 died.

The outbreak was first felt in Lynn about the 10th of September, but the manner of its introduction must ever remain an unsolved problem. Twenty-one died in eight weeks. The fair at Gaywood, as well as the Mart and markets, were discontinued, whilst communication with other places was strictly prohibited. Throughout the next year, Norwich, Cambridge, Peterborough, etc., suffered from a recurrence of the epidemic. To prevent the ingress of unwelcome strangers, our gates were watched (9th July 1666). On one occasion the guard was evaded by a servant maid from Norwich, who was taken ill after being in the town a few hours (23rd July). The house at which she stayed was promptly "shut up." Precautionary measures were adopted too, when the disease was reported to be again prevalent in Peterborough (29th August 1667). For use in the churches two books "against the humiliation day of London" were purchased, and the special prayers therein contained were offered at the humiliation services here.

THE ART OF MAKING MONEY.

Coins either of gold or silver once constituted the authorised currency. From the reign of Edward I. silver farthings and half-pence were issued; owing, however, to a steady increase in the value of silver, these then significant coins grew not only finer by degrees, but beautifully less. To obviate the difficulty, traders and vintners during the 16th century started distributing lead, tin, latten or even leather tokens, promising to accept the specie in exchange for coin of the realm. Where money was largely circulated, tradesmen kept sorting boxes into whose different compartments they placed the tokens of the respective tradesmen, and at stated periods exchanged them either for silver coins or an equal number of their own tokens. Abbey counters and foreign coins were used when the demand exceeded the supply of tokens. James I. granted letters patent to Lord Harrington to strike farthings (1612). Great inconvenience followed the stopping of "the Harringtons" (1644), therefore to facilitate business the corporations of certain important towns issued copper tokens representing half-pennies and farthings (1648); this went on until the royal half-penny of Charles II. appeared (1672).

Specimens of thirty 17th century farthing tokens, struck by Lynn tradesmen, have been catalogued by Mr. E. A. Tillet in his list of *Norfolk Tokens*. He has, however, omitted the one found at the demolition of the South Lynn vicarage house, which bore the grocers' arms—a chevron between nine cloves; three, three and three, with the words—OF: LIN: REGES on one side, whilst on the other appear the initials N.R.W. and the legend—IN: NORFOLKE. The earliest local token was issued by a wine merchant, Giles Bridgman (1650); he was churchwarden (1667), mayor (1679) and living in the Stonegate ward, was assessed at £32 and £2 for a coalyard.

Besides the token of private individuals, the following towns made their own farthings:—

Norwich	four varieties	1667-1670
Yarmouth	" "	1667-1669
LYNN	three "	1668-1669
Diss	one only	1669
Cley	" "	no date.

The copper farthings of the Lynn Corporation were 13-16ths inch in diameter and weighed 20 grains. They may be thus described:—

- (1). O—KINGS LYNN FARTHING 1668 (in three lines); mint mark a rose above and below; *two* mullets on each side of the upper rose, and *one* on each side of the lower rose; a mullet on each side of the date: beaded.
R—The Arms of Lynn, three dragons heads erect, in the mouth of each a cross crosslet fitchée; beaded.
- (2). A variety differing in the *obverse* die, having a large mullet above and below instead of the rose as mint mark.
- (3). Similar to the above, but dated 1669.

Although there was a lamentable scarcity of small copper coins, the striking of money by corporations was an infringement of a privilege strictly relegated to the king. "Amongst other marks of majesty and the dignities and prerogatives of empire," as erring

corporations were informed, "the right of striking and coining money was not the least important, and that any exercising such right without grant or licence should be speedily punished." Norwich accordingly prayed for mercy the 3rd of September, Yarmouth the 10th of October and Lynn followed suit the 4th of November 1670. Norwich waited three weeks, Yarmouth six months and Lynn two years before receiving his Majesty's pardon. Unlike several other towns, each luckily escaped without paying a heavy fine for so excusable an experiment. The Lynn farthings were "called in," and the *finale* expressed in these words: "Ordered the Town Seal to be fixed to an instrument acknowledging his Majesties grace and favour in pardoning the Corporation for making of farthings" (2nd November 1672).

From an examination of various silver marks the Rev. C. R. Manning concludes there was an assay office in Lynn (1630-1640).

THE BRIDGE OF SIGHS.

In early days, the Whitefriars, living in the village of South Lynn, erected a bridge over the Nar, and kept the structure in repair until banished from their home. In later years the maintenance of this convenient approach was the cause of dispute between the parishioners and the burgesses. Although, in 1605, the bridge was unsafe for traffic, neither would repair it: those of South Lynn contending that the responsibility rested with the mayor and burgesses, because in times past they voted money for its upkeep, and besides having bought the estate of the dislodged friars as concealed lands from the King, they were legally bound to do what the previous owners had done. To avoid an action-at-law, which was likely to arise, Thomas Valenger, by reason of "the singular affection and love" he felt for both parties, and, moreover, at the request of Matthew Clarck the mayor, gave 6s. towards mending the bridge. The money was handed to Alderman Sandyll, who passed it on to Richard Waters, one of the chamberlains, instructing him to see the work carried out. Thus, the threatening storm of 1605 was allayed.

During the siege, the "Long Bridge," as it was called, was destroyed to cut off the approach of the enemy. After remaining in a "disabled" condition for some time, it was repaired by William Blane and Bartholomew Collinson at the town's expense. Twenty years later the inhabitants of South Lynn politely requested the Corporation to consider the advisability of mending it once more. Now, although the Corporation had maintained the structure "tyme out of minde," as the petitioners stated, yet they now refused to accept the responsibility. At this juncture Samuel Barron, Thomas Spencely and Thomas Huggins interviewed the town authorities, but failed to impress them with the arguments adduced. The Mayor and Burgesses were next summoned to appear at the Quarter Sessions (16th January 1671), where, the jury having found them guilty, the court leniently inflicted a nominal fine of £5, expecting the Corporation would agreeably acquiesce in the decision and forthwith repair the bridge. As the borough still obstinately refused, the case was reopened at the Thetford Assizes (12th March 1671). The

parishioners were represented by Thomas Huggins with five witnesses, and the borough by Alderman Henry Bell, Henry Ferroure the recorder and Francis Rolfe the clerk. At the last moment the Corporation, "refusing to try it," abandoned the case, thus involving the South Lynn vestry in needless legal expenses. The money was paid, but the bridge was not mended, and never-ceasing complaints were hurled at the Corporation, who, when they could stand the irritation no longer, appointed a committee to treat with the parish (July 1672). A meeting was held at the house of Samuel Barron, a builder. Although the parish, as part of the borough, was willing to contribute proportionately, if a rate were laid, and would certainly have paid at least one-fourth of the expense, yet the representatives of the borough refused; at the same time suggesting, the dispute could only be settled by arbitration. The Corporation accordingly nominated two county gentlemen, whom the parishioners at once accepted, but persisted in objecting to every pair put forward by the parish.

Once more Thomas Huggins, the South Lynn champion, appeared before the Assembly, and with him was Seth Hawley, because the two originally chosen were dangerously ill. Alas, a compromise was impossible! Hence, the disagreement was again referred to the Assizes at Thetford (3rd to 7th March 1673). Three expert counselors were retained by Messrs. Ferroure and Rolfe, whilst Jacob Wrag assisted by three counsellors and a serjeant-at-law fought on the side of the South Lynnnians. Now King Edward VI. had granted the Corporation tenements and lands not only in the borough, but also in South Lynn, the income from which, amounting to several hundred pounds yearly, ought to have been spent among other things in maintaining bridges and jetties (1552). A subsequent charter, that of 1557 (C. 20) concurred in this; hence the verdict of the previous jury was based upon these premises.

The Lord Chief Justice, Sir Matthew Hale, before whom the case was finally tried, instructed the jury to arrange their finding under three heads. They were *first* to say—Whether the inhabitants of King's Lynn were guilty or not guilty. To this the jury answered, "Not guilty." *Secondly*—Whether the inhabitants of South Lynn were guilty or not guilty. The reply was, "Not guilty." And *lastly*—Whether the Mayor and Burgesses were guilty or not. The response to the third interrogation was, "Guilty."* What the trial cost the Corporation is not known, but the parishioners of South Lynn paid £42 1s. 1d.

THE STEPS OF ROYALTY,

like the footsteps of angels upon the Sands of Lynn, were at this period "few and far between." Charles Stuart, Earl of Richmond and Lennox (a natural son of the King by the Duchess of Portsmouth) came this way by water (1670). At his request the freedom of the town was granted him, Thomas Greene and Benjamin Holley being accepted as sureties—not for the payment of the fine, because it was remitted, but possibly for his Lordship's good behaviour (23rd July).

* Read Richards' *Hist. Lynn*, Vol. II., pp. 830-835.

The same year Lord Townshend paid the town a friendly visit. To defray the cost of the two entertainments provided by the official cook, the renowned Will Scrivener, "who by his art could make death's skeleton edible in each part," £22 was voted by the epicurean Assembly. James Butler, Duke of Ormond (Ireland), William Paget, Marquis of Anglesea, Lord Townshend, and other gentlemen were here in 1671, when there was much eating and—bell-ringing! Sir Francis North appeared on the scene the same year; the exact date is not given; but it was before the 7th of August, when the Council considered the recommendatory letter from Lord Townshend. Sir Francis accepted his freedom in 1669-70. Henry Fitz-Roy, Duke of Grafton (Northamptonshire), the son of the Countess of Leicester—another of His Majesty's natural descendants, favoured the burgesses with his presence (1681), as also did Henry Howard seventh Duke of Norfolk and Lieutenant of the County in 1683 and 1685.

King Charles purposed fulfilling a long-promised "progress" through Norfolk in the autumn of 1671. Leaving the royal lodge at Newmarket on Tuesday the 21st of September, His Majesty, accompanied by George Villiers Duke of Buckingham, Charles Stuart Earl of Richmond and James Fitz-Roy Earl of Monmouth, arrived at Yarmouth the 27th, and at Norwich the next day. The Queen entered the city on the 29th and graciously permitted the *profanum vulgus* to kiss her delicate hands, whilst the King compassionately "touched" many afflicted with "the evil."

By means of a letter from Sir Robert Stewart, recorder and member for Lynn, the Corporation received timely notice of the King's intention, and agreed upon spending £100, so that every conceivable preparation might be made to render the royal sojourn as pleasant as possible (11th August 1671). The advent of the royal guests was expected on Saturday the 30th of September. A sumptuous banquet, specially brought from London, was spread with fastidious nicety in the Town Hall; the Mayor with a galaxy of civic acolytes, tremulous with excitement, watched the clock in the church tower and a cloudy sky alternately; crowds of townsfolk in holiday attire paraded the streets or weary with waiting ventured beyond the gate, while the ringers rung on the new-tuned bells, over which Masters Cowell and Rapier had bestowed the tenderest care, as they had never rung before. All were nevertheless doomed to suffer the pangs of disappointment, for the threatening sky was the prelude of a most violent hurricane, which swept the coast of Norfolk and Lincolnshire (11th and 12th September). How well did they remember the terrible three-month gale, the climax of which was brought about by the violence of the wind from the nor'-nor'-west (4th March 1668), when the banks one after the other gave way, when cattle by scores and sheep by thousands were drowned, and when many houses in the town were either unroofed or completely levelled to the ground. But that, as they one-and-all averred, was a summer breeze compared with this! The sea-wall at Long Sutton was "blown," and the country around, for miles, was inundated. Three-and-thirty of the Lynn ships were "lost," and most of the crews were sleeping in a watery grave. Houses, cattle, corn,

and lives were sacrificed. Even the grand old hostelry with its forty rooms, at West Lynn, was carried away "stick and stone" by the raging waters! No, no, no; travelling was impossible, and "the Merry Monarch" and his courtiers did right in postponing their visit. The new mayor, Daniel Goodwin, for reasons best known to himself, munificently offered £10 for the regal banquet. This the Corporation willingly accepted. The Mayor mounted the civic box and grasped the reins of office on the 29th, the banquet was prepared for the 30th, and a day or two afterwards the Mayor and his confrères could truthfully endorse the sentiment of the playwright—that the uses of adversity were indeed sweet. The entry of the transaction is post-dated the 10th of November, that is five weeks after the King's expected visit. Francis Rolfe, for obvious reasons, did not think it within his province to mention to what charitable purpose the feast was devoted. Thrift, thrift, unsuspecting reader; the royal baked meats did coldly furnish forth the mayoral table! Mahomet was sorely disappointed, in not taking an excursion to the mountain, yet was there no insuperable obstacle. When, therefore, the roads were in better condition the mayor and his brethren would betake themselves to Newmarket and present their whilom disappointed fetich with a consolatory address. This would they do, and thus would they act—and so they did, eleven years afterwards! (1682).

A VANISHED HAND.

From the time of Edward the Confessor, a notion prevailed, that scrofula, otherwise *the King's evil*, could be cured by the touch of royalty. The practice was introduced into this country by Henry VII. Dr. Samuel Johnson, when an infant, was the *last* to be "touched," yet special prayers supposed to assist the royal incantation remained in the Prayer Book until 1719. Henry VII. presented each afflicted applicant with a small gold or silver coin, previously consecrated; William III. and Mary II., and James I. gave cramp rings, whilst Anne substituted a specially designed token.

Malcolm, describing "the most miraculous work" in which Macbeth the King of Scotland was engaged, exclaims:—

How he solicits heaven,
Himself best knows; but strangely-visited people,
All swol'n and ulcerous, pitiful to the eye,
The mere despair of surgery, he cures,
Hanging a golden stamp about their necks,
Put on with holy prayers.

In 1630 our Assembly voted a poor woman named Smith, ten shillings with which to pay the expenses of her afflicted son to London, so that he might be "touched" by Charles I., and in 1674 the benevolent wardens of St. Margaret's sent a woman to the palatial lodge at Newmarket to be cured by the jovial physician, who was then in residence.

AN ITCHING PALM.

Serious charges of peculation were brought against Sir Edward Montagu, K.G., Joint High Admiral of England and Earl of Sandwich (1665). He was the heir of Sir Sydney Montagu (who bought

the family seat at Hinchbrook, Huntingdonshire, from Sir Oliver Cromwell the uncle of the Protector), brother of Henry the first Earl of Manchester, to whom the beleaguered burgesses at Lynn were abruptly introduced, and cousin of Samuel Pepys. As admiral, he was reported to have captured two East India ships and to have misappropriated the prizes. His influence at court was speedily undermined, and his fall apparently inevitable. Remembering how five years before Sir Edward accompanied him to England, * the King attempted to palliate the evil by sending the avaricious admiral as ambassador to Spain (31st December 1665). Pepys urged his kinsman to sue for pardon before leaving, because he feared the action of parliament in the coming session (17th January 1666). It was not, however, until the 17th of October, that public inquiry was instituted. The subject was reintroduced the 24th of February 1667, but the absent ex-admiral was "treated kindly beyond expectation" (Pepys) and the distasteful subject was once more shelved. This distinguished commander was slain, bravely fighting against the Dutch (1672).

The circumstances connected with this deplorable case were brought to light through the vigilance of the officers of the customs at Lynn. A cargo, brought into port by the ketch *Roe*, was seized, as being part of the plunder abstracted from the East India prizes. Whereupon Lord Sandwich strongly protested, expressing his readiness to have the mysterious packages opened in the presence of the officials or "any unsuspecting person." Soon after a warrant was issued, ordering the officers to restore the goods to the earl's servant and to summon Godfrey, who effected the detention, to answer for the affront (14th December 1665). This was ignored and the innocent messenger threatened. On the 29th, Lord Arlington related the incident to the King and expressed an opinion, "that the service would suffer, unless those who disobeyed orders, without very good reason, received exemplary punishment." The bales, when opened, were found to contain spices (said to be a present from the King), china, clothes, music books, bedding, etc. *James* Turner (query: *John*) and two other officers signed an inventory of receipt, which was attested by Lionel Walden, John Heron and Jasper Trice, an impartial gentleman from Huntingdon (5th January 1666). The goods, sold the next month to Captain Cock, Mr. Moyer, Mr. Moore, and Captain Hurlston, realised £4,786 9s., out of which £600 was given as a gratuity to Sir Roger Cuttance, the captain of the *Charles*.

QUARTER SESSIONS, 1667.

When charging the jury at the Town Hall, the recorder (afterwards Sir) Robert Stewart, contrary to what was evidently anticipated, said nothing against the Roman Catholics or about the affairs of the Established Church. Leaving these matters to others, he notwithstanding acquainted the jury, that a certain sort of people habitually

* The barge, by means of which the King landed, was probably provided by Montagu, because Captain Cuttance was afterwards instructed to take it to Hinchbrook via Lynn (20th June 1660). See Pepys' *Diary* (1851), Vol. I., p. 103.

avoiding part of the service, entered the church at sermon-time. Taking the hint, presentments were accordingly made (12th April 1667).

A fortune-teller or conjuror was condemned to a term of imprisonment; six other offenders were sentenced to be publicly whipped for petty larceny; a fisherwoman, who impulsively killed a man with the hammer she held, when he snatched an oyster from her, was acquitted, whilst a woman named Wharton, found guilty of the murder of her infant, was subsequently hanged.

FIRES WITHOUT SMOKE.

To meet the demands of an extravagant King, the Commons voted him a tax of two shillings upon every hearth (1662). The iniquitous nature of this measure gave general offence and did little good, because Charles diverted £2,390,000 of the money voted for the Dutch war "to supply his wasteful and debauched course of pleasure" (Pepys). The return of the number of hearths or stoves in each dwelling was as a rule fraudulent. Captain Lloyd the local collector and his myrmidons were roughly handled. The justices of the peace, fearing a riot, sent the ringleaders to gaol (16th November and 15th December 1666). The chapel-reeves of St. Nicholas "a lowed Lee Harpley [one of their tenants] for harth mony, 00: 01: 00" (1685-6) and paid "to the collectors of harth-money as p 4 rent, 01: 02: 00" (1688). At the request of King William III., the parliament abolished this odious imposition, which pressed heavily upon the poor.

REVENGEFUL FISHERMEN.

To encourage the fishing industry, Charles incorporated the Royal Fishing Company under the presidency of George Duke of York. This movement was considered inimical to the interests of the Lynn fishermen, who, headed by Captain John Rookewood, plundered the Company's bank, destroyed their tackle and mercilessly belaboured their agents. Hearing what had happened, the King determined upon upholding the rights of the Company (1665).

FEN HEMP.

The navy still depended upon Marshland for a supply of hemp, which was brought from the villages to Lynn and from hence shipped to London. Pepys wrote to John Fincham of Outwell, asking whether he could not abate his price. In reply, Fincham confessed, he knew nothing about the quality of Flanders and Dorsetshire hemp, but he was well aware how hemp had recently risen in value 40s. per ton (14th February 1665). Sir William Doyley of Shottesham urged Pepys to do all he could to encourage the cultivation of hemp, especially in the neighbourhood of Lynn, "where Sir Thomas Dereham could give advice in the management of affairs in those parts" (29th December 1665).

WOOL GATHERING.

A burgess, named Connistant Cant, was caught shipping wool to Guernsey, without notifying the same to the officers of customs. For

the offence—that of smuggling, he forfeited £450, of which £250 was given to Edward Halsall an informant (31st May 1665).

THE RED LIGHT IN THE SKY.

The common at Gaywood was ignited either by lightning or "some man smoking tobacco." An area, a quarter of a mile in length and half a furlong in breadth, was soon denuded of vegetation, the fire penetrating the ground two feet. The efforts of hundreds to quench the flames proved ineffectual, but a shower of rain eventually subdued what threatened to become an extensive conflagration (9th August 1667).*

CHAPTER XXXII.

The Receipt of Custom.

WITHOUT approaching the Council, Charles suddenly prorogued the new parliament, because the elections were intensely unfavourable to the interests of the court party (October 1679). For twelve months parliament never met. In the mean time the corporations of various towns forwarded addresses, humbly entreating the King to convene a parliament at once. Greatly annoyed, Charles issued a proclamation, prohibiting such "tumultuous petitions" (12th December). This encouraged the presentation of a series of counter addresses in which the subscribers expressed unbounded confidence in the government and their utter *abhorrence* of those interfering with regal power. Hence the factions were known as "petitioners" and "abhorrrers," terms soon superseded by *whig* and *tory*.

A SINCERE "ABHORRER."

In the autumn of 1678, Titus Oates, the son of a Baptist minister, gained notoriety, as the revealer of a serious plot, the object of which was the death of the King, the "re-establishment" of popery, and the crowning of James Duke of York, the King's brother. Oates was an arrant knave, and his sensational assertions were generally disbelieved. However, Coleman the secretary of the Duchess of York was seized, and one of the papers he omitted to burn revealed what "was really and truly a Popish plot, though not that which Oates and his associates pretended to reveal"—a plot to restore the Catholic faith, in which "the King, the Duke of York, and the King of France were chief conspirators and in which the Romish priests and especially the Jesuits were eager co-operators" (Hailam). Whereupon, the Duke, who was unpopular in more ways than one, was persuaded to leave the kingdom, before the meeting of the next parliament. After his success against the Scots at Bothwell Bridge, he was recalled (22nd June 1679), but did not return until February 1680, when the aldermen of London made arrangements for presenting him and the duchess with the city's congratulations.

Was there not another tempting peg, providentially revealed, upon which the good people of Lynn might suspend another token of

* Of 2,367 acres, 2 rds. 8 pls. in Gaywood and Riffley, 612 acres, 3 rds. 34 pls. were allotted under the *Commons Enclosure Award* (1808).

undiluted loyalty. Through the medium of Thomas Wriothesley (Earl of Southampton and Lord Lieutenant of Norfolk) the following remarkable effusion, signed by Giles Bridgman the mayor and the other members of the Corporation, was presented to the King (30th April 1680).

To the King's most excellent Majesty.

Dread Sir, Wee your Majesties Dutifull and Loyall Subjects, the Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen and Common-Councell of your Majesties ancient burgh of Lenn Regis., on behalf of ourselves and other the free Burgesses and principal inhabitants here, doe in all humility prostrate ourselves at the feet of your most sacred majesty, and in all duty acknowledge the infinite benefits wee of this burgh, with all others, the liedge people of this your Majesties Kingdom of England by your happy government and royall conduct next under God enjoye, and more particularly wee give your Majesty an oblation of our duty and thankfulness in your pious and resolute support and maintenance of the religion established by the Lawes of this kingdome in the Church of England in your courageous conserving the Regalities of your Crowne against insolent petitions and protecting the lawfull liberties and freedoms of your subjects. And with our souls we bless Almighty God in the return of your royall brother, the Duke of Yorke, to your Majesties most Gracious presence, and doe cheerfully profess to maintaine and defend your Majesties most Royall person your Heirs and lawfull successors in your and their just rights,

May it please your Majestie

Your natural Liegemen.

Thus the time-serving sycophants extolled the unconstitutional government of a depraved and profligate King, and expressed their admiration of the contemptuous manner in which he treated the reasonable remonstrances of his subjects. Lynn—"the abhorrer" of that which is just and true! Henceforth emblazon ICHABOD in sable characters across thy azure shield!

WITHIN THY WALLS.

Since the Conquest, three great influxes of emigrants from the Netherlands settled in Norfolk, and by introducing the industries with which they were familiar, greatly benefited not only East Anglia, but the kingdom at large. About the middle of the 12th century a colony at Flemings took up their abode in Norwich and the surrounding villages, where they developed the art of brickmaking (but little practised since the time of the Romans). the spinning of *worsted*, so named from *Worsted* in Norfolk, and the erection of mills driven by wind and water. Another foreign contingent at the beginning of the 14th century introduced the weaving of cloth. Norwich soon became the centre of an important industry, and by royal edict was appointed one of the ten staple towns for the sale of wool, woollfells and cloth. Wymondham, Worsted and Lynn participated in the general prosperity of the district. After a while the native workmen turned against those who had taught them the way to grow rich. As a just retribution, a terrible stagnation of trade followed, and Norwich was doomed never more to occupy the foremost position.

Recognising how uncharitably they had driven the stranger from their door, a deputation of Norwich citizens waited upon the mayor Thomas Sotherton, beseeching him to assist in obtaining a settlement of divers strangers from the Low Countries, who were fleeing to

London and Sandwich, because of the terrible persecution conducted by the Duke of Alva (1565). Three hundred Dutch and Walloon refugees accepted the invitation. Under special licence, they carried on their own industries—the manufactures of says, baize, arras, mock-ades, and bombazines; the striping and flowering of silk, the art of printing, and the making of beaver hats. In five years the number of Protestant emigrants amounted to three thousand. The majority settled in Norwich, but some naturally drifted to other towns. From a return made in 1572 we learn, that “the strangers” in Lynn were for the greater part poor, of good behaviour, and that they earned their living by labouring in their several faculties. There were 67 men, of whom 44 were Dutch and 10 Scotch; with their wives, children and servants—the 34 households numbered over 200. During the 17th century the Lynn worsted manufacture was in a flourishing condition: the weavers of the *fabric* then known as “worsted” sought to obtain an Act sanctioning the residence of a dyer and calender in the town (2nd December 1670). From this we are led to infer, that the dyeing and pressing of the Lynn cloth was done elsewhere, perhaps at Norwich.

A cursory glance, at our Roll of Freemen, reveals how many Dutch and Walloons were dwelling here, at and before the last influx. Foreign surnames, often slightly modified, are common. From a long list a few examples are selected:—

Surnames : Dutch and Walloon.	Freemen of Lynn.
Becque	John <i>Bek</i> (1521).
Busche	Thomas <i>Bush</i> (1644).
Moes	Robert <i>Merys</i> (1546), Robert <i>Mors</i> (1587).
Perdue	Christopher <i>Purdewe</i> (1541), Richard <i>Purdue</i> (1545), Thomas <i>Purdy</i> (1561), Christopher <i>Purdye</i> (1577).
Rabat	David <i>Rabye</i> (1606).
Roosee	Thomas <i>Roos</i> (1507), John <i>Rowse</i> (1569).

The citizens, now that their manufacture was reviving, were doubly anxious to guard and foster it, because they remembered to their sorrow how once upon a time it had dwindled away. How jealous too were they of the prosperous little colony at Lynn, so many of whom were freemen of the borough. But the greatness, aye, and the power should redound to Norwich!

H.M. CUSTOMS.

And now, obliging reader, resist no longer the mesmeric spell we endeavour to cast about thee. Believe, thou art standing in the middle of the Tuesday market-place in the year of grace 1660. Notice how neatly the whole area is railed in; this is the doing of the new governor; the old woodwork, after standing some forty years, is replaced with good sound timber from his Lordship's estate at Raynham. Each tall corner-post bears the well-carved Royal Arms to remind thee, that the Protectorate is happily ended and the Second Charles is King of England. The object at thy feet is not a mooring chain, but the ring used when bulls are baited before being

slaughtered. . . Looking westward, thou wilt perceive an imposing structure with an eighty-six feet frontage. "The Bank House" (Messrs Gurney, Birkbeck, Barclay, Buxton and Cresswell)? By no means; it is the private residence of an opulent burgess—Mr. Collyer. The broad central entrance has six ordinary windows on each side; above are fourteen similar windows running the whole length of the building. In the steep-pitched roof are six dormer-windows, three on each side of what may be termed a broken pediment.

This noble edifice is flanked with buildings. Each block, with frontages measuring forty-five feet, belongs to the Corporation. Let us cursorily examine these quaint side-wings. That to the right is a modest double-gabled dwelling, with a convenient door in the middle, over which thou wilt observe a pictorial sign, framed in artistic iron scroll-work, "swinging to larboard, thence to starboard," whilst the angelic being depicted thereon is blowing an elongated trumpet, with the greatest possible exertion. This is the famous *Angel* hostelry. To the left is another double-gabled building; its central entrance being between pairs of broad windows, with corresponding lights above.

The upper storeys of both wings abut upon Mr. Collyer's residence; yet each is separated therefrom below, by a passage about nine feet wide. These covered passages, for there are chambers above, lead to the staith and warehouses. We call them the North and South Gateways. Over the left arch is a stone, bearing the arms of the town, with the date 1621. This plain, home-like structure is the Custom House. To the south is a road leading to the ferry (Ferry Street) and an hostelry called the *Globe* (1685).*

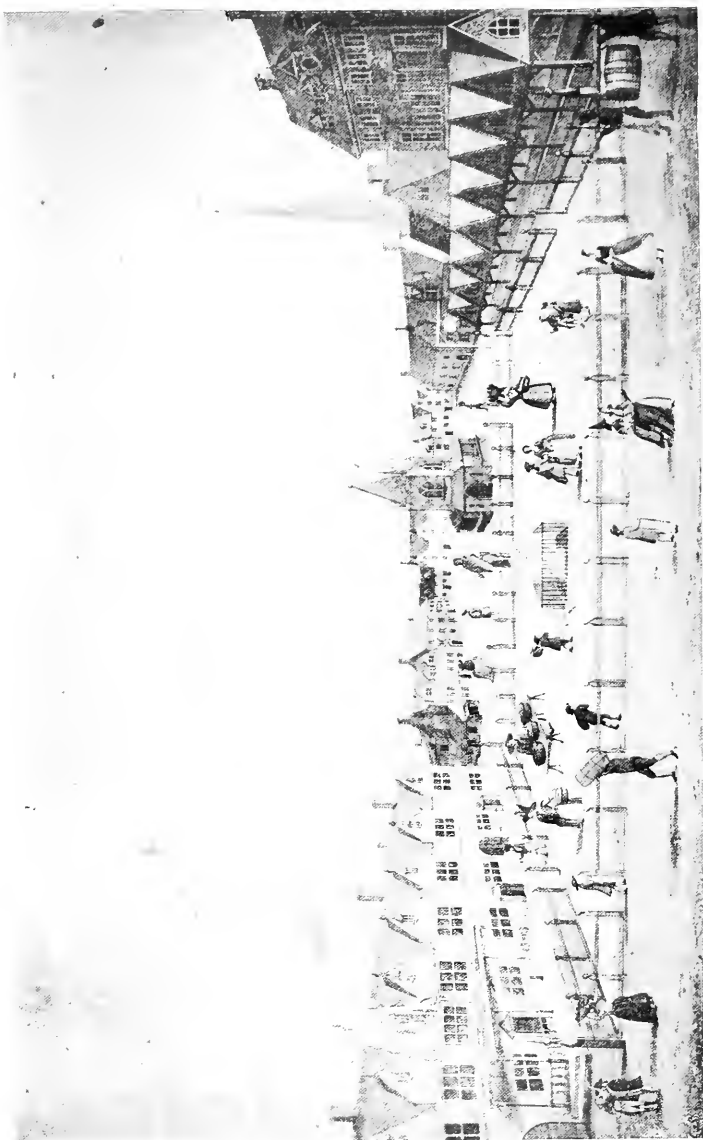
Turn now towards the north and thou wilt see the *Old Market Cross* (1601), sadly in need of repair, and the ditch, which now seldom used might well be filled up, and the site of the gallows, where loquacious witches were silenced a few years since. To the east thou wilt notice an inviting hostelry *Ye Mayde's Head* and Mr. Turner's red-brick mansion, with the pillory and stocks hard by.

. . . But enough, submissive reader—an exaggerated flourish of the hands and "Hey presto!" thou art once more thyself and in thy right mind!

Now let us re-view each of the three buildings, on the western side of the market-place. The *Angel* took flight to make room for the Market House (1832), which in turn gave place to the present Corn Exchange (1854). Collyer's mansion passed to the Hogge family. Unfortunately destroyed by fire (1768), it was soon after rebuilt upon the old foundation. The Gurney Bank was opened there the 7th of June 1869.

As early as 1580, the *Old Custom House* was standing at the corner, because the street in front and the Common Staith Lane were then repaved. It was, however, pulled down and rebuilt (1620). The process of "new beautifying" which it underwent, failed in

* For ground plan and elevation of Collyer's House and the adjacent buildings see *A plan of Mr. Collyer's House* (1621) in the Lynn Museum.



NORTH PROSPECT OF THE TUESDAY MARKET-PLACE, " BEFORE THE REIGN OF JAMES IND,
FROM A LITHOGRAPH PUBLISHED ABOUT 1827.

conducting to its convenience (1667). Hence St. George's Hall, the present wool warehouse in King Street, was hired (1656).

(1) THE CUSTOM HOUSE.

Early in 1682, Alderman John Turner expatiated before the Council upon the growing necessity there was for a suitable building, where merchants and traders might meet to transact business. At his own "cost and charges," he was prepared to erect a convenient building, if the Corporation so far approved the suggestion as to grant a site. The plot proposed was a waste piece of land at the foot of the Purfleet bridge. The decision was embodied in a resolution:—

It is now consented and agreed that a conveyance or settlement for that p'pose (purpose) shall be made from the Maior and Burgesses to the said Mr. Turner of so much ground from Purfleet Bridge foote westward not exceeding 40 foote in length as shall be convenient for that p'pose (15th January 1682).*

Here then, Alderman Turner erected the present Custom House, from designs prepared by Henry Bell. (Beloe.) The Exchange or Exchequer, as it was originally termed, is of freestone, with two tiers of pilasters, the lower Doric and the upper Ionic. The first turret, raised upon pillars of the Corinthian order, contained "the exchequer bell," whilst in place of a useful and obliging weathercock, was the allegorical figure of Fame, delicately poised upon a miniature globe. In the front of the building, facing the north, is the effigy of Charles II. and the Latin inscription, *Mercaturæ resq. nauticæ hoc posuit Johan. Turner, Anno Dom. MDCLXXXIII.*

The building was held by deed of feoffment dated the 7th of November 1684, from the Corporation to Sir John Turner (for in the meantime he had been knighted) at 1s. per annum quit-rent, payable at Michaelmas; the feoffees covenanting not to close in the ground floor, which was always to remain open for the purposes of an Exchange. The counterpart of the feoffment should be in the possession of the Corporation. The upper floor, let "at a rent of ten pounds per annum, at a pretty long lease," was afterwards used by the officers of custom; but when this part of the building was first appropriated cannot be determined.

The annexed officio-affectionate communication was addressed to the "Collector and Principal Officers":—

Custom House, London; 24th Dec. 1715.

Gentlemen, Having received a letter of the 21st inst. from Mr. Hare [the collector] informing us, that Mr. John Turner, the proprietor of the Custom House at your port, hath proposed to him to sell the same to the Crown rather than to let it by lease as heretofore, We direct that you treat with the said Mr. Turner to know upon what terms the said house may be purchased and what estate he has there in, with your opinion whether it may be proper to purchase it for the service of the Crown, or whether there may be a convenient Custom House taken in any other part of the town on better terms than the present house can be purchased for, and you are to transmit to us a plan thereof.

We are, Your loving friends,

J. Pulteney, W. Dudley, J. Stanley.

Sir John Turner died in 1711, and the Mr. John Turner herein mentioned, to whom the uncle apparently left this part of his estate,

* The present building measures 40 feet (east to west) by 31 feet (north to south).

was desirous of selling the Exchange. His brother Charles was a teller of the Exchequer and he himself collector and customer at Lynn.

The report in answer to the above letter cannot be found. The government eventually bought the building and have since used it as a Custom House. From the 25th of December 1713, when "the pretty long lease" expired to Lady day 1716, when the bargain was completed, as much as £45 was paid for rent. An inquiry was instituted the 24th of September 1719, respecting this sudden increase, when Henry Hare pointed out, how the landlord "insisted upon an advance of £10 per annum, which upon the purchase of the Custom House in 1716, was agreed to be allowed him and was accordingly paid him" (4th December 1719).

An early Custom House is said to have had an effigy of James I. over the door; there is however nothing of the kind in the drawing dated 1626. Possibly the statement may have some connection with the buildings near the King's Staith yard, because Mackerell says, "in the centre of the front buildings in a niche stands the statue of King James the First fronting the west" (1738).

From the Report of the Commissioners for Auditing the Public Acts in 1784, it will be seen, that the annual duties at Lynn exceeded those of all other ports excepting London, Bristol, Liverpool and Hull. In 1806 the revenue of the port amounted to £84,200. The Custom House was assessed at £60 in 1752.

In a lithographic copy of an old print, entitled *An Exact View of the Tuesday Market-place before the reign of King James IInd*. (R. Martin, Litho., 124 High Holborn) are depicted several items which clash with what has already been written. The old Cross—an hexagonal, pinnacled tower, surmounted with a squat broach and surrounded with six lean-to stalls, stands in the northern part of the square. In the middle of the railed-in part is the statue of a *King* on a pedestal, protected by palisading. The effigy with the right hand slightly raised faces the *South*. Mention is made of a statue of William III. in Dodsley's *England Illustrated* (1764), but—query. A row of permanent stalls, with a roof of eight gables and windows appears on the east. Over the road is the *Duke's Head* with its sign—a man's head, framed in fantastic scroll work. The central window is provided with a miniature balcony. Close by is another hostelry with a small picture of the *Maid's Head*, suspended to a stout beam, which runs across the thoroughfare. In the distance is the graceful hexagonal spire of St. Nicholas. On the opposite side of the market is the old Custom House, the façade of which is divided into three parts. The middle, flanked by similar gables, rises higher and bears the town arms with a chevron, as in the carving upon Coney's house, and the statue of a *queen* (query, Mary or Elizabeth) in a niche. The entrance has a broad window on each side; three such windows are shewn in the first storey. The whole front, with its verandah, is railed in. The two passages, already mentioned, are shewn.

(2) THE TURNER FAMILY

"bore great sway in this town for a whole century" (Richards). The Lynn residence of this family was known as the *Duke's Head*; so named in honour of the Duke of York; it was assessed in 1752 at £30; at the same time the *Globe* and the *Angel* were assessed at £13 3s. 4d. and £9 4s. respectively.

(a.) *Charles Turner* of Weasenham (Carthew) or Whissonsett (Blomefield); residence at Warham, also at Lynn; common councilman 1675.

(b.) *John Turner* (son of a) of Lynn (1631-1711); attorney at law; freedom 1678; knighted 1684; appointed by charter alderman for life 1685; mayor 1678, 1691, 1702, 1704; member for Lynn 1679, 1685, 1689, 1690, 1695, 1698, 1701. Built the organ loft in St. Margaret's (1679) and the Exchange or Custom House (1683). Buried in St. Nicholas' chapel.

(c.) *William Turner* (son of a) of North Elmham.

(d.) *Charles Turner* (son of c) of Warham; married Mary Walpole, sister of Sir Robert Walpole the celebrated prime minister; Teller of the Exchequer; Commissioner of the Trade; Lord of the Admiralty; Commissioner of the Treasury; created *Baronet*, 27th April, 1727; with reversion in default of male issue. He gave £100 towards the *New market Cross* (1710). Mayor 1694 and 1706; Member 43 years (1695-1738); died 24th Nov. 1738.

"Charles Turner, Junr., Esq.," received freedom in 1695. [Query: a son of d, who died during his father's lifetime.]

(e.) *John Turner*, (son of c) a Lynn merchant; freedom 1691; alderman; captain of the trained bands; collector and customer at Lynn; mayor 1715; member 1712; succeeded his brother as *2nd Baronet* 1738; died 1739.

(f.) *John Turner* (son of d); freedom 29th Aug., 1733; mayor 1724, 1737; died during his father's lifetime, leaving three daughters.

(g.) *Charles Turner* (son of e); freedom granted "the *eldest* son of Captain Turner," 25th Aug., 1738; mayor 1759 and 1767.

(h.) *John Turner* (son of e); freedom 23rd May, 1733; Lord Commissioner of the Treasury; *3rd Baronet* 1739; mayor 1734, 1748, 1768; member succeeding his uncle 1738, 1747, 1754, 1761, 1768; dying without a son the baronetcy became extinct 1780.*

Arms:—Sable, a chevron, ermine, between three *fer de molines*, or, on a chief argent a lion passant, gules.

(3) LE CHEQUER.

King Street, probably so called because of its proximity to the *King's Staith*, was formerly *Checker Street*. We have still a *Checker* ward and a Little *Checker Lane*, each in the vicinity of Alderman Turner's *Ex-Chequer*. The derivation of this interesting street-name is not necessarily connected with the present Custom House, because *Le Chequer* existed as far back as 1400. You may read about "the common lane (*venellam*) called Corne Lane running from the street called *Le Checker* to the great bank of the river on the north side of St. George's Hall" (Parkin). Upon the site of the *first Exchequer*, the hall of St. George's gild was probably built. There is a *Checker Street* too in the South Lynn parish, which was built, we are told, by a Mr. *Checker*, a fellmonger of Gaywood. To distinguish it from the original *Chequer Street*, the prefix "New" was added.

* For further particulars consult Burke's *Extinct Baronetcies*.

The actual exchequer (as we learn from Richard de Ely, who flourished in the 12th century) was an arithmetical device—an abacus used in conjunction with values and counters. It was in fact a rectangular board 10 feet by 5 feet, having a raised edge all round. The black cloth, with which it was covered, was divided into squares by white lines somewhat like a chess board. There were in all seven columns. Beginning from the right, the 1st column was for pence, the 2nd for shillings, the 3rd for pounds, the 4th for scores of pounds, the 5th for hundreds of pounds, the 6th for thousands and the 7th for tens of thousands. [*Dialogus de Scaccario*.]

At the head of the board sat the Justiciar, with the chancellor and chamberlains, on his left; and the Treasurer, who represented the King, with clerks to enter the accounts and scribes to engross the rolls, on the right. Before the presiding officers, the various accountants presented themselves, either making ingenious if not plausible excuses, or promptly paying what was due. In front of the chamberlain's clerk were the counter-tallies and tellers, who arranged the counters on the chequered board, and added up the amount. Opposite the Justiciar sat the sheriffs and their clerks with tallies, bullion, etc., for making out their account. The barons of the exchequer summoned by the King, the marshals, ushers and necessary court functionaries were also present. The total indebtedness to the Crown was shewn by the counters in the spaces. As the debtor appeared, with his wooden tallies, indentures of acquittance or bullion, the process of *checking* began—the corresponding counters being swept from the board, so that in the end, there was ocular demonstration of how much was still due to the Crown, how much by surplus the Crown owed him, or that the final payment exactly balanced the last counter.

THE COAL MONOPOLY.

Owing to severe losses sustained by the community and an alarming decay of trade, the maintenance of an ever-increasing multitude of poor was a burden barely endurable. The old expedient was revived. The wardens nominated certain of the more indigent, whom they permitted to wander about the streets, wearing the rose-badger, an ensign of accredited poverty, soliciting alms (1657). This method proved inadequate; hence at the earnest request of the inhabitants the Assembly resolved that all, who purchased Newcastle, Sunderland or other "sea-water" coal from any ship belonging to a stranger, should pay a duty of one shilling per chaldron (21 cwts.) towards the relief of the destitute. It was further stipulated, that no burgess should take any coal from a stranger's vessel with the intention of selling the same, until the end of three working days after the arrival of the vessel in port, so that the townsfolk might first secure a supply for themselves (12th May 1662). Rather than pay the duty, the burgesses bought from the Lynn colliers, which of course deterred strangers from coming; the price in consequence soon rose from 17s. to 30s. a chaldron. As the price suddenly went down, we are led to believe the duty was temporarily withdrawn (1664).

Because of the difficulty experienced in carrying coal from Newcastle to London, whilst the nation was at war with the Dutch, it was thought advisable to forward the supply by land. A calculation proves it could be done for £3 6s. per chaldron; thus, the original cost to Lynn 30s., water carriage to Cambridge 4s., land carriage thence to Ware 25s. and by water from Ware to the city 7s. per chaldron (1667).

The converting of St. James' chapel into an orphanage for "the town children" was suggested, provided the Corporation would place the building in the hands of feoffees. A rate of sixpence in the £ would restore the place and provide a fund (12th July 1671). This seems to have been at first decided, but later the same day, because of a diversity of opinions, a second meeting was held. It was then agreed that the previous order should not be binding, except the Corporation delivered the building with the yard thereto belonging, under the seal of the borough, to the churchwardens and overseers; and that a clause be inserted in the document making the overseers the sole trustees of the coal money, with power to collect and dispose of it to the use of the poor. This was done, but the next year a dispute arose between the two parishes, because the parishioners of St. Margaret's claimed *all* the coal duty, whether the coal were delivered from the vessels in South Lynn or not. After an exhibition of parochial antagonism, the parish of St. Margaret, believing in a continuance of brotherly love, generously agreed to allow the neighbouring parish one-third of the duty collected from strangers for coal landed in South Lynn (7th October 1672). With bitter reluctance the people of South Lynn paid their dearly beloved brethren the two-thirds of the duty. Still discontented, the vestry of St. Margaret demanded the appointment of auditors to make a report; four were to be chosen by the mayor and burgesses and four by the parishioners of South Lynn; six of whom might constitute a quorum (1673).

The impost upon a chaldron of coal delivered by a stranger or unfreeman, 2s. in the year 1643 and 1s. in 1657, appears to have been further reduced to 4d. in 1689. At a "general assembly," as recorded in *The St. James's Hospital Booke*: 1682, it was agreed that the ancient duty of *four* pence per chaldron (query) on sea coals imported or brought into port by any ships or vessels of foreigners or strangers" should be used exclusively for the relief, training and education of the needy children in St. James' hospital or orphanage and not spent "towards the relief of aged, impotent and poor people within the burgh and the liberties thereof."

To raise money for the poor the South Lynn vestry had already decided to charge 3s. for the tolling of the great bell, and 1s. for any other bell, from which the ringer was first paid. There were then 8 on the relief list, which cost the parish of Allsaints 13s. per week. It was also agreed that "none should have relief, except those who frequented the parish church; and that their allowance be given them every Lord's day in the afternoon after the evening service" (?), that the overseers see the children of the poor attend school, that they—the children, not the intelligent overseers, be catechized by the

vicar or his curate and lastly that the *third* bell and no other be rung at the death or burial of all "collectioners" (6th April 1868).

THE HELPING HAND.

Characteristic of the period was a legalized method of obtaining pecuniary assistance in case of sudden emergency. When houses were mainly of wood and thatched with straw, and when appliances for the extinction of fires were seldom in readiness and never adequate, disastrous conflagrations were by no means infrequent. Not solitary individuals merely, but populous areas, were often plunged into alarming distress, because, alas, there were then no insurance companies to make good the loss.

It was the custom to forward a detailed account of what had happened to the Privy Council and to ask at the same time for a patent or *brief*, granting the sufferers permission to solicit help in their own and the adjoining counties. If the Council acceded to the request, the minister of the parish received a letter (in all respects a licence), bearing the privy seal and empowering him to make a collection for a specified object. The letter was read the next Sabbath in church, after the reciting of the Nicene creed, and those present were exhorted to give liberally. So frequently, however, were these calls, that the appeals began to be disregarded, hence canvassing from house to house was adopted. Apropos of this method Pepys remarks:—"To church, where we observe the trade of briefs is come now up and so constant a course every Sunday, that we resolve to give no more to them" (30th June 1661). It was necessary in 1667 for parliament to direct, "that the preamble be pathetically penned as the occasion requires to move the people to liberality upon so pious and charitable a work." At the close of the war in Ireland (1652), the greater part of three out of the four provinces was confiscated for the benefit of the conquerors, hence England swarmed with penniless Irish emigrants. There is plenty of evidence to show how liberally these undesirable wayfarers were helped in Lynn.

(1) *St. Margaret's church*, for loss sustained through fire:—

1653.	Oct. 13.	Drayton	£1 7 4
	Feb. 9.	Newmarket... ..	1 9 3
	Feb. 28.	Long Sutton	1 13 0
	Mar. 11.	Marlborough	6 13 0
	"	Bungay	1 15 0
1654.	Ap. 23.	Glasgow, damage £1,000,000...	3 10 0
	Sept. 25.	Grimston, to Cecily Wills, widow	3 7 0
	" 30.	London, Fleet Street	3 16 0
	Feb. 4.	Drayton [second time of asking]	2 3 1

After the entry relating to the fire at Bungay, there is added in a later hand the cruel indictment—"and paid to no man, but laid out in repaying the church."

For losses in the metropolis £5 8s 7½d was given, when the Sugar house in Cole Harbour (1672), and when St. Katherine's

hospital were destroyed (1673). The amount collected when the "Great Fire" happened is not stated, but the subjoined extract proves our townsmen were not remiss, "1667. Feb: paid for sending ye money collected, to Norwich for the fyre at London, 00 : 01 : 00."

(2) *St. Nicholas' chapel*, "from ye 18th of Aprell 1682 vntell 10th Aprell 1683 :—

pr Abreffe for ye Town of Bishton for ffier ...	...	01	2	01
pr Abreffe for Mr. Anthony Bury of Mansworth } pr Thunder and Lightning }	...	1	2	7
pr Abreffe for Reliff ffrench Protestants ...	...	8	3	2
pr Abreffe for ye ffiers at diers Hall In London ...	...	1	6	4½
pr Abreffe for ij ffiers at ye Town of Ensham } In Oxfordsheare ... }	...	1	1	4½
pr Abreffe to ij ffier at Presteign In ye County of Radnor	...	1	7	3½
pr Abreffe for ye ffier at Stoke in Suffolk ...	...	1	6	6

(3) *Allhallows church* (South Lynn) :—

1684. (March 1) fire at Warboys ...	...	5	0
" (" 15) " " Staverton; damage £2,000 ...	...	5	9
1685. (" 29) " " Eleye St Mary " £1,780 ...	...	5	0
1688. (May) For those burnt by fyre at Bungay ...	1	16	0
" Reliefe of French Protestants [2nd gathering] ...	3	3	8
1700. (Feb. 13) Breife of ye Slaves ...	...	9	0
1701. (April 12) Breife of Beckells ...	...	4	5

For other deserving purposes :—

1654. For a Greation (Grecian) minister towards the redemption of those that were prisoners in argeare, their Ransome amounting to 12,000 Dollers, and paid vnto him in the 13th of September, 03 : 10 : 10.

1663. (Oct. 11) For losse of the shipp of William Sandwells of Steping, p'ish in county of Middlesex, the some of fforty shillings and halfe penny, 02 : 00 : 00½.

1671. For redemption of English Captives in Turkes Slavery in Argiere, Tunnis and Salley, £32 : 07 : 09. [C. W. A., St. M.]

Sallee or Saleey was a notorious stronghold of piracy on the west coast of Morocco. The liberation of the English captives detained by the Turks in Africa was regarded as a most worthy object. The names of those subscribing in the different wards are given and a reprehensible footnote contains the names of "the persons of quality not contributing." Suppressing the names of our ungenerous forefathers, we notice the black list contains a common councillor, an officer of his Majesty's Customs, an attorney and—the town crier!

The Commons indeed took "precautions against the royal prerogative being exceeded in issuing briefs to raise money for the supply of the King's wants or the relief of sufferers in the royal cause," yet an indiscriminate method of granting briefs, without strict inquiry, resulted in abuse. Although mild repressive measures were passed in 1643 and 1648, it was not until the 18th century that stringent means were adopted to check the practice, which was finally suppressed by Lord Palmerston. These subscriptions did not appear on the parochial balance-sheet, because the churchwardens paid them to a receiver in the district.

A comparison of the amounts collected for the Piedmontese Protestants is instructive (1656):—

London: (124 churches)	...	...	...	total not given.
St. Martin in Fields (largest)	...	...	...	£325 15 8½
Trinity Minorities (smallest)	...	...	...	7 5 11
Westminster	...	...	...	348 3 3
Liverpool	...	...	...	10 3 0
Norwich (13 churches)	...	...	...	157 15 8½
Lynn (2 churches)	...	...	...	47 1 9

What a noble example the doings of our predecessors yield. Not satisfied with merely providing for the varying needs of their immediate neighbours, but they opened their purses to those in necessitous circumstances in all parts of the kingdom. How catholic were their sympathies; how lavish their liberality; how generous the response they were ever ready to make! Charity with them indeed began at home, but it did not cease there.*

MESSRS HALCOTT AND FRAMINGHAM.

On behalf of a townsman desirous of erecting an hospital or almshouse, a proposal was placed before the Council (9th March 1676). To foster so benevolent a design, a piece of land to the north of Webster Row (Broad Street) was at once offered, subject however to one condition, namely, that the annual rent of £6 derived therefrom be paid to the wardens of St. Margaret's, as the pasture with a certain tenement formed part of the church estate.

John Halcott, who received his freedom in 1674-5, was a tanner related to Matthew Halcott of Litcham (freedom granted 1682). This surname is spelled in a variety of ways, as Helcate, Helcoat, Helcote (Mackerell) and even Heathcote (Richards). The terms were eagerly accepted and the building begun, but the benevolent founder died before its completion. † The work was however carried on by his friend Henry Framingham, who by will endowed the new hospital with £1,000 (1704). Framingham was the son of poor, yet honest parents; the only education he gained was picked up in a precarious way, whilst working in "a bake house." Succeeding in business and accumulating wealth, he grew as proud as prosperous. He was chosen mayor in 1690 and again in 1700; he served moreover as high sheriff of the county in 1708. Besides a residence at Lynn, he owned one at Burnham. During his first mayoralty, Framingham relentlessly opposed the Baptists, some of whom were persecuted under the infamous Conventicle Act.‡

Halcott's gift to the town, always known as the Framingham Hospital, originally stood in Broad Street. It consisted of a chapel

* Lynn, Walsoken and Brandon petitioned for "briefs" (1710), but their applications were disregarded. Why Lynn sought extraneous help is not apparent.

† "1663-4: Recd. of Mr. John Halcott towards the butifying of the Chappell. . . . 10 : 00 : 00.

"1680-1: Recd. of the exequeiters of Mr. John Halcote for a Leageuse which he gave to be Layd out about the Chappell. . . . 005 : 00 : 00. [C.W.A., St. N.]

"1675, June 28. Robert Helcote" (burial). [P.R., St. N.]

‡ "1628. Wm. Framingham apprenticed to Wm. Bennett, cooper, received freedom. [Freemen.]

"1677-8. Wm. Framingham supplied communion bread 5/10. [C.W.A., St. N.]

"1680. Henry Framingham, chapelwarden.

"1683. Two peals for Mr. Framingham, senior. . . . 00 : 06 : 00. [P.R., St. N.]

and twelve apartments, which opened into a quadrangle. Wishing to enlarge the Cattle Market, the Corporation pulled down the dilapidated building, and added the site, about 20 perches, to the market (1848). A far more convenient edifice was erected in the London Road, on half an acre of land, where formerly stood the borough treasurer's office. The plans selected were designed by Mr. Sharman of Spalding; Mr. Rolin was the builder. The rebuilding cost the town £2,907 7s 6d, from which must be deducted £110 received for the old material.*

The incomprehensible disappearance of a house in Checker (King) Street, which John Halcott gave to the chapel of St. Nicholas, must engross our subsequent attention.

* * * * *

After lingering four days, Charles II. succumbed to an attack of apoplexy (6th February 1685). Evelyn, who was present at the King's seizure, observes: "I can never forget the inexpressible luxury and profaneness, gaming and all dissoluteness, and, as it were, total forgetfulness of God, it being Sunday evening. The King sitting and toying with his concubines, Portsmouth, Cleveland and Mazarin: a French boy singing love songs in that glorious gallery, whilst above twenty of the great courtiers and other dissolute persons were at basset, around a large table, a bank of at least £2,000 between them"; whilst Hume asserts, "that as a sovereign his character was dangerous to his people and dishonourable to himself. Negligent of the interests of the nation, careless of its glory, averse to its religion, jealous of its liberty and lavish of its treasure."

CHAPTER XXXIII.

The Veering of the Wind.

JAMES STUART, Duke of York, the second son of Charles I., succeeded his brother without any signs of opposition. From the first, his position was greatly imperilled, through the fact of his being an avowed Roman Catholic (1685).

* * * * *

When addressing the Privy Council on the day of his brother's decease, James II. acknowledged he was reported to be a man of arbitrary power, yet he gravely assured them it would be his earnest endeavour to preserve the government both in Church and State, as by law established. His suave hypocrisy was soon unmasked! As the reader knows, his immediate actions rendered his professions of sincerity despicably mean.

* A board at present in the Chapel bears the absurd statement:—"This Hospital Was erected by an unknown Hand, Ao. Dni 1677 and Founded by the Mayor and Burgesses, Ao. Dni 1714. Henry Framingham, Esq., twice Mayor of this Corporation and High Sheriff of this County, gave One Thousand Pounds towards the endowment. By whose Benefaction It was repaired 1715. Edward Robinson, gent., gave 12 li. p ann. towards increasing the Revenue, which commenced Ao. Dni 1716."

AN EXTRAORDINARY CORONATION.

The accession to the throne was the prelude of unusual excitement. Edmund Rolfe, the town-clerk, writing the 10th of February 1685, says, "King James (was) proclaimed with all due solemnities and signalls of Joy and Gladness." The chapel-reeves of St. Nicholas spent one pound and six pence in celebrating the event—the sixpence was paid to Robert Betts "for Drummes and Cullors," and the larger item went in buying meat and drink, wherewith to refresh the exhausted ringers. Four days later, the Assembly ordered an address, befitting in character, to be conveyed to the newly-crowned king.

The next year, upon the anniversary of their majesties' coronation, the burgesses unveiled a statue of the King in the Tuesday market-place. This was provocative of another irrepressible spasm of ecstatic joy (13th April 1686).* "His sacred Majesty upon a Pedestal with several carvings and embellishments," was deservedly protected with iron palisades. The crowning act of folly was a Latin inscription—*Non immemor quantum divinis invictiss. principis Jacobi ij virtutibus debeat hanc regiæ majestatis effigiem æternum fidei et obsequii monumentum, erexit. S.P.Q.L. Anno Salutis 1686*, that is, "Not forgetting how much is due to the Divine Virtues of the Victorious King James the Second, the Senate of the People of Lynn, as a lasting monument of their Faith and Loyalty, have erected this Statue of his Royal Majesty in the year of our Lord 1686." (Richards.)

The demonstration included the ringing of the church bells, the firing of the great guns, a grand pyrotechnic display and the drinking of the health of the members of the royal family, by the representatives of the people and—all other burgesses, who could afford it. The abundant effusion of maudlin oratory which naturally ensued was, we fear, drowned completely with "all sorts of loud music"—

The trumpets braying, and the organ playing,
And the sweet trombones, with their silver tones.

so graphically described by Mr. Barney Maguire upon a similar occasion.

DEATH, BUT NOT FAILURE.

The undisguised intention of the King, to exercise arbitrary power, induced certain refugees in Holland to believe there might be a chance of undermining his authority. The disaffected were headed by Archibald Earl of Argyll and James Fitz-Roy Duke of Monmouth. Fearing this intrigue, the Duke of Norfolk as Lord Lieutenant of the county, was directed to see that the militia, both horse and foot, were properly organised, so as to be ready for immediate action. The Duke, anticipating trouble, had already inspected the local contingent on Gaywood heath (30th May 1684), when the muster amounted to 742 men, that is 123 files six deep (42

* According to Rastrick's *Plan of Lynn* (1725) this statue was opposite what are now the "Ban Chambers." The King with a sword in his raised right hand appears facing the west.

files of pikes and 81 of muskets, plus four odd men), besides the officers. "My Lord gave 4 l. to each company w^{ch} was distributed thus in the whole Regiment—16 Drummers and one Fife 2s. a piece, 20 Sergeants each 1s. 6d., Quarter M^{str} and Marshall each 2s. 6d., 123 Files each 4s., ye odd men at ye same rate." (*Lestrange MS.*) The total amount was £28 3s. 8d.

The leaders of the insurrection were taken and executed; Argyll the 30th of June, and Monmouth the 15th of July 1685. How appropriate an epitaph for these heroes is embodied in Byron's words, "They never fail, who die in a great cause."

AN INAUDIBLE ECHO.

To further the object upon which his heart was set, James determined to abrogate the Penal Laws, not necessarily for the benefit of conscientious nonconformists, but because the statutes operated on all alike, including Roman Catholics, who were not in strict conformity with the Church of England (1688). At the King's suggestion, a series of questions was addressed to the gentry, so that their views upon the subject might be known. The replies establish without doubt the existence of a strong anti-papal feeling in the county, unquestionably encouraged by Henry Howard seventh Duke of Norfolk, who was himself a staunch Protestant. To the meeting convened at Lynn, twenty-eight persons were summoned. The questions submitted for their consideration were similar to those sent to the other counties.

First, if in case hee shall be chosen knight of the Shire or Burgesse of a Towne, when the King shall think fitt to call a Parliament, Whether hee will bee for taking off the Penal Laws and the Tests.

Second, whether hee will assist and contribute to the Election of such Members as shall bee for taking off the Penal Laws and Tests.

Third, whether he will support the King's Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, by living friendly with those of all persuasions as Subjects of the same Prince and (as) good Christians ought to do.

Eighteen only were present to answer personally; two absentees sent letters, but from the other eight no replies were forthcoming—two of whom were said to be sick and two abroad, whilst four wholly scouted the inquiry. Examine a few of the answers given by some, with whom a casual acquaintance has been made.

George Cremer, Recorder of Lynn; "very sick and could not stirr out of his bed"; his plea was genuine because he died soon after and was succeeded by Henry Baldock (4th April 1688).

Sir Nicholas Lestrange (Hunstanton),

1st. He cannot agree to it if he be chosen.

2nd. In the negative.

3rd. He will live friendly with those of all persuasions; so long as they continue loyal to their Prince.

Sir Henry Bedingfeld (Oxborough),

Complies with the King's pleasure in all points.

Sir Thomas Hare (Stow Bardolph),

1st. He thinks the Penal Laws may be reviewed and some amendments made but cannot consent to repeal them, nor the Tests.

2nd. He will endeavour to choose those of the same mind.

3rd. He is willing to live friendly and peaceably with those of all persuasions, whilst they continue loyal to the King and Government.

Robert Walpole (Houghton),

- 1st. He will not oppose an act to confirm the King's Declaration for liberty of conscience, but cannot consent to the taking off the Tests till he is convinced of the necessity of it.
- 2nd. He answers in the negative.
- 3rd. He has always done and he will continue to live friendly with those of all persuasions, so long as they prove loyal subjects and obedient to the Government.

Lee Warner (Walsingham); absent.

Of the thirty-nine summoned to attend at Norwich, twenty-nine were present and replied verbally; six were marked "absent," three were abroad and to one name there is no entry. "The King was not only warned, but most emphatically warned, that Norfolk men would take no part in his design to bring back the Roman Catholic faith, for that was his sole object in proposing the repeal of the Tests" (Mason). To counteract so inauspicious an augury, special agents were instructed to visit the municipal corporations, in order to learn their views respecting the abrogation of the Test Act. The commissioners for Norfolk—Benjamin Dennis and Richard Adams—were to exercise their persuasive and advisory powers, but in every case they must say whether the passing of a coercive measure, termed "a regulation," would be necessary or not. The poorest man in his tumble-down cottage might defy what William Pitt terms "the force of the Crown," whilst the wealthiest Corporation in a magnificent gild-hall were utterly helpless. If they refused to please the King, they were dismissed and supplanted by those who would.

Norwich and Lynn were the only towns in Norfolk where free-men—members as well as non-members of the Corporation—participated in the parliamentary election. The first had a constituency numbering 1,500 and the second 700. Yarmouth and Thetford were indeed corporate boroughs, but the elections were solely decided by the members of the municipal bodies. Rising was described as a borough, which chose by prescription. In Yarmouth, Thetford and Rising there were 36, 30 and 20 voters respectively.

Messrs. Dennis and Adams sent in two reports, dated the 19th of April and the 19th of September 1688 (Rawlinson MS.). The city of Norwich chose William Barnham, a very popular man; as a dissenter he would certainly vote against the continuance of the Test Act upon the Statute Book. Besides, he was one of the new aldermen, who had taken the places of those recently dismissed by royal mandate. The other candidate was Mr. Coke, senior, "a right man" in whom the city reposed great confidence. If, however, the King interposed Mr. Paston, the commissioners "presumed" *he* would be returned. The second report was even more reassuring; the agents were confident there would be a good election, although the city's charter had not yet been despatched.

In Great Yarmouth, Mr. Paston and Sir James Johnson, each of the right sort, were already selected; if the King, however, suggested Sir John Friend, *he* would undoubtedly be accepted instead

of the second. Five months later the Corporation was firmly pledged to Mr. Paston, but as the mayor John Albertson was somewhat antagonistic, the commissioners thought the precept should not be served on Sir James Johnson, until after the election of the next mayor. The mayor was, therefore, deposed, and two bailiffs George Ward and Thomas Godfrey appointed in his stead. Thetford and Rising were each (quoting the report) "under the power of the Duke of Norfolk." Thetford was prepared to return his Majesty's nominee, especially if recommended by his Grace, the duke. Subsequently the commissioners thought a "regulation" needed. The return of Lord Chief Justice Wrightson was certain, but they feared Sir Joseph Williamson might at the last be substituted for Mr. Vincent.

The reports for Lynn Regis are of such egregious importance, they must be given in *extenso*. The commissioners write:—

'Tis necessary the Regulation be passed for influencing ye Election and strengthening the intrest of the Dissenters who are numerous in this place. They will choose Sr Symon Taylor, who is right by inclination and intrest; the other [candidate] is nott yet named, but soe soon as their Regulation is past, they will pitch upon one that is right, and returne his name to us (19th April 1688).

The second report reads thus:—

Some there have disputed Yo'r Ma'ties late Mandate in order to obstruct the Election intended of Sr Symon Tayler and Henry Baldock [who was appointed recorder 4th April 1688]. The mayor there [John Kidd] is a very right man and active in Yo'r Ma'ties service. 'Tis humbly proposed the Corporation may be dissolved and a new Charter granted for securing this Election.

There seems to be a discrepancy in the dates. The report was apparently issued on the 19th of September 1688, but the mandate dissolving the Corporation had already taken effect.

VOX REGIS.

A few months after granting the infamous Charter of 1684 (C. 25), Charles II. died. It was therefore the prerogative of his successor, whoever he might be, to experiment with what was indeed a dangerous weapon. Hence, between the first and second report, James issued a remarkable adaptation.

C. 26, Charter dated at Whitehall the 1st of June 1688, in the 4th year of his reign.

—was accordingly outspread before the Assembly on the 11th, when the following entry was written in the Hall Book:—

By the King's most excellent majestie, and the Lords of his most honorable Privy Councell, whereas by the Charter lately granted to the town of Lynn Regis in the county of Norfolk, a power is reserved to His Majestie by his order in Councell, to remove from their employments any officer in the said town—

Then appear the names of those displaced; also the King's nominees (copied, of course, from the charter), whom the remnant of the old Congregation were expected to elect.

	Removed :	Appointed :
Aldermen.	Robert Sparrow (mayor)* Sir John Turner Benjamin Holley William Hatfield Robert Paine Giles Bridgman	John Davy (mayor) William Linstead Cyprian Anderson Henry Framingham Charles Peast William Blyth
Common Councilmen.	Henry Bell William Holley Charles Turner Henry Pope Samuel Bridgman James Greene Timothy Preist John Bradfield	Thos. Buckingham Simon Taylor John Hall William Thompson John Tidd Peter Busby Seel Peast Stephen Tayler
	Edmund Rolfe (clerk)†	Mathew Oufande (clerk)

By virtue of the Test Act of 1673, all persons holding office under the Crown were compelled to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy, acknowledging the King to be the supreme head of the Church of England (1534), to receive the sacrament as administered by that Church and to declare their disbelief in transubstantiation. Later the same day (June 11th) the new members, namely, Sir Simon Taylor, Thomas Robinson, John Kidd, Benjamin Keene, Thomas Lemon, Edmund Hooke and Edward Bodham, were, in compliance with the King's behest, elected by those not supplanted. The nominees of the Crown were of course admitted to office without conforming with the clauses in the condemned statute. The receiving of the sacrament was dispensed with, and no oaths were administered except such as related merely to a faithful discharge of the duties undertaken. Hence was there no reason why the benevolent quaker—Thomas Buckingham, the founder of the "Buckingham Trust," should not take his seat in the Town Council, nor those nonconformists, who cherished serious conscientious objections, nor the Roman Catholics, who sincerely believed the Pope to be the spiritual head of The Church. Through the privileges ostensibly accorded to the dissenters, the Established Church received a severe blow. But the voice of the King was still heard in the land. Our Corporation were the recipients of another mandate, instructing them to re-elect John Davy, whose conduct in office had been most gratifying, as chief magistrate for the ensuing year. Referring to the Hall Book, we read :—

This day a mandat under his Majesties hand and seal was read, to elect and continue John Davy mayor for the ensuing year, without adminstring any oaths but of office . . . This day John Davy is elected mayor by the common councill (29th September 1688).

* Robert Sparrow (1641-1716) son of the Rev. Robert Sparrow, B.D., rector of Watlington, was mayor in 1696; he was buried in Watlington church.

† Edmund Rolfe was not only town clerk and mayor's clerk, but clerk to the Gild Hall courts, the Courts of Sessions, the Court Leet and the Court of Piepowder. For many years he lived in the house originally Thoresby's college.

ROYAL TACTICS.

James took every advantage of the charter, granted in the summer of 1684, to degrade and humiliate what were still farcically styled "the independent burgesses of King's Lynn." When, however, the wayward monarch found in the autumn of 1688 he was at the end of his tether, he suddenly annulled the charter, and by Royal Proclamation restored *all* corporations to their ancient charters, liberties, rights and franchises (17th October).

The royal edict arrived on the 20th, and was at once placed before the Assembly. Then and there, were all the members lately appointed by mandate, instantly displaced, whilst the discarded representatives took their old seats. Cyprian Anderson was requested to preside over their future deliberations, instead of John Davy, who retired crestfallen, protesting that never more would he put confidence in princes. A change, too, in the recorder happened soon afterwards. Henry Baldock, who succeeded George Cremer (4th April 1688), was in turn succeeded by Daniel Bedingfeld, the 2nd of November 1688. The Duke of Norfolk was, moreover, elected High Steward (26th October); his patent of office being confirmed also on the 2nd of November. The seal of the borough was attached to a letter of attorney, giving authority to sundry persons therein named to receive, from his Majesty's attorney-general, the late instrument or deed of the surrender of divers franchises and liberties.

The sudden abandonment of these unconstitutional methods gave rise to indescribable satisfaction. Now Madam Anderson was probably staying at her country house in East Walton, when her husband—the captain of the local trained bands—became cognisant of the King's surprising intention. The home-coming of the new mayoress on the 22nd could easily, as the people thought, be changed into an historical episode. To think was to act. Met by hundreds of brave horsemen and throngs of excited burgesses, the lady was proudly escorted to the town, whilst with even greater alacrity the ringers plied the bell-ropes and the cannoneers discharged the guns!

The infamous charter does not, even as a historic curiosity, dishonour our archives; it was probably destroyed, when the Corporation resumed their rights under the older charters.

ACCEPTED ADDRESSES.

To insure a speedy triumph for the Roman Catholic faith, King James issued a declaration of general indulgence, asserting that non-conformity with the tenets and ceremony of the Established Church was no longer penal (1685). A second declaration, published in 1687, bestowed liberty of conscience upon all sectaries, authorising both Catholic and Protestant Dissenters to perform their worship openly. The King, however, was far from sincere in these professions of toleration. The freedom to worship, according to the dictates of conscience granted to Protestant Dissenters, was simply regarded by the unprejudiced as a bribe put forward solely to induce

them to join their Sovereign against a common enemy—their late persecutor, the Church of England. Convinced, how the existence of the Church to which they belonged was in jeopardy, the majority of the members of the Lynn sanhedrim quaked with fear. Though sweet as honey to their taste, the words of King James were not quite as clear. Sincere—*sine cere*? Alas, no. Yet would they subdue their misgiving qualms, as best they could, and act, as if nothing disturbed their equanimity. “Not in the least doubting,” they sent his Majesty another heroic address:—

Great Sir,—The known principles of the Church of England being such as oblige every member thereof with their Lives and Fortunes to defend and maintain your Majestie, Your Royall Prerogative with all other rights belonging to Your Majesties Imperiall Crown, makes us at this time humbly to begg your Majesty to receive this further attestation, not in the least doubting of the peaceable enjoyment of our religion under Your Majesties most sacred protection returning our most hearty and humble thanks for Your Majesties late repeated Assurance thereof, expressed in Your Majesties late gracious Declaration (19th September 1687).

Sunday, the 29th of January 1688, was exceptional in that it was specially devoted to thanksgiving. “Wonderful solemnity,” we are told, marked the pious observance thereof—a statement the reader may be pardoned for not accepting literally. The members of the august Assembly “in their formalities,” whatever they might be, the student must imagine, and headed, of course, by Robert Sparrow the mayor, attended divine service twice during the day, to render unfeigned thanks to Almighty God on behalf of her Majesty *the Queen*. The shades of evening, however, obscured all traces of solemnity: the grateful members of the Corporation repaired to the Custom House, there to drink “*the King's* health with a bonfire.” Six months later, another day of thanksgiving dawned, when the King was constrained to be the polite recipient of a congratulatory address, adverting to the birth of a prince, from his irrepressible subjects at Lynn.

Great Sir,—Wee Your Majesties Dutifull Subjects crave leave of Your Majesty and your Royall Consort that we join with Your Majestie in offering our most humble and hearty thanks to God Almighty in sending Your Majestie a Sonn and a Prince, and farther we begg of Your Sacred Majestie to accept our Cordial thanks for your Majesties late favor to the body of this Corporation, and also for your Princely condescension and affection by both your gracious Declaration, not only extending to the Church of England but to all other your peaceable and loyall Subjects, Assuring us by Your royall word you will stand by us, whereby we are not only obliged but resolved, when your Majestie shall think fitt to call a Parliament, wee will endeavour to elect such members as shall make your Majesty happie and Your Subjects easie, and shall pray for Your Majesties long and peaceable reigne over us. In witness whereof we have fixed our Town Seale the 2nd of July in the 4th year of your most gracious reign, Anno Domini 1688.

The queen, Mary of Modena, had indeed given birth to a son—James, “the old pretender,” who in 1715 unsuccessfully attempted to recover the throne. But what a deplorable exhibition of servility. Garrick was indeed right, when he exclaimed, “Corrupted freemen are the worst of slaves.”

THE MADDEST, MERRIEST DAY.

The great rural festival of our forefathers was held on May-day. Of a surety, it was "the happiest time of all the glad new year." At sunrise throngs of rosy lads and lasses returned from the woods, laden with blossoming branches of hawthorn and masses of clustering flowers. With the spoils of their search, the doors and lattices of their cottage homes were richly decked, whilst with ribbon-tied wreaths and festoons, they decorated the long may-pole, which, as soon as finished, was slowly reared in borough market or village green. Can you not enjoy the delightful spectacle? The jovial company of grotesque morris-dancers, with Robin Hood, and Friar Tuck, and Little John; the comical Jack-in-the-Green, the capering hobby-horse beset with spritely revellers, and the group of earnest archers, displaying their prowess at the butts hard by. Ah, yes, the centre of attraction, the loadstar, to which all eyes involuntarily turn, is the beauteous Queen of the May, enthroned, as you see, in an arbour of the choicest evergreens, from whence the pageant is directed!

As early as the reign of Edward III., these innocent pastimes were encouraged by the Church, but the stern preachers of the Reformation period evinced no sympathy with merriment of any kind; they condemned this delightful feast in scathing terms, because forsooth the people made an idol of the may-pole! Later, a Parliament of Puritans commanded the churchwardens and constables to see these deistic Baals removed, or pay in default a fine of 5s. each, for every day the ungodly idols remained in the midst of the people. Thus, the time-honoured revels ended; pretty Maid Marian was dethroned, and the merry, merry month of May was converted into the saddest and gloomiest of the twelve (1644).

After the Revolution, may-games were once again permitted. Two *new* may-poles were set up, at the town's expense—one in "the open space" before St. Anne's Fort, and the other in the Tuesday market-place (1682). The second was soon afterwards taken down to make room for the King's statue (9th November 1685). Gradually the old-time custom degenerated into a faint reminder of past glories—two small hoops, trimmed with wild flowers and fixed transversely upon a short pole, constitute "the garland," which is borne upon the shoulder. "In no place where the custom of celebrating May-day still continues," observes "K," a contributor to Hone's *Table Book*,* "does it present so close a resemblance to its Roman origin, as at Lynn. . . . A doll full dressed, of proportionate size, is seated in the centre, thus exhibiting an humble, but not inappropriate representation of Flora, surrounded by the fragrant emblems of her consecrated offerings."

HIGHWAYS AND BYWAYS.

At the South Lynn vestry held "during the Christmas week," two surveyors of the highways were chosen "according to a late Acte"

* The Swaffham bookseller and antiquary—W. H. Kemball.

(26th December 1685). The roads, notwithstanding remained in a disgraceful state. Although at places almost impassable the surveyors went on their way rejoicing, expecting others to do the same. Five years after the appointment, the parish was fined £30 at the County Sessions held in St. George's hall, Lynn, for permitting their servants to neglect these important vicarian duties (15th April 1686). "Aughter (after) this," the writer goes on, "we had an order in lavishment with ye Cortt Sealle directed to our Churchward'ns to make a Rathe (rate) & Rayse ye said Thirty pounds & Imoyne ye chefe Cunstable of our Hundred with ye Sh'reeves Bailif to assist in ye Raysing ye sayd monye." (*C.W.A.*, *A.SS*). A rate of six pence in the £ then brought in £32 18s. 7d. Anent the same subject is another minute sanctioned by the parishioners:—

That no survayor of ye h-ways (highways) for ye time to Cum shall exede ye prise heaunder written for Carting to ye h-ways for what carts they shall hier (hire) for those that send not in thear owne Carts or as ffaavors & not Inhabetence, yt is ffrom ye Gravelpits of Hardwick for every Cart of Gravill by estemation twenty hund-wait layd Vpon ye causey & on ye east side of Long brig ninepence for every lode layd from ye Long brig to Scails how gate twelve pence A lode & ffrom scales how gate to Nuns deke eightene pence p lode & ffrom Nuns deke to Godscroft & so to Saddlebow Cross two shillings p lode & that those who Compounds not with ye Survayors shall be forth with prosecuted as ye law shall direct & for this yeare all peple do thear duty as ye law requiers & yt no survayor for ye futur bring in thear Accounts Aney other way but by ye lode & not by thear Carts by ye day (3rd June 1688).

Scale's How (House) bank, running east and west, lies beyond the South Lynn railway station. The farm house, then belonging to Sir John Harrison, and occupied by Mr. Saye, has long since disappeared, as have Godscroft and the adjacent cottages, near "the Golden Ball." Of Nun's Deke nothing is know, but the base of a wayside cross may yet be seen at the corner of the Saddlebow Road.

Besides receiving three pence per mile, the gravel carters enjoyed a perquisite known as *shincks*—otherwise *shinks* or *swinks*, consisting of bread (or cakes) and beer. Throughout the parochial programme these items ever and anon appear. The adjusting of a bell-rope, the raising of a ladder, the ringing of what was then termed "a peale" etc. could never be accomplished, without a few draughts of the magical beverage. For example: "1605: p'd for beare & breade for the man that helpt vp with ye leade, o: iiij d. & beare and breade for the man that holpt to strike the ladder and sett it agene, vj d. (*C.W.A.*, *St.M.*). So alarming did the charges for *shincks* at length become, that the parishioners wisely determined to stop the *allowance* altogether (29th December 1697).*

It was customary for the South Lynn parish to mend the *south* side of the Hardwick Road, whilst the *north* side was repaired by

* *Shinches*, otherwise *shinks* or *swinks*, from the Anglo-Saxon *scenc* a cup or draught and *scencan* to give drink.

"Villaines why *shink* you not vnto this fellow?"

Lodge's *Looking-glass for England*.

"The gods laugh'd out unweary'd as they spy'd

The busy *shinker* hop from side to side."

Tickell's translation of Homer's *Iliad*.

North Runcton. The portion actually within the bounds of the last-named parish measured 660 yards; it extended eastward from the great stone, called "the Half-mile Stone," situated 1,100 yards from the South Gates. The width of the road was 40 feet. The vestry agreed to maintain half the entire length, that is 330 yards, rather than the south side of the whole stretch (17th January 1759).

THE KING'S DAUGHTER.

Jane Stuart (1657-1745), a natural daughter of the King (when Duke of York) and half-sister to Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth, lived for many years in Wisbech. Disgusted with the frivolities of court life, she attached herself to the Society of Friends and was in consequence imprisoned with Thomas Elgood. "The Royal Quaker" spun worsted, which she sold at her stall in the market. According to the Friends' register, she died on the 12th of the 7th month 1745, and was buried in the society's burial ground, where her grave with its neatly trimmed box border may still be seen.

A NATIONAL CRISIS.

The birth of the prince is believed to have contributed largely to the King's downfall, because those most bitterly opposed to his government were stolidly quiescent and prepared to await an alteration in the accession of his nephew, who would, as they were convinced, unquestionably tear aside the fabric of tyranny and catholicism, in which James was enfolding the whole nation. But the natal event upset their calculation. The succession must now devolve upon the royal offspring, who would, of course, be fostered in the Roman Catholic faith, and who might, for aught they knew, emulate or even eclipse, his parent in arbitrary, unconstitutional government.

Step by step, the descent from the throne can be plainly traced—an invitation signed by those who previously sought the interference of William the Prince of Orange, beseeching him to come with a body of troops to their assistance (30th June 1688)—an order for the removal of the guns from Lynn to Hull, * possibly because our High Steward, the Protestant Duke of Norfolk, was energetically promoting the cause of James' nephew (26th October)—the landing of 11,000 infantry and 4,500 cavalry at Torbay (5th November)—the wholesale desertion of his Majesty's army, †—and attempted flight—the capture of the royal fugitive at Feversham (10th December)—William's triumphal entry into London (16th) and the precipitate escape of the King from Rochester (22nd).

* * * * *

After the abdication and during a sojourn in France, the exiled monarch was greatly indebted to Louis XIV. James II. died at St. Germain's the 6th of September 1701, and was buried in the Benedictine Monastery, Paris.

* The guns were returned the 29th September 1689.

† Among whom was Henry Hyde (Earl of Clarendon and Viscount Cornbury), who with other partisans visited Lynn in November 1678.

END OF VOL. I.



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